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**KITAWA ORAL POETRY:
AN EXAMPLE FROM MELANESIA**

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To Ernst and Ilse Gombrich

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PREFACE

I first became interested in Nowau oral poetry after I had been in Kitawa (Milne Bay Province) for about a year, when Towitara Buyoyu sang the poetic formula which seals the initiation of a young man into the profession of engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes (Scoditti 1990). As my ear for the language became more refined and my curiosity grew for problems linked to oral culture, my real work began – roughly in early 1974 – and lasted until 1988, with recordings, transcriptions and translations of the poetic formulae made with the poet Ipaiya Mokuiyaraga of Lalela for the part regarding the composition of an oral text, and with the singers of the island for problems concerning the execution. In terms of written formulisation, this work was concluded only in 1991.

Even if the poetic formulae in this collection are probably not all of those known in Kitawa, they still represent an example of the form of composition and performance of poetic texts in a Melanesian culture for which oral expression is the preferred medium on a linguistic level. The way these texts are composed and performed also reflects a given philosophical conception. This is why, in the second chapter, I have attempted to define Nowau cognitive philosophy, which is one way of trying to understand how a poet composes a poetic formula and how a singer performs it, and, above all, what composing with ‘music’ and ‘words’ means. The ‘musical text’ (the basis on which the poet weaves a poetic formula) and the ‘verbal text’ (made up of words on the musical base) in fact constitute one of the features of Nowau poetic formulae. The verbal weft created by the poet is interlaced with the framework of the ‘musical text’, which is much more stable in time. These ‘words’ belong not only to Nowau but also to the various vocabularies of the other languages spoken in the Kula Ring: it is precisely this mixing of vocabulary which enables an author of poetic formulae to attain musical effects which are unusual even to the ears of the Nowau. In addition, the work of attributing a ‘new’ meaning to a word by a poet is made possible because Nowau (like Boyowa or Muyuwa, spoken on the island of Woodlark) is a disyllabic language which allows the author of a poetic text to construct words whose meaning can be traced back to a given combination of their basic components.

Another element to take into consideration in order to understand Nowau poetry is its ethnographic context: we are in the area of the Kula Ring (Leach and Leach 1983) characterised by the exchange of *mwari* and *vaiguwa* gifts, which are sung about in many of the poetic formulae during ritual voyages and which allude to the mythical hero Monikiniki. I would say that, in fact, the poetic formulae dedicated to Monikiniki (see, for example, *Monikiniki I, II and III*, and also *Mwasila monikiniki I, II and III*) are an indirect confirmation of this hero and his myth, even if it is no longer traceable today in a homogeneous text. But I do not see why, in reality, it is necessary always to have the ‘text’ of a myth in order to establish its existence: this text could never even have existed in a complete form but only in fragments of which the poetic formulae dedicated to Monikiniki could be an example. Before the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* there were pre-Homeric and Homeric fragments on which the two epics were composed, and perhaps in Kitawa a Homer is missing.

From other poetic formulae, for example *Tougatu* and *Dova*, it is possible to glimpse the particularly friendly atmosphere which characterises the relationship between two men involved in a ritual exchange, while in others performed by magicians (see *Kwarakwara*, *Ī yai ĩ yai I* and *II*) one can sense the tension between male values and female ones that can be attributed, probably, to the adoption of matrilineal descent in Kitawa. A more tranquil atmosphere compared to the latter characterises, on the other hand, the love poems, watercoloured with soft hues of great tenderness like, for example, *Nadubeori* and *Dorai sobala I* and *II* by Ipaïya of Lalela, or the polyphonic texts such *Da weriya* and *Ba yaruwa* performed by three female voices. These last two genres are examples of a more intimate form of expression where society enters composition principally as language.

I would say that, in all the Nowau poetic formulae, allusions can be traced to the type of social and economic structure found in Kitawa and the other islands involved in the Kula Ring, just as the various ways a poet deals with nature can be so traced. It is obvious that for an outsider to these cultures, many references can be at times impossible to grasp, even if there is a type of intangibility that is common to all aesthetic forms: in order to help deeper understanding, I have followed each poetic formula with a commentary, although a poetic text is and remains, above all, a way of expressing the relationship between 'words' and 'music'.

All the poetic formulae in this collection were composed orally and without the aid of any form of written memorisation and reached the performers as set, definitive texts, the equivalent of a book ready for printing. We thus have in Nowau poetry two distinct figures and functions: the poet-author and the singer. The poet can also be a singer, but never the converse. This distinction means that the researcher has the problem of identifying the author of the text of a poetic formula and, what seems to me rather more important, of establishing the original text of the formula itself.

In an oral culture, it would appear to be utter nonsense to suggest that the author and the singer are the same person merely because the text sung is unwritten (and should therefore be subject to greater variations left to the invention and improvisation of the singer). I do not believe that it is by chance that in Kitawa the singers tend to respect the poetic text of a formula and try to establish whether they have performed it correctly. Judgement on this matter is based both on the way the formula is performed (for example, whether a certain *modulatio* has been respected, or whether any sound variations have been made compared to previous performances of the same formula) and on the respect, or lack of respect, of the poetic text, the words which have been put to music by the poet. These are two distinct and different judgements.

But how, for example, does an inhabitant of Kitawa establish whether a singer has respected the text of a poetic formula if it has never been written? How can variations made to a particular text be identified? The first chapter, 'Prologue, or *Watowa*' (the first term translates the second), is an attempt to answer exactly this type of question – questions which have been stimulated in part by re-reading Milman Parry's (1971) work *The Making of Homeric Verse* and Albert D. Lord's (1960) work *The Singer of Tales* on the way in which Macedonian singers composed their texts. Unfortunately, many of Parry's intuitions are invalidated, (it appears to me) by ethnographic data recorded in a culture which retained only some of the methods of an oral culture, already mixed with methods typical of a written culture. But it cannot be denied, for example, that awareness of all the problems linked to the possibility of identifying the text of a Nowau poetic formula have been stimulated by Milman

Parry's working hypotheses even if, as I have to emphasise, this identification was often defined better in discussing it with the poet Ipaiya Mokuïyaraga during my years of research in Kitawa. The first chapter, therefore, should be read as the result of a more general, methodological interest in the problems of oral composition and performance as I perceived them in Nowau culture.

The second chapter 'Development, or *Kavira*', (again here the Nowau term has been translated with the English equivalent), reflects more immediately the characteristics of oral composition and performance in Kitawa. However, it is closely bound to the first essay; I would say, in fact, that it is the logical extension of it.

The text of each poetic formula was checked during the various years of field research with the singers of Kitawa, and also with a group of elders who, according to the inhabitants of the island and from my own personal experience, were in the best position in terms of their linguistic and musical culture to establish the correctness, especially on the level of the form of performance. I tried to identify with them all the possible meanings which could be associated with a word when this has to be interpreted on the *content plane* (Hjelmslev 1969) within a poetic formula: while responsibility for the translation is of course mine, I have been guided by this collective effort.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I do not believe that I would have been able to carry out my work on the oral poetry of Kitawa without the fundamental contribution given by Siyakwakwa Teitei of Lalela who, with Towitara Buyoyu, is one of the most refined and intelligent representatives of Nowau culture. From the outset of my research, Siyakwakwa not only guided me through the linguistic meanders of Nowau but also helped me to interpret the mental mechanisms which presumably guide the composition of a poetic text, as in the case of Ipaïya Mokuïyaraga: Siyakwakwa effectively played the same role for oral poetry as Towitara had done in the field of aesthetics (Scoditti 1990).

My warmest acknowledgements on a strictly methodological level in analysing Nowau morphology are due to George B. Milner who, during the years spent at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, taught me how it is the duty of an “apprentice linguist” always to clarify on what plane (e.g. phonetic) one is operating when analysing an oral text or a word.

This collection is also intended as an acknowledgement of the work of B. Baldwin and W. Cunningham who, during different periods, lived at the Catholic Mission in Gusaweta, in the Trobriands. The first, whom I never met personally, has left the most complete dictionary of Boyowa, spoken in the central area of Kiriwina – but according to the inhabitants of Kitawa it indicates the language of Vakuta (see Map A). It is a handwritten dictionary, full of archaic terms, some of which also recur in Nowau poetic formulae, confirming the interlinguistic exchange within the Kula Ring. Dated 1939 – with all that this date may mean on the methodological level in the field of ethnolinguistic studies – it nevertheless conserves, the fascination of a mind of considerable linguistic sensitivity, superior to that of B. Malinowski, and inspired by profound respect for Boyowa culture. Together with his grammar which, like his dictionary, has never been published, it represents the only point of reference for anyone interested in the languages spoken in the central-western areas of the Kula, despite some recent publications.

I must express my deep gratitude to William Cunningham, whom I met on Kiriwina in 1973, not only for his hospitality at the Gusaweta Mission but also and above all for letting me consult his writings on Boyowa.

Sir Ernst and Lady Ilse Gombrich were particularly helpful during the years spent organising the material on the Nowau poetic formulae. I owe to Sir Ernst in particular the suggestion that Jill Tilden be entrusted with the editing of my English translations of the poetic formulae and of the two introductory essays, a task which she carried out with great intelligence.

My sincere thanks are due also to Joe Brissoni, Honorary Consul of Italy in Papua New Guinea, and to his wife Bruna for their friendly and generous hospitality during my stays in Port Moresby, and also to the ethnomusicologist Francesco De Melis, with whom I discussed the work step by step.

I would also like to thank John L. Dawson (Literary and Linguistic Computing Centre, Cambridge University) for analysing the lists of frequency and concordancy in Nowau texts. Finally, I am especially grateful to P.H. Matthews and F. Nolan for their hospitality at the Department of Linguistics and to the Provost and Fellows of King's College for having elected me a member of High Table during the two years I spent in Cambridge.

SIGNORUM EXPLICATIO

()	<i>littera incerta</i>	LW	link vowel
< >	<i>littera addenda</i>	MN	Melanesian
[]	<i>loci corrupti</i>	PERS	person, personal
^	link vowel: e.g. ê	PAN	Proto Austronesian
''	softening vowel: e.g. ĩ	PAST	past
ADJ	adjective	PFX	prefix
AN	Austronesian	PL	plural
AUX	auxiliary	POSS	possessive
CLA	classifier	PRES	present
CON	continuous	PRON	pronoun
FEM	feminine	SG	singular
FUT	future	SFX	suffix
IFX	infix	SW	softening vowel

A SHORT NOTE ON NOWAU

Nowau, or Kitawa (O'Grady and Zisa 1971:1224), is a Melanesian language of the Austronesian group as are other languages of the d'Entrecasteaux Archipelago (Lithgow & Staalsen 1965) today included in Milne Bay Province. It is related to the Boyowa, or Kiriwina, of the Trobriands, and to the Muyuwa spoken on Woodlark Island, to Yanaba and Egum, while it has lesser lexical bonds with both Budibudi, spoken on the island of Laughlan, and with the Misima-Paneati spoken on the island of Alcester and in the village of Boagisa, on the north-west tip of Woodlark.

On a lexical and phonetic level it is closely related to the languages spoken on the islands of Iwa and Gawa which, like Kitawa, are part of the Marshall Bennetts group.

To the west of the Trobriands, Nowau is little used, while many inhabitants of Kitawa, above all the more elderly, speak Dobu, the lingua franca of Milne Bay Province, whose linguistic leadership can be attributed above all to historical factors: it is, in fact, one of the 'central' languages in the Kula ritual exchange and has been adopted by the United Church missions as their official language.

Nowau is spoken by the approximately 600 inhabitants of the region of Lalela, which includes the territory of the same name and the territories of Lalekeiwa, Kimutu and Taragaisi. The inhabitants of the region of Kumwageiya use a language similar to the Vakuta spoken on the island of the same name, to the south of Kiriwina, from which the four Kumwageiya clans originate. The inhabitants of the region of Okabulula, which covers all of the northern part of Kitawa, use a language characterised by morphemes belonging to both Muyuwa and Boyowa, in the version spoken in the Omarakana district, that is in the two areas of origin of the clans which now live in the region of Okabulula. The distinction between the three languages is not a 'strong' distinction. Clan bonds between the inhabitants of Kitawa and, above all, the common cultural elements – such as the Kula ritual exchange, the myth of the hero Monikiniki – weaken the differences on both a syntactic and a semantic level.

Much more marked, however, is the distinction on a phonological level: Nowau, for example, is characterised by velar, uvular phonemes (both fricative and approximant) and glottal, while in the version of Boyowa spoken in Okabulula and to a lesser extent in Kumwageiya it is characterised by both lateral, alveolar and palato-alveolar phonemes.

The phonological system of Nowau, established on the basis of the phonetic and phonemic analysis of the poetic formulae, is made up of 19 phonemes, or minimum units:

13 consonants	<i>b, c, g, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, y,</i>
5 vowels	<i>a, e, i, o, u,</i>
1 semivowel	<i>w.</i>

I have included the phoneme /l/ among the consonants together with the phoneme /r/, even though /l/ is often used as an allophone of /r/, such as in:

<i>vivira-vivila</i>	woman
<i>gera-gela</i>	no, not
<i>kura-kula</i>	to go to, take part in a ritual exchange
<i>varu-valu</i>	village.

The consonants and vowels have been classified according to the symbols of the International Phonetic Association (IPA), as uttered by the singers (see Tables A and B).

There are slight differences between the symbols given in Table A, established by the phonetician Francis Nolan (Department of Linguistics, Cambridge University) and those in Table B, which I myself established. According to Nolan's interpretation, the sounds represented in the IPA Chart by the following symbols are missing from the Nowau consonant system:

- (1) bilabial/ejective: *p'*
- (2) alveodental or post-alveolar/ejective: *t'*
- (3) velar/ejective: *k'*

which are however present in Table B.

The sounds represented by the following symbols are present: palato-alveolar/fricative [ʃ, ʒ], absent from Table B.

As regards the missing vowels, the sounds represented by the phonetic symbols [ʌ] (back, half-open) and [œ] (front, open, rounded) are missing, while they are found in Table B.

A Nowau speaker, substantially, articulates sounds mainly between the front position, which involves the lips, the teeth and the alveolar ridge, and the back position which involves the velum and the pharynx wall. I do not think that the hard palate is involved very much, except for those sounds which are palatalised. Sounds are often nasalised (e.g. *ñ*), and glottal stops are quite common, caused by a sudden halt in the passage of air in the larynx by closing the vocal chords. It is one of the most difficult Nowau sounds for a non-native to produce. The same difficulty exists for the velar-fricative sounds [ɣ, χ] produced by a slight pressure from the tip of the tongue on the teeth, with the body of the tongue pressed against the palate and air which 'escapes' around the sides of the tongue.

Nowau is characterised by the near absence of 'central' vowels, and it conserves certain features of Proto Austronesian, such as the structure of the basic nucleus: CVCV or CVCCV, where the first C of the nucleus is sometimes a nasal sound and the second C an occlusive (Dahl 1977; Dyen 1971). Many Nowau prefixes have the form CV-, which also appears in all suffixes. Morphemes never have final consonants, but only vowels (*contra* Malinowski 1920, 1935), and are made up of a basic nucleus, often disyllabic, combined with formatives.

The accent almost always falls on the penultimate syllable, although in the case of four or more syllables, it may fall on the antepenultimate.

From a morphological point of view, Nowau always demands that vowel harmony be respected, so vowels in the basic nucleus are changed when other morphemes are affixed.

In addition, Nowau uses classifier particles as in Boyowa (Malinowski 1920; Lawton 1980; Senft 1986).

The structure of a standard Nowau sentence – which makes it similar to other Melanesian languages – is given from a functional point of view by:

$$F = S \pm pm + V \pm SFX \pm O \pm \dots (SVO)$$

From the categorial point of view, the basic structure of the sentence is generated following these rules:

- $F \rightarrow SN + SV$
- $SN \rightarrow N$
- $SV \rightarrow V(SN)$

With an elementary vocabulary:

- $N \rightarrow \textit{Togeruwa, bobouma}$ (Togeruwa, forbidden food)
- $V \rightarrow \textit{i kauri}$ (he, to eat)

the following phrases with their structure can be generated:

- $F \rightarrow SN \rightarrow SV$
- $SN \rightarrow N$
- $SV \rightarrow V(SN)$
- $N \rightarrow \textit{Togeruwa}$
- $SV \rightarrow + V$
- $V \rightarrow \textit{kauri}$
- $S \rightarrow \textit{bobouma}$

- # F #
- # SN + SV #
- # N + SV #
- # N + V + SN #
- # N + V + N #
- # Togeruwa + V + N #
- # Togeruwa + i kauri + N #
- # Togeruwa + i kauri + bobouma #

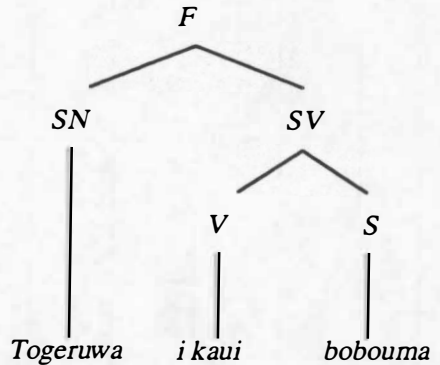
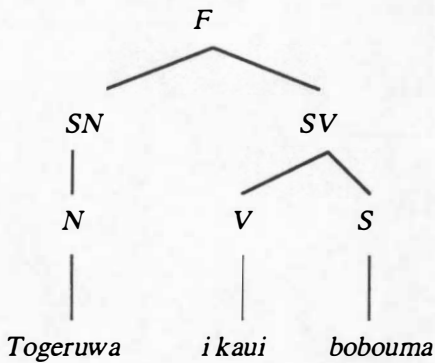


TABLE A: NOWAU – phonetic alphabet (Nolan)

CONSONANTS	Labiodental		Dental Alveolar or Post-alveolar		Retroflex		Palato-Alveolar				Labial-Palatal		Labial-Velar		Pharyngeal		Glottal	
	Bilabial																	
Nasal	m			n					ŋ	N								
Plosive	p	b		t	d				k	g	q	G						ʔ
(Median) Fricative		β		v	s			f	ʒ		x	v	χ	ʁ		ʁ		
(Median) Approximant				ʋ	ɹ			ɻ		j				ɰ	w			
Lateral Fricative																		
Lateral (Approximant)					l		ɭ											
Trill					r													
Tap or Flap					ɾ		ɽ											
Ejective																		
Implosive																		
(Median) Click																		
Lateral Click																		

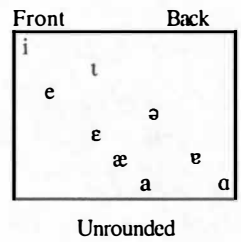
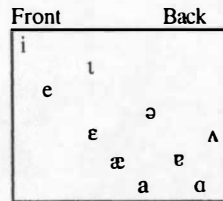
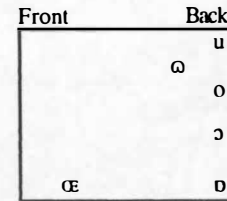
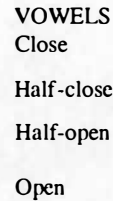


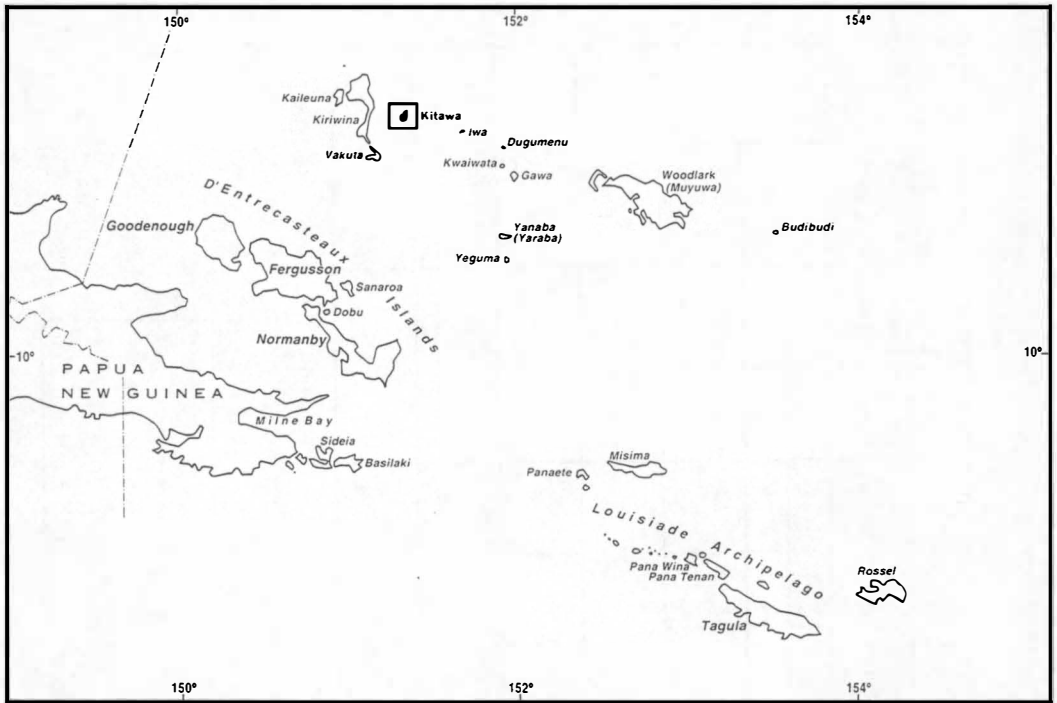
TABLE B: NOWAU – phonetic alphabet (Scoditti)

CONSONANTS	Labiodental		Dental Alveolar or Post-alveolar		Retroflex		Palato-Alveolar Palatal Velar Uvular				Labial-Palatal	Labial-Velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
	Bilabial													
Nasal	m			n		ɳ			ŋ	N				
Plosive	p	b		t	d	ʈ	ɖ			k	g	q	G	ʔ
(Median) Fricative	β		v	s					x	ɣ	χ	ʁ		ʕ
(Median) Approximant			ʋ	ɹ		ɻ		j				ɥ	w	
Lateral Fricative														
Lateral (Approximant)				l		ɭ								
Trill				r										
Tap or Flap				ɾ		ɽ								
Ejective	p'			t'						k'				
Implosive														
(Median) Click														
Lateral Click														

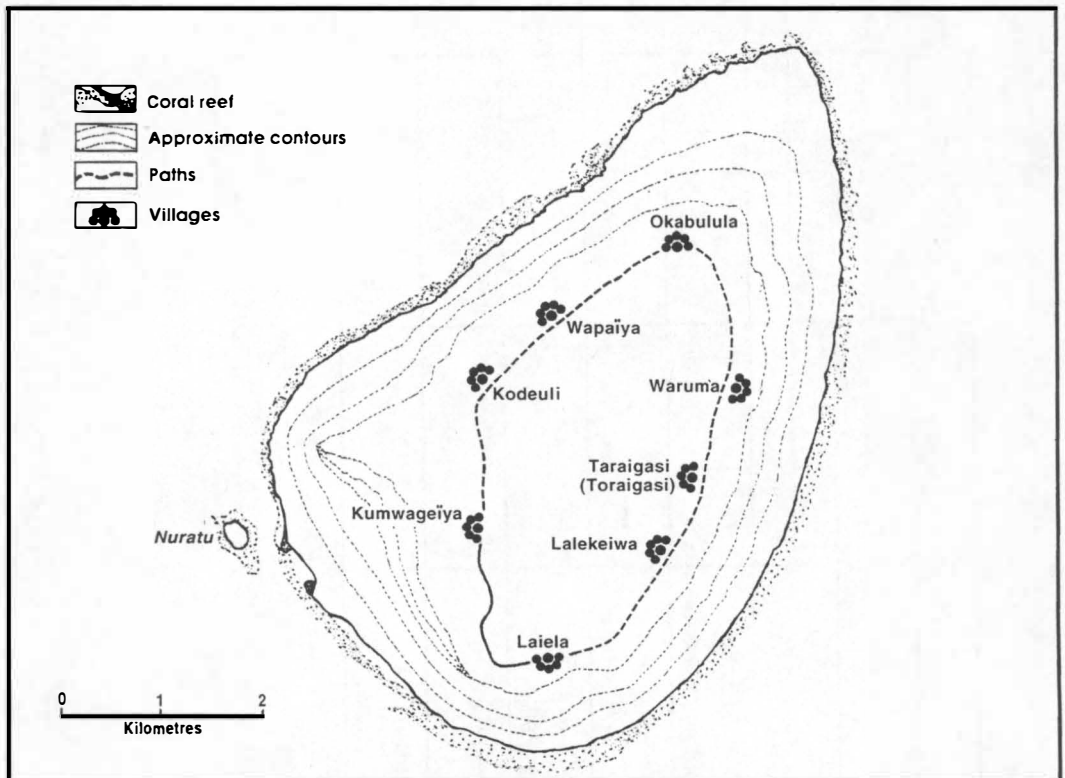


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MAP A: MILNE BAY PROVINCE



MAP B: KITAWA ISLAND

CHAPTER 1

PROLOGUE, OR WATOWA: SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF POETIC COMPOSITION IN AN ORAL CULTURE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Soon after my arrival at Kitawa¹ I heard a ritual lament, which had broken out spontaneously at the death of a two- or three-year-old child. Women and children sustained a long note, and the harsh voice of an adult male cut into this in the lower register, performing the melogenic formula of the lament. The musical unit was repetitive, with hardly any variations, and was characterised by a melodic descent: the voice of the man started at a certain height and fell, glissando, into a sob. This pattern was simply elaborated over the *pedal* of the high voices, and was performed at intervals of time which were not always regular.

Hearing the sound of the lament conveyed to me, more fully than the sight of the group itself, the despair of the women, men and children crouched around the corpse (which was wrapped in large banana leaves). I perceived their sorrow through sound, quite independently of the reason for the lament. To me the *modulatio* of their voices represented their despair. A particular type of *modulatio* definitely succeeded in conveying to me the sense of the loss of someone, or something, without hope of return. To speak metaphorically, it is as though the meaning of the lament – a situation of unhappiness or sorrow – had been made real by means of a particular use of the voice. I can represent the melodic pattern in musical notation. When I read the notes I hear again the funeral dirge – with the assistance of my aural memory – and I can reconstruct the situation, the atmosphere

¹ Kitawa is one of the strategic points of the Kula Ring, functioning as a bridge between the left-hand semicircle (where the *vaiguwa* are made) and the right-hand semicircle (where the *mwari* are made); and also as a linguistic filter between the subgroups of languages spoken to the east and to the west of Kitawa.

I first arrived in Kitawa in June 1973, following more than a month's delay in Kiriwina, due to difficulties in finding a means of transport. My arrival in Kitawa coincided with the rainy season, which brings with it an increased danger of malaria epidemics: this ritual chant refers to the death by malaria of a child in the village of Kumwageiya.

See Malinowski (1920, 1922, 1935, 1948); Powell (1957); Weiner (1976); Baldwin (1939a, 1939b); Fellows (1901); Lawton (1980); Senft (1986); Damon and Wagner, eds (1989); Scoditti (1990a).

of sorrow which caused the lament.² One possible inference from this is that a 'text' – the text of the ritual lament in its written form – or a ritual – in the sense of a network of signs with its own expressive autonomy – once restated (in the case of the funeral lament in an oral performance) may reconstruct, or contribute to the reconstruction of, the original external context to which this text refers. Furthermore the various performances of the text, in other words its repetition at different times and in different places, also determine its nature as ritual.

Rituality can thus be seen as the restatement of a text and of an original external context; and its effectiveness depends on the extent to which it respects the canonical rules encapsulated within the fabric of the text to be performed. However, a good performance is also related to the technical ability of the interpreter. Take, for example, the performance of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* in 1989 by Emma Kirby (soprano) and James Bowman (countertenor), with the Academy of Ancient Music's original instruments under the direction of Christopher Hogwood, which re-creates musically an external context similar, if not exactly identical, to that of the author of the score himself.³ Hogwood's performance of the *Stabat* can be defined as 'ritual' insofar as it restates the text of Pergolesi; it is indeed a restatement of the whole constructive process of this text, as finally synthesised in the definitive version of the piece. Rituality is thus more specifically the restatement, at a given place and time, of an original text in its most authentic performance. It is of no importance, for the purpose of defining the nature of rituality, whether this restatement involves a work of music or a bloody initiation ceremony. What is important is to establish that the effectiveness of a ritual act depends both on faithfulness to the text of the ritual and on the technique with which the text is reasserted. To speak metaphorically, Toscanini is Toscanini and Glenn Gould is Glenn Gould because both have a manner of conducting and of performing (respectively), which at Kitawa would be called 'magical': they have the ability to restate a text through knowledge of the score and possession of the technique of conducting or performing. They have the ability to read the music in a certain way, which we may call 'critical', and to represent or reconstruct ritually the music-external context to which the score refers. The original context – the initial act – can be restated to the extent to which it has been encapsulated in the text and the reader is able to interpret it.

² I refer here to the possibility of reliving the original scene of sorrow by means of a written version of the ritual lament in musical notation. I am able to relive it because I am assisted by my aural memory, which activates a 'recall' (possibly including visual elements) of the atmosphere of desperation. But, independently of this 'recall', the musical transcription of the ritual lament, or a hearing of the lament recorded on tape, may have the effect of producing a feeling of sorrow by virtue of its expressive potential, which is encapsulated in the musical language. The relationship between the transcription of the ritual lament in musical notation, or its recording on tape, and the original context of the lament's performance is one of 'lifelikeness'; it recalls the 'lifelike film' (though in the latter case the language is a visual one). See della Volpe (1973).

³ The conductor of an orchestra, for example, always attempts to 'do justice' to the text, or musical transcription, in his interpretation of a score. It is this attempt that determines whether it is possible to restore to the hearing the original value, or meaning, of the text. 'Doing justice' involves a whole process of research and analysis on both the text to be performed and the context in which that text was constructed; but the context also exists within the text itself: the text stands as an independent reflection of the context, and has its own expressive power. All the value of the 'ritual text' which has been established and defined at an early period is contained within the ritual carried out by a magician of Kitawa; this period – that of the first ritual performance – is relived only through a present-day performance, and no one claims, still less believes, that they are attending the original rite. Besides, a present-day performance is thought to do justice to the text of the original rite only insofar as the magician can vouch for the whole process of research and analysis on the ritual text – a process which is given metaphorical expression by his initiation and subsequent apprenticeship.

When, for example, my friends at Kitawa speak of the effectiveness of the ritual performed by Rosigega, the *bwagau* (magician) of the area of Lalela,⁴ in the course of the opening of the festival of Milamala (Malinowski 1922) – a ritual consisting of the concoction of several herbs and in a type of performance of ‘silent’ or ‘interior’ poetic formulae – they mean that Rosigega knows both the technique of concocting the herbs and that of interpreting the poetic formulae. In other words, the effectiveness of the ritual act depends on Rosigega’s reading of the original ritual act when the text/ritual was constructed and stated. Obviously, his reading is based on what has been handed down by the oral tradition. Nevertheless, it is still a critical reading, which probably arises from a comparison of various versions of the text/ritual (which have been memorised not only in his mind but also in those of the other possessors of silent poetic formulae, especially those in Lalela).⁵ The interpretation of the original text/ritual which Rosigega gives is no different an activity from the interpretation of a Bach suite by, for example, Glenn Gould: both Rosigega and Gould attempt to reproduce critically the ‘spirit’, or underlying structure, of the original text/ritual. And if Rosigega’s interpretation, or ritual act, is judged more effective than that of Mokuayubu (a magician of the area of Kumwageiya who has always been considered an inadequate performer), it is because Rosigega has the capacity to interpret, or ‘read’, in a critical way the traditional text which he is performing. In fact, he is able to offer a definitive reconstruction of the original text and, since this is a case of ritual, the external context of its performance by the first actors: mythical heroes, for example, or demigods. Rosigega performs and acts more accurately and effectively than Mokuayubu because he knows the technique of understanding and interpreting, which he has assimilated in years of apprenticeship to a famous master. The link between a magician/interpreter and his master is traced backwards in time right up to the relation between the original, ‘primitive’, actor and his disciple. This is the reason for the importance at Kitawa of knowing the ancestry of a *bwagau*, as also that of an engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes: it functions as a kind of cultural guarantee.⁶ But Rosigega’s performance is only an interpretation of the text/ritual. There are, as in the case of a musical score, many interpretations, each different from the others. It is said, for example, that Toscanini’s interpretation of *Un ballo in maschera* is one of the most accurate and fully

4 Rosigega Mokapiu (of the *Malasi* clan and *susupi* subclan), is the elder leader of the Taraigasi territory, which is established near the borders between the area of Lalela (to which it belongs) and the area of Okabulula. He is regarded as the most powerful magician of Kitawa, after the deaths of Krobai of Okabulula and Tolematuwa of Kodeuli. One of his most important functions is that of defending male and female dancers from the attacks of the *bwagau* and *siwasiwa* – flying witches – of Okabulula and Kumwageiya, during the dances for the festival of Milamala. For the most beautiful and technically best trained of the dancers may excite feelings of envy, with the consequence that they become the targets of punitive actions. These actions might include the administration of poison along with the betel nuts which are given to a dancer as reward for his or her excellence and/or beauty. On this occasion Rosigega uses poetic formulae to enchant the ointment *burami*, or *bulami* (obtained from coconut milk), which is spread on the bodies of the dancers with leaves.

5 It is also possible that the magicians who are in possession of the silent poetic formulae carry out a purely mental examination of the correctness of a recited text when it is sounded on the occasion of its donation to an apprentice magician. The text which is sounded (and probably repeated several times to enable the apprentice to learn it) is an ancient text, and therefore has for many generations belonged to a single clan, whose *bwagau* check its ‘correctness’ at the moment of transition from an old magician to the initiate magician. The old magician may, besides, know a number of versions of the same silent poetic formula, so that his recitation/vocalisation of the formula will be one of these versions. But it can also happen – depending on the personality of both initiator and pupil – that the latter memorises more than one version, and also (more frequently) a number of silent poetic formulae on which he may exercise his powers of analysis.

6 See Scoditti (1990a:29-66).

understood: his critical edition respects the original text. We have, then, the following series of elements:

(a) an original text (or one regarded as such in the absence of proof to the contrary) – the score of *Un ballo in maschera* – composed by Giuseppe Verdi. What we have is the final, definitive edition of a work. In other words, the mental project connected with the text is realised at a particular moment of history (in Verdi's case, the second half of the nineteenth century) and crystallised by a specific technique – that of writing – within the framework of a musical semiographic system of European origin;

(b) the first performance, and thus interpretation, of the text may be by the composer himself, or by a conductor who will have to obey the composer's instructions with regard to execution. Marks such as 'piano', 'pianissimo', 'crescendo' and 'pizzicato' specify the manner in which the performance is to be carried out. By obeying such instructions, that is respecting this manner of performance, one should produce the musical result desired by the composer of the text/score. Likewise, (*mutatis mutandis*) the network of vague associations aroused by the performance of the text/score should also be reconstituted (Sloboda 1985).⁷ Not carrying out the composer's wishes will result in the failure of both the music and the network of associations;

(c) after the first performance there will be a (theoretically infinite) series of interpretations, which will succeed, or not succeed, in achieving the musical result envisaged by the original text/score. These interpretations will be liable to influence from fashion, misunderstanding, mistaken reading, erroneous analysis, or dubious performance technique.

Essentially, the definitive version of the text by its author will be the basis for a proliferation of diverse readings which may affect the text itself, in some cases to the extent of rendering it unrecognisable. As the cultural distance from the text/score increases, whether in the temporal sense (the text/score performed 100 years after its premiere) or in the spatial sense (the text/score interpreted in a different cultural context, for example a score from the European tradition performed in New Orleans in the period of the Jazz Bands),⁸ it may all too easily be subject to distortion and manipulation.

But I believe that a more interesting point to establish is whether a text/score (handwritten or printed) is by its very nature subject to error, to being read in different ways. It is undeniable, certainly, that the moment of performance can involve risks of distortion in the interpretation of the text, related to the perceptual capacity of the performer. This does not however alter the fact that there exists an 'objective text': at the moment when the fabric of the composition is unravelled in the score and fixed in writing, or codified orally, this objectification already constitutes the interpretative key of the composition; it becomes an authoritative text, as they say.

Critical reading can, then, be seen as the restatement of a composition for the purposes of the 'magical' effect desired by the author. This magical effect can probably also be enhanced by the extent to which the participant in this effect (or its producer, as for example in the case

⁷ See Sloboda (1985), especially the chapters 'The performance of music' and 'Listening to music'.

⁸ This cultural distance also entails the rewriting of the text which is performed. The performance of certain dances for the festival of Milamala, for example, underwent a kind of visual rewriting in the second half of the 1980s: non-canonical symbols painted on the faces of the dancers, the appearance of masculine symbols on the faces of female dancers and vice versa, the use of different techniques in the interpretation of certain parts of the dance. See Finnegan, (1989), especially the chapter 'Contrasts and comparisons'.

of the initiator and the initiated) shares the formal values expressed by the text/score performed in this critical version. In this case we have a type of interpretation which is to an extent similar to the interpretation of a text performed in a purely oral context. I say 'to an extent', because the recitation of a poem, or of poetic formulae for a spell-casting, from memory alone, poses other problems too. The similarity lies in the fact that the interpretation of a musical score, though based on the decoding of a conventional semiographic system, that is of a written text, is nevertheless perceived as typically oral: it is 'heard', not 'read' (the fundamental characteristic of musical performance/interpretation is its sound).⁹ The 'reader' of a score can listen to it internally: more correctly, the reader of a score intuits its performance.

It is different for the author of the piece: as shown by the case of Beethoven, he may very well conceive the piece purely in his 'hearing mind', and then fix it, or not fix it, in the score by means of writing. Indeed, the great composers and/or performers, as Sir Ernst Gombrich has pointed out to me,¹⁰ conceive a piece first in their 'hearing mind' and are then able also to write it down: visualising a piece graphically, as notes, may help an author check whether the musical fabric of the piece is going to be pleasing and correct once performed. The composer of a string quintet, for example, may conceive, perform and hear the piece only in his/her mind, without resorting to writing or to a string quintet. The 'mental quintet' is already a musical text: but it is valid only for its author, who has the capacity to perform it in his/her mind. The fact that the composer wishes to have the quintet performed, using instruments, may be interpreted as an indication of a desire to realise the music in sound. This process may result in a musical (sounded) effect that is different from that of a mental (silent) performance.¹¹

1.2 'INTERNAL, SILENT PERFORMANCE' AND 'SOUNDED PERFORMANCE'

I have discussed both 'silent' and 'sounded' in the context of music because it seems to me that these two modes of performance can help us understand what the inhabitants of Kitawa mean when they speak of 'magic', or 'magical effect', with reference to certain poetic formulae or compositions.¹² 'Internal performance', which is silent, depends on knowledge

⁹ See Finnegan (1988:123-138), 'The relation between composition and performance: three alternative modes'.

¹⁰ My attention was drawn to this point by Sir Ernst Gombrich in a letter of 12 December 1983, which was a reply to some reflections of mine on the prohibition imposed on the engravers of prowboards for ceremonial canoes on drawing the symbols before engraving them. The 'design' must be checked mentally in its totality, before being 'transferred' onto the board; and this is similar to the practice of some musicians, who succeed in composing a score in their 'hearing mind' before writing it down in musical notation.

¹¹ A silent, internal performance, in which the hearing is entirely within the mind, gives rise to solipsism, as do the phenomena of isolation which sometimes lead to ecstasy. The ethnomusicologist Francesco De Melis has drawn my attention to the way in which Vatican II emphasised the importance of vocal – and preferably collective – prayer as opposed to mental, individual prayer, precisely for the purpose of stemming the flow of ecstatic experiences and direct contact with divinity. The same solipsistic, ecstatic value is attributed to the silent poetic formulae, the non-vocal performance of which causes the magician to be enveloped in the atmosphere of the demonic. The silent performance will, besides, follow a 'musical path', but never a 'vocal path', with the probable result that there will be a discrepancy between silent text and vocal text of the same formula (at the moment of transition from one *bwagau* to another).

¹² The term 'magic' is here used in a metaphorical sense – the sense, in other words, in which the Nowau themselves use it. There is a 'magical' effect when a poetic formula, or a piece for drums, is performed in accordance with the canonical *modulatio* (which is established on the basis of a tradition which is valid within a certain period of time) of the formula and of the genre to which this formula belongs; the

of the piece but does not involve its externalisation; it cannot therefore have as an element the emission of sound, even the whisper of a voice. The only musical resonance of the performance is at the mental level: the performer of the piece feels no need to listen 'with sound'. One might say that the pleasure s/he derives from it is hypersubjective and hypermental – an entirely secret pleasure, detached from the physical world outside: I may perform Debussy's *Syrinx* mentally without a flute.

In contrast, 'performance with sound' requires not just a listener, but also a subject who performs materially, with an instrument or with the voice. The situation is not altered if the person of the listener happens to be the same as that of the interpreter, as is the case with performances of certain poetic formulae at Kitawa. Some of these formulae (see the *Nadubeori* group of Ipaïya Mokuïyaraga) may be performed in front of a number of people (a village assembly), or in front of a single individual (such as the son of the singer). They thus have a predominantly public character. Other formulae have to be performed in total solitude and/or in specific situations, at specific times and places: the poetic formulae for a Kula ritual expedition (see *Monikiniki I*), for example. But even in cases where there is no external listener they are always sounded and therefore heard by the singer through the medium of his/her own voice. Nevertheless both 'performance with sound' and 'internal performance' have in common the secrecy of the recitation: the recitation of a poetic formula, or the narration of a mythical tale, may be heard by another person besides the narrator, as long as it still remains secret; for example, a man who narrates the foundation myth of his clan or subclan to the son of his own sister. But in this case 'narrating' and 'listening' belong to a secret context, from which other members of the narrator's or listener's clan and subclan, let alone members of other clans, must be excluded.¹³ The secret nature of the tale and of hearing it has the effect of defining two or more individuals as possessors of the mythic narration, in contradistinction to other individuals. The narration is sounded, in that there is a crystallisation of the content through voice, but at the same time secret, in that it is heard by a single individual who must not divulge it. But it is also true that the secrecy of the silent, internal performance of a poetic formula, which is characterised by the absence of vocalisation of this formula, is total: a piece that the actor hears only in his mind, without producing a sound, is *per se* secret. But it is secret only at the instant of its internal performance; the secrecy does not remain once the same piece is given to, for example, the heir/pupil of the actor.¹⁴

Let us further clarify the terms of the discussion. The poetic formulae of Kitawa can be classified as follows (though these distinctions should not be regarded as rigid; see Chapter 2, 'Development, or *Kavira*'):

performance must also respect the text which has been passed down orally from singer to singer. In this case 'magical effect' is the same as 'correct performance'.

¹³ 'Narrating' and 'listening' take place in the context of the period of apprenticeship of a future head of the village, when he must memorise the tale of the foundation myth. Once the tale has been memorised it must be kept secret: the new owner must not narrate it – at least not publicly – until he exercises his powers as leader. For it is the 'narrating' that seals the power of the head of the village. However, the secrecy of the possession of the tale is only partial, because the close proximity – including physical proximity – of the other members of the same clan or subclan, of both narrator and apprentice, gives rise to 'listening situations' which may even be involuntary, as might be the case during a memorisation practice.

¹⁴ In this case the old magician is obliged to sound the poetic formula so as to enable it to be heard, and then memorised, by the heir/pupil. The vocalisation of the silent *megwa* in itself violates its secret nature, and allows the possibility of its being heard by outsiders too.

(a) secret texts, for silent, internal performance (poetic formulae which are intoned only by the magicians);

(b) texts for performance with sound (such as the Milamala dance-songs, songs performed in memory of the dead and love- songs);

(c) texts for performance with sound which are nevertheless secret (such as the mythic foundation-accounts of a clan or subclan, songs for ritual exchange and short erotic poems).

The distinction between texts for performance with sound and texts for silent, internal performance is clearly based on a difference in performance mode, although the distinction is less secure as far as their transmission is concerned. For it is undeniable that even poetic formulae which are intoned without recourse to sound – in a kind of purely mental performance – are also communicated by one individual to another. A silent poetic formula, for example, such as *Kwarakwara*, sung by Rosigega Mokapiu of Lalela, has been passed down from magician to magician; at the moment of transmission the silent, internal performance necessarily becomes a 'performance with sound'. In order to memorise it, the recipient of the formula must be allowed to hear a series of sounds. At this moment, then, the formula loses its essentially secret character.

If there is always a historical moment of composition for a poetic formula (by composition I mean a project in which elements are arranged into a harmonic structure which functions musically even in the absence of sounding), there must also be a moment of recitation of the formula if it is to be memorised and preserved within a group. So the vocalisation of a poetic formula intended for silent, internal performance is a function of the desire to communicate and memorise it after the death of its author or of its final owner; even if this in no way adds to its existence as a finished text.¹⁵ But we should bear in mind that when a formula intended for internal performance is given vocal expression – the moment when it is handed from one owner to another – the singer who is passing it on may find that he hears different sounds from those which he has for decades imagined, using the mind alone. A gap may appear between 'mental sound' (silent, internal performance) and 'real sound' (performance with sound). If one mentally intones the word 'sea', for example, it does not follow that this internal music corresponds to the series of sounds which the singer imagines in his mind, especially when 'sea' is spoken in a sounded context (a public performance, or that of a long poem) which may affect the interrelationship of sounds in the text within which the word is inserted.¹⁶ The distinction here is between two vocal representations of the word 'sea', and has nothing to do with the relation between the term's concept/signified and sound/signifier: it seems that the real sound refers to the same image/concept as is represented by the silent, internal sound. The singer – although I believe that this could also be the case with the actual author of the silent poetic formula – when performing and hearing the sound 'sea' is referring to a word 'sea', which may however sound different in the silent, internal

¹⁵ The vocalisation of a silent *megwa* – or of any other Nowau poetic formula – also reveals its value as a means of transmission and preservation over time, in the absence of any other technique of memorisation.

¹⁶ The silent poetic formula accentuates, or rather reveals with the utmost clarity, a problem which arises with any Nowau poetic formula – namely that the transition from 'internal', mental text to vocalisation may lead to two kinds of musicality in the poetic formula. There may be an interior musicality, of an ethereal kind totally unconnected with the realm of actual sounds; and an external musicality, which is more material and is influenced by actual sounds. At the moment of performance, it may be that the singer is influenced, or disturbed, by a whole range of noises or sounds which interfere with the vocalisation of the poetic formula in such a way as to cause the singer himself to correct the musical form of the text performed. See Zumthor (1987).

performance. The problem is of particular importance for the pupil of the magician, who might interpret the meaning of 'sea', for example, as irrelevant to the sound he has heard and memorised. The same sound, or an allophone of it, might also represent a different mental image, a different word, precisely because the sound is identical or similar.

On a more general level, and independently of silent poetic formulae, in a direct transcription from the oral source one may perceive sounds different from those desired, or imagined, by the author of the formula. This point is valid even in the case of the formula's recitation by the author himself, though here there will clearly be a smaller gap between desired and performed sound. Furthermore we should bear in mind that the poetic formula is recited by the voice, whether or not accompanied by one or more musical instruments, as in the case of the *wosi i tota* (literally, 'song/s performed standing up', see Chapter 2, 'Development, or *Kavira*'), the aim of which is precisely the realisation of effects in sound. These effects are established, and defined, as more important than the signifieds/concepts associated with them. Both composer and performer transform the semantic significance (the content) of the text of the poetic formula into a musical significance. This applies even if the formula is performed only in the mind of the singer without being sounded. In this last case, the semantic image (the concept) realised by the internal sound is probably stronger, but not as strong as that of, for example, a mythic narration.¹⁷ The fact remains that, even with silent poetic formulae, the purpose of the silent, internal performance, whether by the author or by the interpreter, is the realisation of a musical effect. This should not be taken to mean that there is never any correspondence between 'internal sound image' (image of the internal performance) and 'external sound image' (image of the sound performance). Such correspondence is the aim both of the author of the poetic formula and of its interpreter. It is a correspondence which is normally given metaphorical expression by the term 'magic', or by the phrase 'magical effect': when the correspondence is not achieved, the performance fails in its magical effect. So magical effect can be seen as correspondence between a musical project and the realisation of this musical project in sounds performed by the voice and/or musical instruments. Failure to achieve this magical effect will thus be the result of non-correspondence. To make a sound, or complex of sounds, correspond to the musical project of a poetic formula is the aim of both its author and its performer/interpreter. Immediate, spontaneous correspondence is characteristic only of mythic heroes and of gods, who are seen as metaphors for perfection of the act of construction, or for the mechanism of construction, of any type of human expression. The realisation, on the other hand, by the poet, descendant of the hero, of the harmonic association between projected image and realised image, is never immediate; rather it is the result of continual attempts which sometimes fail to achieve the desired result. From this arises the unexpected discovery of a mismatch between mental image and realisation in sound.

In line of descent from the hero, the constructor of poetic images, before realising his mental project in concrete form, goes through a series of trials – making mistakes, trying again; in an oral society, however, these attempts are not recorded or memorised.¹⁸ The

¹⁷ Silent, internal performance probably accentuates the 'substance of expression' of the image that is sung without being sounded: we have here a metaphorical equivalent of the 'content' or 'meaning' of a word. Internal performance leaves the singer alone with himself, and with his mind; the musical form of the sung image will necessarily sound with a quite special, and different, kind of *modulatio*, which will emphasise the near a conceptuality of this musical form.

¹⁸ Since the composition of a poetic formula is a completely oral process, it leaves no 'written' trace of the error, the rethinking and the correction – unless one has the opportunity of listening to a poet as he

realisation of the mental project, of the image in the mind, may be achieved with the help of, for example, a graphic prop – the case of architectural design – or with the help of vocalisation of a mental sound (which is heard internally) by the use of the voice, as with the composition of a poetic formula within an oral culture. The challenge of making the two images correspond is also there for the performer of a poetic formula which has already been composed (and therefore already exists from the point of view of the correspondence). The performer must struggle to make his memory of the sound heard during his apprenticeship as a singer, and especially of the poetic formula he is performing, correspond to the sound which he has to realise vocally. The beauty, the magic, of the poetic formula is restated by this correspondence. On the basis of a number of conversations with Ipaiya Mokuïyaraga, the composer and singer of Lalela, all of whose poetic formulae are published in this volume, I drew the conclusion that the correspondence between silent, internal sound and its external realisation is achieved by vocal exercise. For example, a poetic formula must be created complete in the mind, from the musical point of view; the composer ‘sees’ the poetic formula as if it were written in notes, and he hears it in its entirety. Its composition with words, however – the ‘verbalisation’ of the musical text – will not be similarly complete (see Chapter 2). For the words which must correspond to the poetic formula’s musical text – already composed – will only with difficulty be able to represent this text completely: the composer does not succeed in formalising the verbal text of an entire formula *ex tempore*, especially if this formula is a musically complex one. He will probably only realise a part of the musical text with the words – perhaps one or two lines; and only when he is sure of their delivery in sound (in relation to the whole musical framework of the formula) will he move on to the verbalisation of subsequent lines.¹⁹ A recapitulation is set out below.

(a) A Nowau poetic formula, to whatever genre it belongs, is musically significant, independent of its vocalisation.

(b) The composition of a formula depends on control of the whole musical fabric which constitutes its framework, and over which will be woven the lines which will form the verbal text. This kind of weaving involves a process of trial and error conditioned by the musical fabric of the genre to which the formula belongs, as well as by the musicality of each individual word which is chosen, or constructed, in order to realise the ‘verbal’ text of this formula.

(c) In contrast with a visual project, that of the poetic formula (within an oral culture) involves control of the musical fabric – the matching of imagined sound and realised sound – not by means of its graphic visualisation, but only by means of a genuine performance (internal, silent or sounded). The composer and, subsequently, the performer ‘listen’, and on their capacity to listen (their musical capacity) will depend the verdict regarding the correctness of the text composed and/or performed.

composes, and of recording (e.g. on tape) all the transitions from one verse to another, and from one attempted *modulatio* to another.

¹⁹ The process of ‘verbalisation’ consists in a continual adjustment of a word, or group of words, to make them correspond to a musical design; words will thus be manipulated, and unravelled into their phonemic components, so that these become the ‘sound’ of the word itself. But this sound must be held in the mind simultaneously with the sound of the other ‘words’ which make up a line and the other lines of the same formula. It is to be expected that some words will involve a greater degree of unravelling on the part of the poet, either because he fails to make them correspond to the musical design or because the ‘content’ of the word is of such a nature as not to allow this unravelling.

When, for example, Ipäiya of Lalela sang *Dorai Sobala I*, his performance – which in this case was also the interpretation by the author of the formula performed – was, in his opinion, based on his own listening, in complete correspondence with the composed musical text. But if line 1 of the *Watowa* (Prologue) had been sung within the *Kavira* (Development) at, say, line 3, thus violating the established relations between lines, the mistake – or what might be defined as a mistake – would have become clear in the sounding of the poetic formula as an actualised performance. The mistake, then, is perceived as such by the author himself when presented, as it were, with a *fait accompli*; and in this specific case it is characterised as a lack of correspondence between the constructed/intended musicality of the formula and the realisation of this musicality in sound. Someone who merely performs/interprets, in addition to achieving the correspondence between the vocalisation of the poetic formula and the fabric of sounds constructed by its author, must also restate the ‘verbal text’ associated with this fabric.

The mistake which may occur during the composition of a poetic formula is different in type from that which arises in, for example, an architectural design, which undergoes a whole range of graphic tests of the correctness of the designer’s aesthetic and constructive ideas before its execution in reality (which is itself still a design, but nevertheless presents all the relations between its various constitutive elements in a well-defined form, so that, for example, the camera-ready of a skyscraper is already the constructed skyscraper). The tests lead to a better definition of these ideas, without the external appearance of mistakes in the final execution (the equivalent of the performance of a poetic formula). The tests, and comments, are in this case an effect of the designer’s ideas, which are tried out with graphic/visual assistance. It is as though the architect’s mind uses this test – the plan – to give material form to the constructive process within.²⁰ For even though a ‘comment’ is still an internal activity, nevertheless, precisely because of this capacity to visualise, it helps to perfect the final image, which will then be seen in its completeness. The architect’s sketch fulfils the same function as that of the provisional performance in music – where the composer makes use of the instrument to try out a harmonic sequence, and, if the passage works, writes it into the score.

1.3 ‘RHETORICAL FIGURES’ AND ‘MUSICAL FIGURES’

With the performance/interpretation of an oral poetic formula, the process which derives from visualisation of an attempt, from the ‘seeing’ of the mistake, does not exist. If there is a mistake, it remains a mistake once the poetic formula is performed, and is so memorised, especially in the various phases of transmission from one singer to another.

Control over the accuracy or otherwise of a poetic formula’s musicality can be effectively exercised only by the author of the formula, although admittedly the audience too – the

²⁰ An architect’s sketches, or scribbled notes, provide perhaps one of the best examples from the point of view of assessing the relation between mental image of a project (including cases where this is in an intuitive state) and final realisation of this image. A sketch is a visual record of an intuition, which is to be regarded as a rapid process of transition within a design seen in an indistinct form, and which will gain definition and perfection in the course of time. The sketch is like a photograph of an idea at the formative stage, of a concept in need of analysis. In the absence of this sketch – this drawing hastily jotted down on paper – the function of memorising the idea, concept or intuition may be entrusted to a scale model: the small prowboards for ceremonial canoes which an apprentice engraves, or the wooden models of Gothic cathedrals. See Scoditti (1990a:46-52); Bucher (1968); Beaujouan (1975); Frankl (1945); Shelby (1972).

inhabitants of the author's village, for example – may contribute to further correction. In this last case, the control may be unconscious in character, in the sense that the phonetic laws of a language are also inherent in every speaker of the same language as the author, so that a cacophonous sound, say, is not accepted as such and is automatically rejected. But in order to be rejected it must first be produced: the cacophonous word must be sung, spoken or murmured.²¹

But what if the definition of a poetic formula consisted precisely in the extent to which it violated vocal harmony or a traditional rule of syntax or phonetics? Why could a phenomenon similar to that of the dissolution of tonality in Western music not also occur within Nowau poetics? Sounds are in play in both cases, after all, and the performance of a poetic formula is an expression of musicality. Poetic effect – which is metaphorically referred to by the inhabitants of Kitawa as 'magical effect' – might also come about through the violation of certain laws which regulate the phonetics of everyday Nowau conversation, or through the violation of the phonetic laws of traditional poetry. The possibility of phonetic violation seems to me the most interesting for the assessment of the musicality of a Nowau poetic formula, especially if the formula reappears in the 'silent' genre (when it is composed and performed to strike at someone, as with *Kwarakwara* in the interpretation of Rosigega of Taraigasi): in this case a distortion of canonical phonetics is considered necessary for the achievement of the 'magical effect'.

It should in fact be regarded as one of the essential features, although not the only one. Obviously it is the particular kind of phonetic – and thus musical – distortion which characterises *Kwarakwara*, not the phonetic distortion in itself, which, I would argue, belongs to every poetic formula. Indeed, the quality of a poetic composition frequently has this strategy as its basis: consider the exquisite weaving of sounds by Ipaïya (for example *Nadubeori VIII*).

This kind of phonetic violation produces 'sound figures' which have a value and function similar to those of figures of rhetorical discourse, such as metaphor and metonymy (Tambiah 1968; Henry 1971; Levin 1977; Shibles 1971). And, just as rhetorical figures are ways of suggesting an image which is not properly that represented by the sentence, word or sign which is read, heard or seen – thus setting in motion a whole range of associations with other objects which are by no means obvious from the word, sentence or sign – so the 'musical figures' of a text constructed in an oral culture may suggest phonetic associations which are not normally attributed to the everyday sounds, and thus give rise to musical sensations or perceptions which are unusual or even entirely new. A 'metaphorised' phoneme must not, therefore, be interpreted within the phonetic framework of the everyday language (Nowau, in this case), but rather placed in a phonetic context which consists of 'musical figures'. At the semantic level, a metaphorised word is not to be interpreted in its literal meaning (given by the everyday lexicon); at the phonemic level, similarly, the same word is not to be articulated in the normal, everyday manner. For example, the consonant represented orthographically by the symbol 'r' may be interpreted, and so sounded, at the phonemic level, depending on the context in which it occurs, according to one of the following symbols of the IPA chart:

²¹ Cacophony in a Nowau sound is abhorred even in everyday language, and has led to the prominence of measures adopted to avoid it, such as the 'softening vowels'. Cacophony can be noticed only when a word – and the lines in which it appears – are sounded. Without vocalisation, the hearer can obviously not be aware of it; the composer of a poetic formula, however, must notice it during the construction of its musical form.

flap (dental and alveolar) ɾ, (retroflex) ɽ

fricative (dental and alveolar) ɹ

uvular rolled ʀ

uvular fricative ʁ

But if the same syllable appears in a word used in a metaphorical context (as frequently in Nowau poetic formulae), it will not be sounded, and therefore represented, by or according to one of these IPA symbols. It is never only a flapped sound, nor a uvular fricative, but belongs to a new, abnormal vocalisation which may be nearer to, say, the uvular fricative than to the flapped, but which cannot be represented by the phonetic transcription of either. A sign of the difficulty of interpreting – and at the same time of translating – the metaphorical value (the ‘musical figure’) of ‘r’, or of any other phoneme, through phonetic transcription, is the fact that phoneticians themselves have recourse to supplementary symbols alongside the basic ones; consider, for example, the use of /~/ to designate the nasalisation of a vowel, or again, the use of linking-marks, or marks for affricative consonants – as if to indicate their almost complete unrepresentability by standard phonetic transcription. This example is not unlike that of the expedients designed by composers, who include other marks than those on the five-line stave, to indicate how the note is to be performed. On a more specifically verbal level, we have such indications as ‘pianissimo’ or ‘crescendo’, and on a graphic level the range of diacritical marks used in ethnomusical transcription to indicate sounds which are ambiguous with respect to the well-tempered system, such as notes which go up or down by a quarter of a tone. All these are tactics for drawing attention to the fact that the literal (in this case phonemic) interpretation of a given sound is not in itself exhaustive, that it fails to give a complete representation, and that this sound is used to refer to something which goes beyond the symbol which represents it. This point is all the more valid when the syllable to be interpreted by a phoneme (which must be recited or sung before being transcribed by the ethnologist with an IPA symbol) occurs in a morphemic context which, at the semantic level, is already used as a ‘figure’ of rhetoric. A free form such as ‘self’, for example, if it is intended metaphorically by the author of a poetic formula (in the broadest metaphorical context, that provided by the formula as a whole) cannot be interpreted simply as a reflexive form, referring to the author of the poetic formula, or to the actual singer performing it. This is so even when it occurs in a bound form such as ‘himself’ which makes it more specific: the author does not intend it as simply the third person singular of the reflexive pronoun, but imbues it with a broader, more profound metaphorical meaning which stands outside the banal, literal interpretation of ‘himself’, a metaphorical meaning which comes about as a result of the total poetic context within which the pronoun is placed. The author may, for example, refer to the mythic hero Monikiniki metaphorically as ‘himself’, but at the same time also to himself and to the singer, who are seen as distinct/unified parts of the hero. Consider the word *so* (always declined with a possessive pronoun: *so’gu*, *so’ra*), which is given a heavy metaphorical weight. It refers both to the composer/singer (or singer/performer) and to one of his companions in the Kula Ring; but this companion is also his ‘double’: it is the same composer/singer or singer/performer who posits the ‘other’ as ‘part’ of himself, but who must be reabsorbed into this ‘self’. The term is highly ambiguous and metaphorical, which means that the free form ‘self’, when it has a metaphorical semantic intention, will have to be interpreted as a metaphorical analogue in the phonemic representation (which is then translated into the kind of recitation by the singer of the poetic formula into which the form ‘self’ is inserted): it cannot be sung and subsequently transcribed (in this case by the ethnologist) as [self], or, for the bound form ‘himself’, as

[him'self], but must be performed, and transcribed, with a phonetic distortion which takes account of its metaphorical force: we might have a transcription, clearly heterodox in terms of IPA norms, such as, say [ʃəɾ!f], in the first case, and [hɪm'sɛlf] in the second; or we might use still other symbols. In this way the person composing, the person singing and, later, the person listening will be able to infer from the sound (and therefore also from the phonetic transcription) the metaphorical force of 'himself'. Basically, the metaphorisation of a morpheme (whether free form or bound form) will involve the metaphorisation of the corresponding phoneme.²²

I would argue that this association of 'rhetorical figure' with 'musical figure' (the fact that the metaphorisation of a morpheme is answered by the metaphorisation of the corresponding phoneme) appears as a distinctive feature of the oral poetic formula. It is so characteristic that it necessitates a distinction between 'rhetorical figure' used in an everyday text and 'rhetorical figure' used in a poetic text. For, in the context of an everyday discussion, the use of a metaphor is not announced at the level of the phoneme; a metaphorical intention is deduced, rather, from the verbal context – written or spoken – by which the metaphor is suggested. If I say "A horse with golden wings scarcely grazed the crystalline foam of the periwinkle waves", I do not have to establish a metaphorical association between the individual words of the sentence and the corresponding sounds which represent them at the phonemic level. At the phonemic-musical level I can perfectly well 'read', or 'say', the sentence articulating the sounds of the words according to their standard pronunciation, because the metaphorical force will come about simply by virtue of the logical-semantic conflict, for example that between 'horse' and 'wings', if this latter word is interpreted as an attribute of the former. No horse within our everyday experience is endowed with wings, and so a 'winged horse' is a mythic, or fantastic, figure. It may essentially be a metaphorical image employed to refer, for example, to an unquiet soul – one which 'paws the ground' and 'flies toward heaven'. But from the phonemic point of view, the metaphorical intent of "a horse with golden wings" is not immediately announced: each word of the sentence is spoken and heard in the sounds of the everyday musical language, which can then be transcribed by the canonical phonetic symbols of the IPA chart. The word 'horse' is represented by a sequence of events which 'in themselves' do not indicate its metaphorical force: the metaphorical force in the specific case is independent of the manner in which the various morphemes of the sentence are articulated and represented by their respective phonemes. This force is almost entirely semantic in character, in that it depends on the conflict between the meanings usually associated with the words of the read or spoken sentence. I say almost entirely, because sometimes the intonation with which the sentence is articulated may act as an indicator of the metaphorical value attributed to the sentence itself. But this last example is a case of 'oral literature', of performance; here the sound begins to predominate.

²² Words are chosen by the composer not just for their suitability for being unravelled in a musical way, but also because they encapsulate a 'strong' metaphorical value, and because of their semantic ambiguity or polysemy. This ambiguity and this polysemy give the composer freedom to play with a large number of expressive combinations, and leave the hearer equally free – though within the area determined by the composer and interpreted by a singer – to follow the traces of these combinations. The 'word' – this term is placed in quotation marks because of the impossibility, in the case of Nowau oral poetry, of using it in anything other than a very vague and approximate sense, one which is close to that of a note of music taken as the graphic symbol of a sound – must therefore be represented by a series of phonemes which give a 'vocal' rendering of this metaphorical value. Especially when the performance of a poetic formula is purely oral; the hearer must be in a position to realise the poetically ambiguous, allusive, polysemic – and thus metaphorical – sense of the poetic formula.

In oral poetry, however, such as that of Nowau poetic formulae, the phoneme indicates the metaphorical force of the morpheme (or more correctly, perhaps, the group of morphemes) which corresponds to it. The abnormality of the phoneme's vocal articulation – which cannot always be represented by the canonical phonetic symbols that regularly represent it in its normal context – determines in advance the metaphorical force to be attached to this morpheme, not the other way around. I would argue that the metaphoricality is entirely contained in the phoneme, or in the sequence of sounds, with which a poetic formula is sung, to the extent where the meaning of the morpheme associated with the phoneme frequently does not exist in everyday language, or else is entirely new, unclassified or even semantically devoid of sense. The metaphorical force does not depend either on the morpheme with which it is associated or on the semantic context in which it is placed, but only on the manner in which the various phonemes which represent the morphemic context are articulated, as for example in the case of the magical effect of the silent poetic formula *Kwarakwara*, sung by Rosigega Mokapiu for a 'negative' enchantment.

To construct a phoneme, then, or series of phonemes, which, within a poetic fabric under construction (that is, in relation to all the other phonemes of the fabric as a whole), is in itself to embody in advance a metaphorical sense, it is necessary not only to know all its possible vocal articulations (on the basis, that is, of the sounds which usually embody it) but also to attach to it other formalisations. In fact, the phonemic articulation of a syllable (the degree of its extension or contraction) may be posited as hypothetically infinite; by articulating the vowel 'a', for example, outside the range of phonematisations of it represented by symbols of the IPA chart, I can obtain others which have never before been posited.²³ I can construct new phonetic entities, for example by placing the phoneme to be 'extended' alongside phonematisations of other phonemes in such a way as to create a new, abnormal result; and it is precisely these kinds of phonemic variation that the composers, and subsequently the singers, of Kitawa achieve the magical result of a poetic formula. To extend the phonetic form of 'a', for example, beyond its symbolic representations on the IPA chart – and beyond the possible phonemic representations given by the usual vocalisations of everyday Nowau speech – is equivalent to signalling a metaphorisation, which, at the level of phonetic transcription, will necessarily have to be represented by new symbols. The author of a poetic formula who attempts, for example, to extend the phonetic form of 'a' beyond the range of long 'a' vowels sanctioned by the everyday phonetics of the Nowau, will also have to represent it to himself – still at the phonemic level – alongside other syllables, which go to make up the line, in such a way as to create a distortion, not just of the sound as a whole, which is made up of the sequence of individual sounds constituting the fabric of the line in which the syllable is inserted, but also of the formula as a whole, thus creating from it a phonemic metaphoricality. In this sense, both singer and hearer of the poetic formula are struck equally by the 'meaning' of the syllable/word which is sung and by the manner (that is, the sound-metaphoricality) in which it is performed. The net result will be the effective realisation of the composition's musical and metaphoric potential.

The highest level of metaphoricality (the 'magical effect') of a poetic formula is achieved when its construction – and then its performance – begin with a metaphorical sound which

²³ It is not necessarily the case that the IPA chart gives a total representation of all the possible articulations of a sound, or that it covers exhaustively all the possible sounds, of a language which has already been classified or which remains to be classified. Such a claim would contradict the very methodological postulates which led to the drafting of the chart. See International Phonetic Association (1977); Crystal (1980).

introduces the following sequence of sounds in an order which allows it to end with another metaphorical sound, which has in some sense been prefigured by the first one. The repetition of the line which begins a poetic formula at the end of the same formula is a way of underlining and achieving this interdependence between initial and final sounds. An example is provided by *Kwarakwara*, where we have at the beginning the following two lines:

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Kwarakwara kwaivau</i> | Scrape the black pot |
| <i>kau buwa navirera</i> | and spit out the intoxicating red fruit, witch! |

These are then brought back at the close of the same formula, connecting all its constituent lines at the metaphorical level. But I would argue that it is primarily the operation of phonetic postponement from one line to another that leads to the metaphoricality, first of the musicality of the formula, and secondly of its semantic significance.

In many poetic formulae, the transition from the *Watowa* (Prologue) to the *Kavira* (Development) is achieved by a metaphorisation of the sounds which represent the individual words. Let us take the example of the first poetic formula, *Dorai I*, by Ipaïya of Lalela, in which the *Watowa* is almost the same as the *Kavira*; in fact, in the first line of the latter we have *wakasa* – following *Re vagumi'gu tauiya*, which has already been used as the first line of the Prologue – and *i gwana*, which is substituted for *unata* in the corresponding and identical last line of the Prologue. The hearer is carried away by the perfect circularity of the musical structure constructed on the pentatonic scale. We are led on directly from the *Watowa* into the *Kavira* by virtue of the subtle beauty of the two variants placed in the first and third lines of the *Kavira*. But it is Ipaïya's voice which indicates the different metaphorical force of the Development with respect to the Prologue: in fact, the image of the plurality of sounds emitted by the sounding shell, to which Ipaïya refers in the first line of the Development, is not suggested to the hearer by a plural form but only by a particular modulation of the voice. So a particular way of using the voice, intended and constructed by Ipaïya, signals the metaphorical force of the verb *wakasa*, which in itself means 'to place oneself consecutively so as to form an orderly line', or 'to line up'. The metaphorisation of a phoneme is made concrete through its distortion in sound; this requires an adequate semiographic system for the transcriber to be able to express the metaphorisation.²⁴ It is the same with the orthographic transcription which involves the adoption of symbols in an *ad hoc* manner, such as the two diacritical marks over a vowel which metaphorically represents a 'softening' in the vocalisation of the word in which this vowel occurs (e.g. *tauiya*, the sounding shell; here it allows the reader to realise the 'softening' of the singer's voice as a metaphor of the sonority of the shell). This is the reason that I have emphasised the way in which, in oral recitation, in particular that of Nowau poetic formulae, the *modulatio* of the voice has precedence over the literal meaning of the sung word, to the extent of unravelling the latter in pure sound. Of course, the distortion of the sound of a syllable always takes place within a more or less fixed range, which is given by the oral linguistic tradition of the speakers. Each speaker knows that every syllable in the Nowau phonetic system may be articulated by extension and contraction up to a certain point. S/he also grasps intuitively the possibility of a series of combinations of sounds, when a syllable occurs in a given phonemic context, although this does not imply that s/he is able to produce such combinations: their construction is, rather, a function specific to the author of poetic

²⁴ New devices may also be introduced, as long as the reason is explained. An example of this is the 'softening vowel' which I introduced in the transcription of many Nowau words to indicate their 'soft' vocalisation on the part of the singer (e.g. in *tauiya*, where the softening vowel is represented by *-i-*).

formulae. But every Nowau speaker who hears a poetic formula is able to perceive its musical combinations, and also all the metaphorical values of sounds which the Nowau phonetic – and musical – system allows, and which are to be analysed in relation to the various models suggested within this system. A model in the Nowau phonetic system might, for example, be constructed by contamination with phonemes (and so with morphemes) taken from other languages within the same group as Nowau. Examples are the continual borrowings, both phonemic and lexical, from Boyowa (which is spoken in the Trobriand islands), from Dobu (which is spoken in the homonymous island to the west of Kitawa) and from other languages of Milne Bay, especially those within the Kula Ring.²⁵ When, for example, either the sound or the lexemes of a Nowau poetic formula are constructed with Boyowa phonemes and morphemes, the poetic fabric (the poetic ‘text’) will be to a high degree metaphorical and will give rise to unusual perceptions and sensations. If an author resorts to this type of fabric, it indicates that he is more interested in the musicality than in the semantic values – the meaning – of the formula. Alternatively, an author may contaminate the Nowau phonetic system with phonemes from Muyuwa (spoken on Woodlark Island, east of Kitawa), or with phonemes from English, or Pidgin, extracting from them a kind of poetry whose musical effectiveness derives precisely from this type of phonemic ‘contamination’. Contamination at the semantic level provides an example of a different kind. Let us consider the case of *Waderi*,²⁶ a poetic formula which was composed on the first occasion when a number of men from Kitawa were dragged off to prison by the Australians for refusing to work in the cocoa plantations along the south-west coast of Papua New Guinea. In this formula, the lexeme *kisini* has been constructed on the basis of English ‘kitchen’ – a reference to the fact that the prisoner is forced to work in a kitchen. The musical fabric has overtaken the semantic fabric, to the extent that the meaning encapsulated in the correct English form has been changed completely. The new lexeme brings to the mind of the Nowau, whether singer or hearer, not ‘kitchen’ but ‘prison’: the feeling of suffocation and the loss of personal liberty.

A musical and metaphorical innovation may also be constructed by means of a variation in the distribution of words of a line within a stanza, so that the new combination may produce new, unexpected sounds, and take the hearer ‘by surprise’: s/he hears a different musical sequence in place of that which s/he has envisaged. Let us take as an example the variations introduced by Gidou in *Mwasila Monikiniki II*, compared with *Mwasila Monikiniki III*. When he sang them he behaved as if he were performing two different texts. These variations give one the impression of a single poetic formula (from line 1 to line 8, in fact, Gidou introduces no variation), which over the years has been interpreted by various singers, who have probably produced unpublished combinations of the various lines, and of the words within a single line. Between line 9 and line 14, for example, there are variations in poetic combination; while lines 15 and 16 also occur in *Mwasila Monikiniki II*, as lines 11 and 12. In this last case, Gidou pronounces certain sounds in Nowau, while in *Mwasila Monikiniki III* he pronounces them in Boyowa: *gala butu’gu* as opposed to *gera butu’gu*. The variations introduced in *Mwasila Monikiniki III* between lines 9 and 14 do not seem to

²⁵ Such borrowings are made possible by the fact that the languages of the Kula Ring belong to the same subgroup of Austronesian. It is thus possible for the speaker of one of the languages of this subgroup (and to a greater degree the speaker of more than one) to grasp the metaphorical allusions which are encapsulated in a poetic formula. See Capell (1971); Dahl (1977); Dyen (1971); Lithgow and Staalsen (1965); Lithgow (1976) and Senft (1986).

²⁶ The poetic formula *Waderi* has not been included in my collection because it belongs to the *wosi i tota* group (literally, ‘song/s to be performed standing up’), which requires accompaniment by drums.

reflect a different text – although this possibility cannot be excluded – but rather the same text manipulated and interpreted in different ways by singer-performers over the years. In this case one may say, metaphorically, that the singer-performer is the author of the oral poetic formula.²⁷ With this kind of interpretation, the listener will probably have the impression of hearing a new text, especially since the variation which is introduced affects primarily the musical fabric of the text performed. It seems to me clear that this musical variation will be perceived and registered by the listener in virtue of his/her cultural possession of the mechanism for locating it within the Nowau phonetic system, even though s/he may be unable to attribute to it a meaning at the lexical level. But it is not necessarily true that this sound must – or even can – have a corresponding meaning or concept.

The problem is more complex and more radical for anyone – not a member of the Nowau culture, this time – wishing to transcribe the poetic formula ‘scientifically’; s/he will have to be able to indicate a sound’s ambiguity, not just with respect to the symbolic system of the IPA chart, but also – first and foremost – with respect to the Nowau phonetic system. The difficulty is most extreme when the sound of a vowel – ‘o’, for example – is pronounced by the singer in such a way that it could be represented by the IPA chart equally well as [ø] and as [ɔ] or [œ].

This phonemic ambiguity may correspond to a morphemic uncertainty which, as far as translation is concerned, appears as a conceptual nonsense. Such a nonsense may be a sign that the sound has its own expressive validity, which characterises not only the construction but also the performance of a poetic formula. In an oral culture, where the written text or musical score does not exist, the role of the singer-performer becomes fundamental, since he must act not just as interpreter but also as memoriser. This double function is the cause of a certain confusion on the part of the listeners. The performance/interpretation of a poetic formula may modify the original formulation of a musical text – that which has been memorised, for example, by the village elders who have listened to it for decades with a particular *modulatio* of the voice.

1.4 COMPOSER AND SINGER OF A NOWAU POETIC FORMULA

When Ipaïya composes the first lines of the *Watowa* of *Dorai II*:

1. *Dobi yaruwa dabe'gu*
yobwekasema unata

the future vocalisation of the two lines must correspond to the internal musical image which Ipaïya has made of them. During the composition-trial itself (which involves an internal performance) he must already be aware of the flow of sound not only of these two lines, but also of the entire musical fabric of the poetic formula. The first two lines must be set in relation to the two which follow:

²⁷ This is the case of a singer who has refined to the highest degree his interpretive ability, and who applies it, in the first place, to the musical fabric of the poetic formula. One should not forget that the audience (even if this comprises only one person, as in the case of the apprenticeship of an initiate) hears a poetic formula from the singer, and that this singer is the only depository of many of the compositions, so that it may happen that he is identified with the author of the text. A different case – which cannot be ruled out – is that of a singer who orally ‘transcribes’ a poetic formula produced by a composer; this is quite comparable (*mutatis mutandis*) to Segovia’s transcription of Bach’s *Chaconne* for guitar.

1. *re vadudu'gu wa keda*
wa rirorida waga'na

even though this latter pair will not yet be entirely clear in Ipaïya's mind, as far as the 'verbal' content is concerned; the musical pattern of the formula, on the other hand, must be absolutely clear. It is as though Ipaïya – or any other Nowau composer-singer – were guided by a 'musical thread' in his weaving of the *modulatio* of the formula, over which he will then have to construct the words (see Chapter 2). The words may be chosen after the composition of the musical fabric of the formula, which will determine them *in toto* (indeed, they are frequently extemporised). A word may, for instance, be eliminated because it does not harmonise with the pre-existing musical pattern (the 'musical thread' which is chosen or constructed by the composer). This same musical pattern must be present in the mind of a singer-performer when he recites Ipaïya's poetic formula; but in performing-interpreting it he will have at his disposal an interlacing of sounds, rather than a verbal text in the true sense. It is at the moment of construction of a poetic formula that the sequence of sounds forming the articulation of each word is moulded, thus making it 'lean' towards, say, an open or a closed articulation. It is now that a vowel must be constructed and heard with a different sound from its normal, everyday one, if it is to be given a metaphorical sense. It is only at the moment of its articulation with sound that the formula will reveal whether it can actually give rise to a metaphorical effect in the listener (the inhabitants of a village, for example), for it is then that the 'mental metaphorical sound', which is characteristic of the composer, is transformed into 'objective metaphorical sound' – the transition from 'internal hearing' to 'hearing with sound'.

The planning of a poetic formula, then, involves not only the composition of a given modality of sound, but also the use of words to correspond to this sound; the words must represent the sound at the lexical level. If, however, the deliberate distortion of the sound on the part of the composer (which constitutes its metaphorical value) is so great as to go beyond the limits of what can be analysed, we might have a case where it would be unrecognisable within the Nowau phonetic system. For example, the distortion of the vowel 'a', within a sequence of sounds, is tolerated by Nowau phonetic custom up to a certain limit, beyond which the sound slides into a different one, which could also be represented by the phonetic symbol [y]. But, as I have already remarked, such an operation may be acceptable per se – and in fact accepted – in the sense that the extendability of the sound of a syllable within a phonetic system might also give rise to some new sound, which has never previously been heard nor used within the system. We should, then, hypothesise a kind of 'super-scale' of sounds, belonging to a general, abstract phonological system (one might almost call it generative), which underlies every individual phonetic system belonging to a language; this would allow for the capacity of a composer-singer to produce a new sound which can be perceived and classified as 'magical'. (The 'magical effect' in this case arises from the violation of the phonetic rules which are followed in the construction of a word, or group of words, in everyday conversation.)²⁸

²⁸ This is another context in which we see the operation of a mechanism of respect and violation of rules. In this particular case the violation takes place primarily at the *expression plane* of a word, that is with its phonemes, which are distorted and varied with respect to their usual, everyday vocal articulation. This violation may produce a 'magical' effect, one of vocal surprise, in the hearer of the sung 'word'. The hearer expects one type of sound and hears another; this surprise may be metaphorically expressed by the term 'magic'. See Burbank and Steiner, eds (1977) and (1978); Johnson, ed. (1978); Jakobson (1973) and Vachek, ed. (1970).

But it is also true that the beauty, or magic, of a poetic formula frequently depends on respect for the phonetic rules of a traditional poetics, especially when the formula is sung. What meaning is there in the assertion, made by the singers of Kitawa, that they sing in the same way as their ancestors, their own masters, other than that they respect the canonical rules, the modalities of the performance tradition which is handed down orally? It seems to me that such an assertion must be interpreted as a clear reference to the notion of both a 'text' and a 'system' (understood in the sense of a group of models of composition and of recitation) which allow the construction of a poetic formula. To say that a composer-singer constructs, and that a singer-performer recites, according to traditional rules, is the same as saying that both respect a model, of composition or of recitation, to which they refer. They reiterate this model over time, though with variations. In an oral culture, a model of recitation is probably memorised at greater length, and therefore lasts a greater length of time, than in a culture that employs writing, where a poetic text is more often read, on the whole, than recited or listened to. Such things as vocal intonation, emphases, glissandi, are more easily memorised, and thus more easily transmitted and transmissible, in a pure oral context than in a cultural context in which writing is in use. The singer hears the model of recitation – the basis on which he is to place his own voice – from the author of the poetic formula, or from another singer who precedes him; at the same time he hears a whole range of interpretive subtleties which are also, from the ethnologist's point of view, relatively representable by phonetic transcription.²⁹ A close parallel for the models of recitation followed by singers in an oral culture is provided by the performance/interpretation of a piece of music of European culture, which is played precisely in order to be 'listened to'. In the course of its performance, this music is interpreted according to the sensitivity of the performer's reading, exactly as in the case of the performance-interpretation of a Nowau poetic formula.

The text – the music – exists because it has been composed; 'text' can thus be regarded as fabric of composition, as articulation of thought in a harmonic 'manner' – a manner which endows the text itself with aesthetic value. The text constitutes an expressive reality which exists in its own right, objectively; so that a performer is defined as such in virtue of the existence of a text to be interpreted. It is therefore not true that the oral singer is always also the author of the text, for the simple reason that he 'is performing': when he performs, this means precisely that he interprets something that already exists. Even in the case of a singer interpreting his own text, it must already have been composed, especially if it is a complex text from the point of view of its musical or semantic fabric.³⁰

²⁹ There is no variety of phonetic transcription, however accurate, that can adequately represent the expressive richness of a sound, especially when this sound has to provoke a 'musical poetic' feeling in the hearer. There will always be some emphasis of a vowel, some accentuation of a final syllable, some almost imperceptible whispering of breath, which will elude transcription by the IPA phonetic symbols. It is precisely this partial representability of the vocal context, I believe, that allows a singer the possibility of introducing variants in his interpretation.

³⁰ No singer – no singer at Kitawa, at least – can perform a poetic formula without its first having been composed from the point of view of the musical fabric (which is constructed by a composer, or adopted by a composer on the basis of a pre-existing model), and the semantic fabric (the unravelling of 'words' in a musical sense, which is carried out on their respective *expression planes*). The phenomenon of improvisation is unknown in Nowau poetics; and I have serious doubts concerning improvisation as an autonomous category in the process of construction of a poetic formula.

1.5 ORIGINAL TEXT AND INTERPRETIVE VARIATIONS: THE EXAMPLE OF THE FOUNDATION MYTH

Composition and performance/interpretation within an oral culture – a culture in which writing is unknown, or is not used in the construction and memorisation of traditional texts, as is the case in Kitawa – represent two different kinds of mechanism and process. Their analysis can be approached by examining the problem of the author of a poetic formula or song, or of an ‘oral score’ performed by percussion instruments. This problem, it seems to me, has been represented as solved by the identification of the composer/singer with the singer/performer of a poetic formula.³¹ This kind of solution has been suggested on the basis of a number of interpretive hypotheses regarding the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. These are considered as texts which have been transcribed from their oral form, probably through dictation, and are seen as, most probably, a harmonic synthesis of various pre-Homeric fragments. They are attributed to Homer (as a metaphor for the poet, for the constructor of expressive harmonic forms), who is supposed to have sung them and therefore composed them in the form in which they were subsequently handed down.³² The question of the identity of the author of a song performed within an oral culture is then regarded as a false question, since the author is always the one who ‘performs’, and who at the time of performance ‘composes’. As a corollary of this it follows that every performance must be regarded as a new composition, which is finished with the moment the performance itself ends.³³ The validity or otherwise of this hypothesis probably also depends on one’s attitude to a number of specific features of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The two poems are texts which have come down to us already written, and already transmitted under the name Homer. It is different in the case of a text like *Tougatu*, which has been received only through hearing, not through a reading – that is to say, a text which is constructed and recited within an oral culture, which has no writing, nor, of course, any system of phonetic or orthographic transcription (when these are used, they are always the work of a member of a different culture, or a member of the same culture who has produced the text for transcription, but acculturated to a technique of transcription which belongs to another language).³⁴ With this latter kind of text, the problem posed is not so much that of its

³¹ I refer in particular to the frequent assertion that when it is no longer possible to identify the author of an oral text – although note that the idea of ‘text’ should itself not be accepted, because of its orality – the author is to be identified with the singer of the text. But if several authors were simultaneously to perform the same poetic formula, and if one discounts the variations that would probably arise between one performance and another, which of them would be the author? Or would we have to conclude that each singer is the author of the version of the poetic formula which he has performed? In this latter case, what would be the basis of the ‘equivalence’ or ‘similarity’ between the various interpretations?

³² See Parry (1971); Parry (1989:39-49, 68-77, 104-140 and 195-264): ‘What can we do to Homer?’; ‘Homer: the *Odyssey*’; ‘Have we Homer’s *Iliad*?’ and ‘The making of Homeric verse: an introduction’; Nagler (1974) and Lord (1960).

A comprehensive bibliography on the problem of orality in relation to the Homeric poems can be found in Montanari (1990).

³³ Such a hypothesis is in serious conflict with all the evidence found at Kitawa, for example the archaic language that characterises both ‘silent’ *megwa* and those for Kula ritual exchange, and the basic ‘rigidity’ of the respective texts, whereby interpretive variants, if admitted, are tolerated only within well-defined textual limits. Besides, the fact that identical, or similar, texts of a very large number of poetic formulae have been performed by singers for hundreds of years means that they were composed in the past and passed down from singer to singer, with the implicit recognition that none of them is the author. We here pass over the case of a singer who explicitly states that the formula which he is performing, or which he has performed, was not composed by him.

³⁴ The fact cannot be ignored that the transcription (ideally a phonetic transcription followed by an orthographic one) of a text within a purely oral culture is always carried out by an individual who is not

transcription (which can be and has been solved, in spite of a whole range of problems connected with the fact that we are dealing with a poetic formula, not an everyday conversation), as that of knowing whether the transcription – in this case ‘my’ transcription – of *Tougatu* can be regarded as the only possible one. And this is because *Tougatu*, like all the other poetic formulae in this collection, was orally recited by a singer/performer who was not its author, in this case Gidou of Lalela. Its performance, and my transcription of it, might also be an incorrect performance, an incorrect transcription. Gidou may for example have sung without respecting the musical text – the musicality – of the poetic formula, or he may have introduced in his interpretation variations which were not envisaged by the text’s author. The existence of the author cannot be denied, as in this specific case Gidou himself stated that he was singing a text that was not his own, but was given to him by his mother’s brother.³⁵ And if a performance/interpretation may be non-canonical, then my transcription of the poetic formula sung may be equally incorrect, since it may record phonemes or sounds which were not envisaged by the author of the text, and which, once orthographically transcribed, may even embody a conceptual nonsense. Of course, judgement as to a performance’s ‘incorrectness’, ‘unorthodoxy’ or ‘disrespect for canonical rules’ is valid only in so far as it is expressed, first of all by the inhabitants of Kitawa themselves – in other words the speakers of the same language as the author and singer of the poetic formula – and secondly by the transcriber of the formula. This second level of judgement is based not only on an acquired knowledge of Nowau, but also on an analysis of the text itself. One example of this type of analysis might be a check on the frequency of a lexeme, not just within the poetic formula itself, but also in all the other formulae that belong to the same genre as the first one. The greater the number of formulae, the greater the possibility of checking the correctness of one’s transcription of the lexeme. But there will always remain a wide margin of uncertainty and ambiguity inherent in the very nature of both poetic formula and transcription: the formula is ‘oral’, it is to be performed vocally, and its performance/interpretation is subject to variations, especially of a phonemic kind. It is difficult, for example, to eliminate *bweta* (‘wreath of flowers’) from either the Nowau phonetic or the Nowau orthographic system, in favour of the single form *bwita*, which is apparently more correct or orthodox, since the former is the product of a sound-variation which may be significant for the expression and transmission (and so for the hearing) of a particular feeling or perception which the latter does not embody.

But the question of the identity of the author of a poetic formula has a further importance, apart from that raised by the problem of different interpretations of the same text (a problem which is not just relevant to the poetic formulae of an oral culture, but also, I would argue, to

only alien to that culture but also unused to the processes of orality; he will be able to understand these processes only partially (and depending to some extent on his musical sensitivity in the broadest sense). The importance of this fact should not be underestimated, especially in relation to the famous Homeric Question. In short, it should not be forgotten that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are two texts that have come down to us transcribed and written. The very attempt of Milman Parry and Albert Lord to advance hypothetical compositional mechanisms for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which involve also the transition of a text, or of fragments of a text which belong to a single thematic, from orality to writing – however stimulating and fascinating this attempt may be – seems to me vitiated by the comparison with Macedonian singers in the 1930s. For the Parry and Lord ethnographical material is not relevant to a purely oral culture, since in their example composing and singing are based partly on techniques characteristic of a culture that uses writing.

³⁵ Gidou’s example is one of transmission of a tale, or of a poetic formula, in accordance with the rules of matrilineal descent. In this particular case, the subject is Modigilabu Tokwai, of the same clan and subclan as Gidou, who preceded the latter as head of the whole area of Lalela.

any kind of composition). This not so much the importance of finding out the author's name, although this is frequently – much more frequently than is recognised by ethnologists – known and transmitted in an oral culture by means of various tactics. (One should bear in mind in this context a parallel from the study of classical art: the use of such designators as 'the master of the X cup', to classify – and glorify – an artist whose name is unknown.)³⁶ It is, rather, the importance of identifying the most 'correct' text of the poetic formula. Consider for example the case of two performances of a single poetic formula, sung under different titles by different singers (*Wosi yavena* performed by Towitara of Kumwagei'a, and *Osiyawe'i'gu* performed by Kasiotagina of Kumwagei'a), or recited in two different ways by a single singer/performer (for example *Mawasila Monikiniki II* and *Mawasila Monikiniki III* interpreted by Gidou of Lalela). Which of the performances encapsulates the original 'text'? How can the question not be a real one, when the inhabitants of Kitawa themselves, at the performance of a poetic formula, wish to establish both whether the text is really the 'original text' and whether the pattern of the voice singing it is the most correct one?

If we examine the 'manner' of performance of the text of a single poetic formula, then we will find the case completely analogous to that of different performances/interpretations of a piece of music: here too we have the expression of a judgement as to the best interpretation, or the style, of the performer of a text-score.³⁷ But here one must ask why the inhabitants of Kitawa (as is the case also in other oral cultures) wish to establish which is the 'most correct' performance/interpretation, in the sense of fidelity to the original text of a poetic formula. Such an attitude can only mean that they have defined, and practise, the notion of 'text', on

³⁶ The identification of the name of the author of a poetic formula or tale, or of a song, or even of a piece of music for drums, seems to me an obsession characteristic of those who deny the possibility of admitting the existence of a 'text' in an oral culture; it seems a corollary of this position. But if the notion of 'text' is denied – and this seems to me the true significance of the statement, 'The author of the text is the same as the performer or singer' – this precludes any possible investigation of the identity of the author. Apart from the example from classical archaeology which is cited in the text – that of referring to the unknown author of a series of vases which show evidence of the same 'hand' as X – there is a mass of evidence (including that of objects) which confirms the possibility of posing the problem of the author within an oral culture. For example, during my various periods of research at Kitawa I collected a range of *tokwalu* (round wooden images), which were the work of various sculptors of the island. In each case I recorded the village of origin, the type of wood, the function and, wherever possible, the author. In looking for a criterion to follow in displaying them in my study, as I could not remember their names and it did not occur to me to check my notes and diaries, I realised that some of these *tokwalu* revealed the 'hand' of a single sculptor – in the manner of carving the eyes, for example, or of placing the hands or nose, or in the use of certain particular symbols. Furthermore, in some of these objects one can clearly trace the passage of time: the same eye represented with less power, a less confident cut in the wood, and so on. In short, if one places them side by side, some *tokwalu* reveal the same 'hand'. A straightforward check of my notes and of photographs taken at Kitawa was sufficient to confirm without the shadow of a doubt that, for example, some of these *tokwalu* were carved by Redimu of Lalela during my fifteen years of research, others by Taria and Nabwai of Lalela. The fact of my having 'documented' the author of a 'piece' is important, but not decisive for the admission that even at a distance of centuries, in certain conditions (e.g. the preservation of materials) it is possible to identify the author of an artefact. Whether I mark it with X, or with 'Taria of Lalela', is of no importance. I am not of course forgetting that in the case of the *tokwalu* we are dealing with visual materials – artefacts – while in the case of poetic formulae the material is an 'oral' one which is more easily lost in time. The real problem in the latter case is thus not that of whether it is possible to identify the author (not counting the case of poetic formulae which have the names of their authors encapsulated in the text), but that of the availability of sufficient 'linguistic' and 'musical' material to enable the identification of the 'hand' of a single composer and/or singer.

³⁷ This is analogous to the statement that Glenn Gould's interpretation of Bach is different from Arturo Benedetti Michelangeli's interpretation of the same piece.

which they base their judgements of 'correctness' or 'incorrectness' at the level of performance. But the notion of 'text' also implies the correlative notion of 'original text', a notion which is relevant not just to poetic formulae (which in view of their compositional structure are already a more complicated case), but also to other types of composition, such as the texts concerning the foundation myth of a clan. Why, for example, is the interpretation of the tale of the *Nukwasisiga* clan and *toriwaga* subclan foundation myth, as told by the head of the Lalela region, Geredou (and which I have tape-recorded) considered in some way less correct than the interpretation of the same tale by Geredou's younger brother, Tokuraeïya?³⁸ Before giving an answer, we should consider certain facts.

According to Nowau cultural tradition, the head of one of the three regions of Kitawa publicly declares his leadership by giving a rendition of the foundation myth of the clan and subclan to which he belongs. This rendition may be given before all the inhabitants of the region, or before the members of his own restricted subclan and/or family group.³⁹ The right to succeed one's elder brother – or, in the case of a first son, the brother of one's mother – in the leadership of the region is a hereditary one. It is a right which establishes, and glorifies, the superiority of a subclan over the other subclans of the same clan, and over the other clans that live in the region; the investiture of this right takes place through a public narration of the tale of the foundation myth. The new leader's performance will be regarded as a public, 'external trial' of his hereditary power. Geredou is able to tell the foundation myth because it has been given to him, in an example of a 'verbal gift' in accordance with the rules of matrilineal succession, by his mother and/or by his mother's brother, or by both. In this last case, we may already have two versions of the same tale.⁴⁰ But apart from Geredou, the tale is also known by his brother Tokuraeïya, and, similarly, was known by Gidou, their elder brother who died in 1978. So the tale of the foundation myth is in the possession of several members of the same clan and subclan. But in fact the circle of people who may have knowledge of a single foundation-myth tale is a much wider one. Apart from the brothers

³⁸ Tokuraeïya, who is to succeed Geredou as head of the Lalela area, is not entitled to recount publicly the version of the foundation myth of his clan and subclan. The positive verdict regarding the greater correctness of his interpretation of the tale is expressed by those who have heard it during his private performances, within his own subclan or family group (which includes not only Geredou himself and Geredou's sons, but also, for example, Siyakwakwa Teitei – who was adopted by the brother of Geredou's mother).

³⁹ This has the status of a double investiture – both public and private. Although the new leader may have received his power at birth, by virtue of belonging to a given clan and subclan – in other words, his right is a hereditary one – nevertheless his investiture, and his exercise of this right, are made publicly manifest through the telling of the foundation myth before all the inhabitants of the territories and villages of an area of Kitawa.

This does not mean that the new leader must recount the myth in order to exercise his functions; rather, his recounting is merely a means of making these functions public, a means of manifesting them. Recounting the foundation myth within the close subclan group, and within the even closer family group, meanwhile, serves to seal the relations between the members of these two groups; it has the function of emphasising the hierarchical nature of these relations. He will for example tell of his own primacy in the line of succession, and the validity of this succession is sealed by the tale. If, for example, Tokuraeïya were to recount the foundation myth publicly, this would be interpreted as a sign of criticism and rebellion against Geredou. If on the other hand he recounts it privately, his action can be interpreted as a mnemonic exercise, although one cannot rule out the possibility that it may be an indirect criticism of his brother's way of wielding power. Such criticism, however, is always regarded as an act which takes place within the subclan or family group.

⁴⁰ I have used the expression 'verbal gift' to refer to all forms of transition of poetic formulae from one owner to another (not necessarily composers and singers – consider the *megwa* which are recited during the ritual exchanges), to whatever genre these formulae belong. This kind of gift is precisely what escapes the rules of matrilineal succession.

and sisters of the leader who tells it, the sisters' husbands and the brothers' wives, for example, might also know it, as might their children.⁴¹ It is fairly clear that the children of the leader who tells the tale – although they have no right to succeed him in the leadership of the region – are in a privileged position, which allows them to gain knowledge of the tale itself. They could, for example, hear the tale not just in the course of its public rendition, where the possibility of memorising it is highly limited – almost impossible, indeed, except by the expert ear⁴² – but, in particular, on other occasions, such as when Geredou 'tells himself' the foundation myth, using the voice, to test his own ability to memorise the text and at the same time to examine the possibility of manipulating some parts of the tale – or indeed to examine his own capacities as a narrator. It is precisely in the course of these private events, which are sometimes occasioned by the need to pass on the tale to the son of one's sister – the successor by the rules of matrilineal descent – that the text may be memorised by one of the sons, and/or daughters, of Geredou. This kind of memorisation may be clearer, and more articulated, than might be the case in the course of a public rendition: Geredou will have to repeat the tale several times, introduce pauses, go over it in small sections – in short he will put into effect a whole range of tactics to enable the hearer gradually to become master of the tale. When I use the term 'public rendition', I mean the unique rendition on the occasion of the investiture of the leader of the region, where Geredou may narrate the foundation myth of his clan or subclan, even though he may also do so on other occasions. But the rendition before the village is not Homeric in type: Geredou is not a bard, or singer, who repeats a poem, or mythic tale, at a banquet, thus enabling the hearer to memorise it. His type of rendition is more 'restricted', more private and subjective, although not as subjective as in the case of the recitation of poetic formulae of ritual exchanges within the Kula Ring: these are murmured or intoned by the voice in a scarcely audible manner. And it is these characteristics that make a foundation-myth tale more potentially memorisable within a restricted group than within a region or village as a whole. And in this group are counted Geredou's sons or daughters, who, it must be remembered, do not belong to his clan or subclan. Geredou's sons may even be privileged, as regards their knowledge of the tale, over the legitimate heir himself: the son of Geredou's sister, if she had one.⁴³ For a hypothetical son of Geredou's sister would not always be present in Geredou's hut, and would not have the same everyday familiarity with him that his own son would have. Nor should we discount the possibility that Geredou might give his tale to his own son for reasons of affection. For the rules of matrilineal succession often give rise to a tension between masculine and feminine values, which occasions conflicts of affection. A man might wish to give a possession to one of his sons or daughters, and this wish would conflict with

⁴¹ It does not matter that the hearing of the tale may be 'involuntary', or not desired. The fact remains that this is a case of a privileged hearing, which allows greater scope for memorisation by the hearer, who may hear it several times, and thus be in a position to make what we might call more informed comparisons.

⁴² The hearer at a public performance is, objectively speaking, in a more passive state than the private hearer. The hearing of the former is limited to the time of a single performance – or, at most, he may hear the same tale (or a variant of it) again on the occasion of the investiture of another leader.

⁴³ Geredou, Tokuraēiya and Gidou have no sisters, so that on the death of Tokuraēiya their line will end, and with it the main branch of the *Nukwasisiga* clan and *toriwaga* subclan that has had the leadership of the Lalela area for centuries. This will give rise to a power vacuum, which is already being discreetly discussed at Lalela, and which could be avoided by the choice of a younger branch of the same clan and subclan. This branch however traces its place of origin – the source from which the female ancestor is sprung – to the Misimasi rock, not the Yabuyabu rock of Geredou's family. The former rock is considered by the majority of the inhabitants of Lalela a false document, which is irrelevant to the origin of the *Nukwasisiga* clan.

the rules of matrilineal succession which practically oblige him to bequeath those possessions (as for example the tale of the foundation-myth told by Geredou to his son) to the son of his sister. This conflict is often resolved (much more often than is usually thought) by a man giving his 'immaterial possessions', such as the tale of a foundation myth. A son may additionally know the foundation-myth tale of his mother's clan or subclan. The same may also occur in the case of the sons of Geredou's brother, Tokuraeiya; and such knowledge may give rise to comparisons, to different tales, or different episodes of a single tale, being set alongside each other.

Clearly then, the foundation-myth tale of Geredou's clan and subclan does not appear to be secret, and the authenticity or correctness of the text which is told may be checked by a number of people. So when Geredou narrates his tale, the performance/interpretation is considered in relation to a 'text' which is already known, before its public rendition, first by his brother Tokuraeiya, who memorised it at the same time as Gidou and Geredou, at the various renditions given by their mother and/or by her brother; but also by Geredou's wife, who is a famous and much feared *siwasiwa* (witch) of the *Malasi* clan and *tabalu* subclan; by Tokuraeiya's wife and children; by various important individuals in public life at Lalela, and at Kitawa itself, such as Siyakwakwa Teitei, who was adopted by the brother of Gidou's mother and who performs a central role in all Lalela affairs, often representing Lalela in the assemblies involving the other two regions of the island; and finally by the elder leaders of the other three clans, who know other versions of the foundation myth which justify and narrate the origins of their respective clan groups. Among these, mention should be made of the elder leader Edi, who is also of the *Nukwasisiga* clan and *toriwaga* subclan, but who bases the origins of each of these, not on the Yabuyabu rock (from which issued forth the mythical ancestor of Geredou's subclan group) but on the Misimasi rock; both rocks may be seen as visual metaphors for two manners of justification used by the two groups in conflict over their ancestral inheritance. For the leader who traces his origin to Misimasi is in possession of a version of the foundation-myth tale which is in conflict, on certain points, with the version which is known and accredited by Geredou. The two versions – which are not two performance/interpretations but two variants of one probable single text – at certain points in the tale introduce discordant elements, which may be questioned, first of all by the inhabitants of Lalela, in order to assess the veracity, the validity and the beauty, of the two versions. Above all, the two versions make it possible to establish if and where any possible manipulation of the text has been introduced.

But none of these individuals – custodians of traditional culture – give a public demonstration of their knowledge of the text and/or texts of the myth (except on rare occasions, which are traumatic for the whole community); nor do they give a public rendition of 'their' version of the foundation myth tale. Officially, the tale must reside only in the hands of the leader of the region and only he may narrate it. They may intervene secretly (with whispers which are transmitted surreptitiously), in order to intimate, for example, where the tale has been manipulated. So we have a network of information through which a single person, besides knowing the foundation myth of his own clan or subclan – and its variants – may also know those of another clan or subclan (as in the case of a son of Geredou). This allows him to place alongside each other the information contained in tale A and that contained in tales B, C and D, even though this act of comparing may take place only at the level of the unconscious, or the unexpressed.⁴⁴ But this very comparison also

⁴⁴ Such comparison need not always be explicit, but remains for the most part implicit and unexpressed. (It may become explicit in the context of the analysis of one or more texts, and in fact does so when it is

allows – especially on the part of the head of a region, like Geredou – manipulations at certain points in the tale, as well as omissions or additions. Essentially, it allows the variation of a text which is already known by a number of people. When, for example, Geredou narrated the foundation myth of his clan and subclan, his tale was in a sense public: the whole village knew that I was tape-recording. But here Geredou was exercising one of his rights. However, this same recording, when heard by Siyakwakwa, Tokuraeïya and Redimu (the elder leader responsible for the music performed in the course of the festivities of Milamala), was judged ‘incorrect’, and ‘less beautiful’, from the stylistic point of view and that of the performance, than the interpretation of his brother Tokuraeïya. But in order for one to say that one interpretation of a tale is better than another, there must exist a ‘text’ of this tale on which such a verdict is based. It is, I believe, important to emphasise that this need to establish a text (especially when this text has the characteristics of the sacred) is validated within a purely oral, or essentially purely oral, culture, in which a text represents a fabric of principles and rules which is from time to time asserted by a composer/singer, and performed, interpreted, by a singer/performer.⁴⁵ If such a text exists and is taken as a point of reference, there must also be someone who decides, who establishes the correctness of an interpretation. If, for example, I perform Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, I have before me a written text, which is critically established (in the absence of the discovery of a manuscript which affects the text already adopted as the correct one). I may interpret it in one way rather than in another. However, a scholar may always decide whether my interpretation violates – and to what extent it violates – the critical text; so that the examination is, in this case, not of the performance (which involves not just the intonation of the voice but also the scenery, the costumes, the lighting), but of the text represented and defined also at the level of forms and syntactic structure. On the one hand there is the flow of words which I recite, on the other there is a text with the same words, but written and printed. Of course, the scholar works on the agreement between ‘my’ oral text and the written ‘text’ of *Hamlet*, between my text (which I present with my voice and, in a scenic space, with my body) and the text which he has before his eyes. From this point of view, it seems to me that it is impossible to cast doubt on the existence of the text as a point of reference, as a model to which my performance is related. By text of *Hamlet* I mean also all the critical versions-interpretations which have been produced up to the moment of my performance.

These considerations seem to me to be valid also for the text-tale of Geredou; except that here there is no scholar who has previously ordered a text to which Geredou’s narration may be referred – not at least in the narrow sense of a culture that employs writing. There is, rather, a scholar *sui generis*, who is more diffuse, more broadly based; he is represented, in a direct line, not just by Geredou but also by his sons, and in an indirect line, by the

necessary to establish the ‘authentic’ text, or the most correct version of the text.) The person hearing the tale more than once, and from different sources – a son of Geredou, for example, who, besides hearing his father testing his memory of the tale, may also come into contact with Tokuraeïya’s interpretation of it – is moved to carry out comparisons which he has no intention of publicising. If Geredou were to recount an event which did not appear in Tokuraeïya’s version, thus arousing the suspicion of a manipulation of the text in favour of one particular account of the facts, his son would have no interest in publicising this, since he would be constrained by considerations of filial affection – even though Geredou and Tokuraeïya belong to a different clan and subclan from his own.

⁴⁵ So the ‘rigidity’ of a text within an oral culture must not (and cannot) be interpreted as though it were the same rigidity as that of a written or printed text, but only as a sign of respect for the design of the text (which is different from its fabric). The design remains fixed for a certain period of time, and upon this design – which is rigidified by the affirmation of its sacred nature – are mounted the various versions (the poetic fabrics) which are the work of a single author. Recounting a particular version of the text related to the foundation myth does not imply construction, but only interpretation.

members of his own subclan, even if each of these individuals presents a different approach, according to his own specific capacities, to the 'text'. When Geredou narrates, the hearer more or less consciously places his narration alongside that of, say, Gidou's elder brother, who preceded him in the leadership of the region. (We omit for the moment Tokuraeïya, who is not officially authorised to narrate the text of this mythical tale.) He also places it alongside other versions of the same myth (such as that of Edi) which are known by the members of the other three clans. It is as though examination were made of an 'absolute text' of the mythical tale; this may perhaps be interpreted as a general, abstract scheme which underlies all the foundation myth tales of the four clans.⁴⁶ It seems that a common element weaves its way through the four tales – and their respective variants – and from this common element each clan extracts its own version of the myth, by a process of transformation. This general, abstract common element must be what generates the various interpretations of it at both the syntactic and the semantic level. Basically, every clan – and on its behalf an individual X, the constructor of the tale A of the foundation myth – transforms this element according to the syntactic norms shared by all Nowau speakers (and therefore in a way which is of general validity), but manipulates it by means of the semantic rules (which are more subjective in character), which enable him to generate his own version of the foundation myth.

The construction of a foundation myth tale, precisely because it takes place in accordance with norms, may be subject to examination at a general level by anyone who shares these norms; and this also explains why there is always someone who is able to judge that one interpretation is more correct than another, or whether it is spurious. But it is true too that within this group there are some (such as the constructors of a tale or poetic formula, and, subsequently, the narrators and singers) who manage to establish the 'correctness' of a text, precisely because through initiation and apprenticeship they work with the rules of transformation, and know the technique of composition and narration/performance of a mythical tale or poetic formula.

Geredou, for example, as narrator, tells his version of the foundation myth, which is that of his clan and subclan and family group. But before telling it, he must first have memorised it, and before that he must have heard it. It is at the moment of hearing that Geredou refines his perceptive capacities; and he probably pays great attention to the type of narration/performance of the person who gives it to him, that is his mother's brother, or his mother herself. He will attempt the mnemonic tricks which have been developed by the Nowau poetic tradition, and will listen to the names of his ancestors as they have been listed in the genealogy of his subclan and close family group, so as not to create gaps between one name and the next, when it is his turn to narrate. But it is a case of memorising not just a story, a tale, but also its interpretation, the 'manner' in which the tale is told. He will listen to the intonation of the voice and also, for example, to the dramatic emphasis of the tone used to underscore certain passages, and to the style of variation of a single passage repeated a number of times. He will listen not only to the story of his clan and subclan, but also to the way in which this story is narrated; it is on this, too, that the effectiveness of the tale will depend.

Basically, Geredou will learn the technique of narration at the same time as he memorises the tale. This technique is in a sense a process of disclosing the mechanisms of learning, of knowing and of classifying which have been developed by a particular group – a group which normally corresponds to a small nucleus within a subclan, and may even include no

⁴⁶ 'Abstract schema', 'design' and 'absolute text' are in this context synonymous.

more than two people, as in the case of the master-engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes and his chosen pupil.⁴⁷ In the specific case of a foundation-myth tale, this process may be embodied in the disclosure of a manipulation, substitution or omission which justifies the present power of the family in possession of this version of the tale.⁴⁸ But Geredou might hear not only his own tale but also the foundation-myth tale of his father's clan, in other words that of a different clan, even though he is aware that this is not his tale, and that he will never be able to narrate it freely before the whole village. He may make use of it privately for purposes of comparison, to enable him to understand and analyse why, for example, his tale succeeds in justifying the power of the *Nukwasisiga* clan and especially the *toriwaga* subclan, over the other clans and subclans of the Lalela region. This process of comparison, of placing in parallel, is more conscious and deliberate than I believed at the beginning of my research; and it is the basis on which Geredou will be able to uncover the versions of a single underlying plot, which carries through all the foundation myth tales as the essential element. For instance, the 'plot' of his own myth, like that of the myths of clans B, C and D, speaks of a being, *tabu'gu* 'my ancestor' – where the gender cannot be deduced from the form of the first person singular possessive pronoun, but is made specific by the lexical context: it is a woman who fertilises herself, and so may also be seen as an androgynous being. From this being all Geredou's forbears, down to Geredou himself, are descended by matrilineal succession. Obviously, the transitions from one phase to the next, following in chronological order, may be described with more or less use of detail, and may include various redundant elements or rhetorical embellishments. But what Geredou uncovers in his comparison of the four versions of the mythic tale – leaving aside for the moment their variants – is their common framework; and also the fact that his own tale may be considered more beautiful if it contains a fuller, more detailed description of the characteristics of the first ancestor, than the tales of B, C and D. This description, which we can classify as a kind of variant, may be decisive in the judgement regarding both the beauty and correctness of Geredou's tale and its importance relative to the other tales. That is, the foundation myth tale of his subclan and family group succeeds in representing his leadership over the territory of Lalela in a more convincing manner than the other tales, from the point of view of the narrative fabric. (This requires knowledge of the syntactic and semantic rules which allow the construction of a sentence, of discourse.) Alternatively, Geredou's version of the tale, as received in gift from his predecessors-ancestors, may contain a construction-narration which 'stands up' better than the other representations, and which is considered the most convincing by the majority of Lalela inhabitants (partly for diplomatic-political reasons, and for reasons of economics). Geredou represents the synthesis in the present of the past of his clan and subclan; with his version of the mythic tale, he describes a historical reality which is accepted and taken up precisely by virtue of its 'justification' and 'existence' in the tale, that is to say within the syntactic norms and semantic rules that make up the tale. Geredou's version of the tale, then, like the other versions of the same tale, 'constructs' historical reality; the historical events are woven by his words and by the 'manner' of

⁴⁷ See Scoditti (1990a:46-63).

⁴⁸ To tell one version of the foundation myth rather than another implies not only that one knows a text of the mythic tale, but also that one is master of a narrative 'style'. This style is learned at the same time as the memorisation of the text of the tale, and varies from one narrator to another. The 'style' of Geredou, for example, is considered less 'beautiful' than that of his brother Tokuraeïya. But along with the memorisation of a text, one also learns techniques of manipulation of the text. For example, in a recitation of the genealogy of one's own subclan, certain names may be eliminated and others inserted, with the aim of justifying some diplomatic-political reality. These names may then appear in another version of the same tale.

narration of his words. But we should not forget that in this 'reconstruction' Geredou performs an act of 'intelligent repetition': he has not composed the mythic tale of his clan and subclan, but reasserts it.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Geredou may realise that the correctness of his tale is also a function of the 'manner', that is of the technique, of narration. For if the framework of this tale is the same as that of the tales of clans B, C and D, then criteria must be found to establish, collectively, exactly why tale A of the foundation myth must be seen as dominant over the other tales, that is, in what its superiority consists. In other words, this must be established, first of all before all the inhabitants of the Lalela region, and, secondly, by all the other inhabitants of Kitawa. Of course, elements which belong outside the context of the tale itself must be discounted in this assessment. It cannot be stated that Geredou's tale is superior, or more correct, simply because his subclan is 'as a matter of fact' the one in power – in which case his tale might be an *a posteriori* justification of this power. Such an argument would be foreign to the kind of assessment which is to be given of the tale in itself. If anything, it is more fruitful to enquire which part, or which argument, in the tale has been manipulated, or what tactic has been constructed at the semantic level, in order to represent – one might even say, to influence – events. (For it cannot be denied that a tale is frequently manipulated to modify reality.) What, then, is the point of the construction of the foundation myth, if not to produce/represent a situation along the lines of "I must exercise my power because that is what the foundation myth of my clan and subclan 'tells', because that is what my ancestors tell"?

The other inhabitants of Lalela, then, recognise in the foundation-myth tale as narrated by Geredou, and in the manner of its telling, the presence of certain elements which make it more valid than the other tales. There is a fixed framework, itself probably constructed by a number of authors who are all representative of Nowau culture and, more generally, of the culture of the Kula Ring. Essentially, this framework is the basis on which linguistic structures (especially from a semantic point of view) are constructed, over a period of centuries, and are developed in differentiated forms (the four versions of the foundation myth, and their respective variants) and in narrative styles, which represent this structure. It is as though each clan draws a different outline in interpreting the same initial scene – which in itself is only an intuition, or a plan whose lines are unclear. This plan provides the basis for the exercise of the four clans' creative skill, each demonstrating an individual style which leads to an interpretation with definite outlines (for example, the foundation-myth tale of clan A), often highlighting an element which is scarcely hinted at in the initial, collective plan. The clan then highlights the element that everyone at a particular period of time regards as the most important: the detail which provides the key to the reading of the initial plan. And this element is elaborated both at the expressive and at the semantic level.

So the capacity to bring to life this element, or number of elements, determines whether one tale is thought more beautiful and correct than another. To highlight, to bring into focus, is a capacity which requires the use of rational processes and the exercise of penetrative analytical powers on the framework or plan of the tale. The version of the foundation myth

⁴⁹ In a pure oral context, the person who recounts, recites, sings or plays fulfils an extremely important and delicate function: he is a 'memoriser' of culture (frequently the only memoriser), and through his tale or song he transfers the past into the present. The hearer of the tale or song seems to live at the moment of the tale's construction, or of the song's composition, and he may regard the narrator and/or singer as the author of the tale or song, precisely because of this function of 'memoriser' and 'intelligent transmitter' of the work of the latter. The situation is similar to that of a theatrical performance, where the actor may, especially if technically well trained and endowed with dramatic charisma, be confused with the character he is playing.

narrated by Geredou (who in this case represents only the singer/performer, not the composer/singer of the mythic tale) is probably the best version of this framework or plan, in the eyes of the inhabitants of Lalela.

If there exists this common framework of the four tales regarding the foundation myth, and if every tale can be considered a model of it, then each performance – by Geredou, for example – is not, or not absolutely, the ‘construction of the tale of the myth’, but merely one interpretation of it, to be referred to the tale itself. The narrator, if he is not the same person as the author of the tale, refers his performance back to the model he is narrating and which in its turn is referred back to the schema of the ‘foundation myth’. A performance is such to the extent that there exists a model, and beyond this a schema to which reference is made. The performance by Geredou of tale A of the foundation myth can therefore not be regarded as the ‘construction’ of the myth, but only as a version/interpretation of it.

1.6 COMPOSITIONAL PATTERN AND NARRATIVE MODEL

It therefore seems to me wrong to state, on the basis of ethnographical data gathered and analysed over fifteen years of research, that at the moment of performance – of *one* performance – we have the ‘construction’ of a mythic tale (let alone the actual ‘underlying schema of the myth’), merely because the performance takes place within an oral culture. The view that a performance/interpretation of a text (whether a ‘silent’ poetic formula or one which is sounded) always represents also the ‘composition’ of this text is, I believe, untenable. If anything, it seems to me more correct to enquire whether the text performed is really the ‘original’ (the text constructed by its author); so that a more valid question is whether the narrator, or singer, is also the author of the text. The very fact that many narrators and singers appeal to the tradition, to the ‘manner’ of singing and narrating of their ancestors, can also be seen as a metaphor: it serves to indicate that the author of the text which is being performed should be sought elsewhere. Obviously we are not going to find a papyrus manuscript; but we may be able to find the ‘original text’, which is apparently less rigid than a written text, in that it has been memorised differently by different narrators and singers. If, therefore, hypothetically, we could have at our disposal all the interpretations of a given text, it would be possible by a process of analysis (using among other factors the list of frequencies and concordances) finally to indentify the ‘original text’, when this is not already attributed to a composer/singer, as in the case of Ipaïya of Lalela. Furthermore, when the singers/performers of Kitawa – and I see no reason why this should only apply at Kitawa – assert that a text is ‘authentic’ in virtue of its having been inherited by the legitimate heir, it would appear that the implication of their statement is that the performance of the text is merely one interpretation of the text that has been given. The idea of an authentic, original text, at the conceptual level, also exists within an oral culture, and is to be understood as the recognition of a specific model (e.g. model A of the foundation myth), which has in its turn interpreted the general, abstract schema of the myth, which is common to the whole of a given culture. So the notion of ‘text and/or model’, if accepted in this broad sense, should allow examination of the text itself, too, and of its various interpretations. If there exists a model, every copy of it may be referred back to it. Even simple assertions of the kind, ‘I have told the truth’, ‘I have told the tale according to tradition’, ‘His tale is true, do not trust X’s because it is not authentic’, and so on, seem to me to be assertions which should be read as judgements based on a comparison, albeit unconscious, between a model and its interpretations. This type of comparison is valid in the case of Geredou’s tale, as also

in that of the other tales of the foundation myth. The comparison between the performance/interpretation of Geredou, for example, and the 'text' which is performed – a given version of text A constructed in the past by a member of Geredou's own subclan – must be placed within a homogeneous context; it is the 'model' of tale A which is compared with Geredou's interpretation. A comparison which is made, first of all, by the members of his subclan. There is then another comparison, of a much broader kind, which refers the model A version interpreted by Geredou to the other models (of which there are in this case three), and, through them, to the general, abstract schema of the 'foundation myth'. This second type of comparison is broader, and allows the verification of the true structure of the foundation myth.

It seems to me of great importance to emphasise that these kinds of comparison are made within Nowau culture, by many of the inhabitants of Kitawa. Whether the comparison is 'unconscious' or 'conscious' seems to me of little importance, and in this case 'unconscious' and 'conscious' take on the meanings 'explicit' and 'implicit', that is belonging to an openly expressed critique or to an implicit one. There will be various levels of critique depending on the persons involved, their cultural ambience, diplomatic kinship relations. But a text and an interpretation of it are always subjected to a critique, and also to comparison with other texts and with their respective interpretations.

So the problem of the existence and authenticity of a text, and also of its interpretations, is relevant within a wholly, or almost wholly, oral culture. It essentially consists of the identification of a system of models: the model of Geredou's clan A, and the other models, respectively of clans B, C and D. This problem has as its corollary the question of the author of a text, who has so far been specifically defined as the person who constructs a model (e.g. the foundation-myth tale of clan A). When Geredou states that he has received the tale as a gift from his mother, or from his mother's brother, he implies too that he himself is not the author, but merely an interpreter – the person who narrates the tale. And both his mother's brother and his mother herself would say the same thing, that they too were merely performing/interpreting the tale and not constructing it. Rather, they would attribute this construction to other ancestors, and so on back to the first composer/singer and singer/performer, the Mythic Constructor, who may also be identified with the founder of the clan and subclan to which the tale refers. But here we have reached the constructor of the myth as a whole, not the author of a tale of the myth. And so the constructor of the foundation myth is, precisely, 'mythic'; he is an almost abstract entity. But the schema from which the models derive is, indeed, an abstract and general entity. Given Geredou's statement that he 'recites' rather than 'constructing' – an activity which is continually referred back, in something like a chronological sequence – then the only possible hypothesis is that tale A of the foundation myth is just a concrete and particular model, which gains definition through its various performances/interpretations (in a synchronic analysis). The general, abstract schema of the foundation myth, meanwhile, is definable only by a logical process – by positing the schema as a principle, as a starting point of an arbitrary kind, from which the various models derive.

Basically, I am suggesting that we regard the general, abstract schema, 'foundation myth', as a logical concept, as a purely mental object, from which it is possible to get to all the possible derivative forms: a point of departure, in short.⁵⁰ This schema may be compared

⁵⁰ If it is possible to define the various models/tales which give concrete form to the pattern, it is then also possible to define the pattern itself. However, it should be borne in mind that while a model is always

to a project within the mind, which in order to achieve reality has to rely on some material object to make it external. There is a model: an attempt to define it within space and time. The transition from schema to model – from foundation myth to tale – is not a linear process, like the birth of one entity from another in, say, an evolutionary way. It takes place rather, I would argue, through metaphors. Consider the visual schema ‘triangularity’. This may be interpreted by the models ‘isosceles triangle’, ‘equilateral triangle’ or ‘right-angled triangle’ – that is, with arbitrarily defined, concrete geometric figures, which can be seen and on the basis of which calculations may be performed. But none of these three figures embodies and exhausts the abstract, general schema ‘triangularity’. The latter is a mental reference point, which allows one to define and name the isosceles, equilateral and right-angled triangles. These three figures, then, function as metaphors of ‘triangularity’. When, for example, Kitawa engravers say that the *lagimu* and *tabuya* (i.e. the prowboards which decorate a ceremonial canoe for the Kula) of the school of Kumwageïya are different from the *lagimu* and *tabuya* of the school of Lalela, they are establishing an exact relationship between two kinds of prowboards, and an abstract, general schema of *lagimu* and *tabuya*.⁵¹ But while the two kinds can be seen in the patterning of graphic signs which are engraved on the two boards – it is this patterning which is different and thus constitutes the characteristic style of the two schools – the general schema, which is their reference point, is implicit only in the two variants and is present as a reference point in the minds of both engraver and inhabitant of Kitawa, who always pass judgement on a model and on its various interpretations. The transition from a general schema to a particular version, then, represents a ‘logical’ activity – in the sense that the transition from the schema of triangularity to the isosceles or equilateral triangle is logical – requiring a verbal or non-verbal metaphor, in order to be transmitted. In the specific case of *lagimu* this metaphorical function is performed by the four graphic signs, defined as ‘fundamental’, which function as visual metaphors of the ‘general, abstract schema *lagimu*’. They stand for the schema, but are not the schema. As he sees these four graphic signs and, in particular, as he takes account of their unalterability, an engraver grasps the absolute validity of the schema, its role as reference-point to be used in the engraving and, subsequently, in the evaluation of any individual *lagimu*. Now, although the four fundamental graphic signs have been fixed as unalterable, in a ‘logical’ act, they may nevertheless be varied and redesigned over a period of time. What is absolute is the value which they represent or symbolise in a particular prowboard, not the graphic sign perceived as a visual sign in its own right. Its unalterability should not be attributed to its objective reality, which further underlines its abstract value. In fact, a fundamental graphic sign, placed in a particular relation to the other graphic signs, is a metaphor for the absolute value which is attributed to the schema of the *lagimu* and *tabuya*. If the number of unalterable graphic signs is four, this may imply that Nowau culture has realised the necessity of selecting four fundamental values – in this case beauty, voice/sound, intelligence and imagination – in order to memorise and metaphorise itself. So, a fundamental graphic sign stands for the ‘absolute’ nature of a value, but does not wholly represent it or exhaust it. It is merely one attempt to define it at a particular time and place.

‘concrete’ (there is a definite oral ‘text’ which is performed and listened to), the pattern must be considered ‘abstract’: it is rendered concrete by the model which sounds it (in the case of an oral tale).

⁵¹ The general, abstract pattern of a prowboard should be regarded as essentially rigid only within a particular historical period; this pattern may also be identified by means of an analysis of ethnographical collections of *lagimu* and *tabuya*. An example is the *goragora* pattern which was followed by the engravers of Kitawa probably up to the second half of the nineteenth century, and which is very similar to the *nagega* pattern which is still employed at Gawa, Kwaiwata, Yaraba and Muiyuwa.

The adoption of a general, abstract schema at the level of oral composition, memorisation and transmission of a foundation-myth tale may indicate the desire of Nowau culture to safeguard not only values which are the same as/different from those represented – for example by the prowboards of ceremonial canoes – but also the mechanism of construction. This mechanism of construction is an oral one, and is that of both the myth ‘in itself’ and a tale (in other words, a version) of this myth. The schema ‘foundation myth’ is thus the schema of oral transmission. And the latter is a synthesis – I would even say a purely linguistic synthesis – of the constructive mechanisms used to produce a tale, and contains the syntactic and semantic rules for generating and transforming ‘itself’ into a particular expression/version. The underlying schema of the various *lagimu* and *tabuya* can be identified, then, with the ‘point of departure’ from which the various versions are to be derived; in this act of ‘deriving’ we see the capacity/function of the constructor/artist of transforming an abstract, general entity – the schema – into a particular object. So the abstract, general schema which underlies the various tales of the foundation myth may also be seen as the point of departure – a sort of *a priori* – from which the oral activity of derivation of a tale proceeds. When Geredou narrates the tale of the foundation myth of his clan and subclan, he implicitly and indirectly also establishes a relation – previously made also by his ancestors – between the version on which his narration is based and the general, abstract schema. But this relation ‘escapes’ the listener of Geredou’s performance, for whom it takes on a different value. Geredou’s performance is now perceived not just as ‘version’ A of the myth, but also as if it were the schema/myth itself. The essential feature of the performance of a tale at the moment of its realisation and reception is that of merging the three levels, ‘schema, version, performance’ (which are understood, ‘in themselves’, as distinct), placing them on a single plane. During the performance the listener does not appreciate the difference between the three levels. He appreciates it at the next stage; when, for example, another tale of the same myth is performed, as in the case of the version of the same tale by the family group of Edi, who disputes Geredou’s leadership. It is only at this second stage that the listener perceives the distinction between A, B, C and D, or between versions X and Y of A; from this comparison s/he may extract the notion of ‘schema’ and of ‘version’: s/he only has to put the two ‘texts’, of Geredou and of Edi, side by side in order to gain the impression, which can then be analysed, that both ‘texts’ presuppose a common basis. This common basis has produced two differentiated narratives, through an application of the rules of transformation of the oral narrative pattern to a single material, which verbally ‘represents’ a certain vision of the reality external to the verbal tale. This is not the same kind of differentiation as that which is involved when tale A is narrated by Geredou and by his brother Tokuraeïya. Here there will be differentiation in the subtleties of intonation and in the varieties of tone of voice, or in some detail which is described better by Tokuraeïya than by Geredou. Basically, the differentiation will only implicate the performance of the tale. The distinction between Geredou’s interpretation and Tokuraeïya’s will be an internal matter within tale A, and may be classified as ‘weak’. The distinction between Geredou’s narration and Edi’s, meanwhile, is ‘strong’, since it involves the introduction, within a single model of the tale, of variants which may present different views of the facts, if not a different fabric of the tale itself. In Edi’s tale we might, for example, have the appearance of some ancestors who do not appear in Geredou’s, or vice versa; and this may indicate that there has been a manipulation, which may have a semantic correlate in the narrated ‘text’, to justify a fact or deed which is not accepted, or which is dismissed, by one of the family groups. Both narrations, however, Geredou’s and Edi’s, are recognisable as variants of a single model, represented by clan A and by subclan A1. The distinction becomes much ‘stronger’ in the

case of the opposition between Geredou's tale and, for example, that of Dadayoura Kurina, who narrates on behalf of the Malasi (B) clan, and which is presented as a different model from A. In this case, as also in that of the other tales, of C and D, we may have the representation of different realities, including semantic realities.

1.7 TRIAL, IMPROVISATION AND DEFINITION OF THE TEXT

So the problem of the author of a poetic formula is a real one, and may legitimately be posed, just as the same problem may be posed in the case of the constructor of *lagimu* and *tabuya* and indeed is posed by the engravers of the two prowboards themselves, and by the other inhabitants of Kitawa. The refusal to address the problem of the author of a text within an oral culture is a consequence of the assumption that the recitation of a poetic formula always coincides with its construction. But the recitation of a formula can only be the same as its construction if this recitation has the function of a 'trial', in which the author tests the project within his mind, 'trying' the text out in the process of its becoming a 'vocal fabric'.⁵²

The fact that a text is purely oral does not mean that it is not presented as 'something' – which should not of course be taken to mean a completed structure, nor an improvisation – which is already in existence at the time of its performance. The text is always 'tried out' before being performed, and the trials, which according to the account of Ipaïya of Lalela (see Chapter 2) take place in complete solitude, are attempts to give it definition. But a trial composition is not yet the 'text', and the fact that the trial is 'only' oral does not give us the right to discount it; nor does it diminish its value within the process of constructing the text. So the trial 'in itself' shows that an oral text must be defined and composed before it can be performed. Of course, the proof of the existence of this trial in an oral culture is more problematic, from the point of view of the ethnologist, than would be the case in a culture which also employs writing. In the latter case we have notes, sketches, thoughts which have just been scribbled on a piece of paper. The preparatory material – what has not yet reached definition – may be recovered and analysed; it may constitute a demonstration that, before reaching its definitive form, the 'text' passed through various phases. These phases may help us to analyse the mechanism of composition of the text itself, the various formal transitions, the inaccuracies, the repetitions of a lexeme. All this, of course, is the reflection – as if in a mirror – of the mental work of the author of the text. For example, we are able to say that Rupert Brooke composed a text such as *Choriambics I* in a 'certain way', because in addition to the definitive text we also have his notes. When this mirror is lacking, that is not to say

⁵² I refer in particular to the case of Ipaïya Mokuïyaraga, the only composer of the Lalela area. Ipaïya admitted freely that the mechanism of composition in use among Nowau composers was one that involved attempts, trials, errors and the correction of errors. All this takes place in complete solitude, and the text is tested and retested for days, until the completion of the poetic fabric, which must additionally be considered adequate to the poetic project which the composer has set himself to realise. So there are inevitably 'rehearsals' which, however, remain within the process of composition and are recorded, as it were, only inside the mind of the poet. For example, in 1988 Ipaïya began the composition of a short poem which he intended to dedicate to me as a token of his goodwill and friendship. He allowed me to hear the first attempts, and I was able intuitively to follow the process whereby, in the gradual progress of his work, he incorporated into a basic musical design words which were constructed, or adapted from various vocabularies, unravelling them vocally and attempting to make them fit this design. He made a number of attempts; one obstacle was that of fitting my name, Giancarlo, into the chosen musical design. This name, with its typically Italian sound, was impossible to incorporate in Nowau musical forms, and after various attempts Giancarlo was unravelled and softened to *Kallalo*, to Ipaïya's great satisfaction. The short poem was not finished, but Ipaïya promised me that he would finish it for my return to Kitawa.

that the preparatory work did not take place; it is just that it has not survived on paper, on a wax tablet or on papyrus.

When an 'oral' text is performed, this means that it has already been composed; it has been tried and retried. Therefore composition and performance are two clearly distinguishable moments. Performance must be regarded as different from both composition and improvisation. The very definition of improvisation seems somewhat problematic. Improvisation may also be considered part of composition – as the point within the construction (of, for example, a poetic formula) at which an intuitive process takes place. This point may be defined within the mind of the composer, as he performs in front of the whole village and introduces an 'improvised' variant. Here the improvisation is the fruit of an intuitive process which has already been fully realised, which has its own expressive form. It thus appears improvised partly because the mechanics by which it was arrived at are not made explicit.

So improvisation may be interpreted as intuition, as the fruition of an idea or image which is defined as improvisation by virtue of the time at which it appears and the way in which it reaches this fruition. It thus feeds into the process of composition. It is not necessarily true that an improvised, intuitive idea belongs exclusively to the composer/singer who perceives it and formulates it in a text. It may also be an intuitive form which belongs to the community more broadly, and which functions as the traditional inheritance of a given culture and, within that culture, of the group of composers/singers. The frequent recurrence of an image with the same expressive form in many Nowau poems may be taken as evidence that this image is so profoundly rooted in a particular cultural genre – for example poetry – that it comes out in a fluid and spontaneous manner, as an improvisation within the text. Subsequent trial performances of the same text will include variants of more or less significance. The ethnologist may record the attempt several times and may enumerate the variants in order to reach a definitive edition of the text, which is traditionally regarded as correct. This text may be recited on other occasions without variation, or with minimal variation, especially at the phonemic level. Basically, a poet performs a text, which undergoes variations and uncertainties over a long period of time – the time of the trial, the time of the sketches – up to the point at which it is established; which means that it is performed as if the author were reading a written text. Then, and then alone, is the text taken as definitive – the equivalent of the text which a composer 'sends to the press'.

The establishment or definition of a text, then, whether a poetic formula or a tale, involves a series of trials even in a society that has a purely oral tradition. The only difference is that here we do not have the concrete evidence of the attempt – of the trials or sketches – which led up to this establishment; so that a recorded text may be presented by the ethnologist as the original, the only existing version, which is definitive and not comparable to any predecessor.⁵³

⁵³ Nor do the poetic formulae of my collection escape this 'stricture'. The texts (most of which were recorded on magnetic tape, a fact which allows us only to test the correctness of their transcription, not, to be sure, their authenticity as *editio princeps*) are – and will probably remain – the first written version of one of the various possible performances. Everything that preceded my transcription, whatever the contribution of the generous collaboration of Ipaïya, Siyakwakwa and the singers who performed the poetic formulae, can only be imagined or posited on the basis of the texts transcribed; clearly, it is lost for ever. The transcribed texts may in some cases (e.g. the *megwa* for the Kula, and the silent *megwa*) be interpreted as original texts (even if one bears in mind the variants due to the singer's interpretation), while in other cases they might also be texts which have been manipulated over decades of recitation. But

Basically, I believe that confusion sometimes arises between the performance and the composition of a text: these should rather be seen as two distinct processes. A composed text may be sounded, or not sounded, as in the case of the silent Nowau poetic formulae, the text of which is recited only in the mind/memory, in a silent remembering of the musical fabric. (I am here thinking especially of the *megwa* performed by Rosigega of Taraigasi and Krobai of Okabulula.) Their performance is not sounded – does not involve the emission of breath, as do the poetic formulae sung by, say, Ipaïya – but is rather an internal, silent performance. One might call it a ‘non-performance’, if performance is understood as the vocal realisation of a text. These silent poetic formulae have, however, been composed; in fact, in terms of the mechanism of their construction, they show a similar form to that of the fabric of sounded poetic formulae. Both genres are performed only when they are already finished texts; and their performance is regarded as that of an achieved composition. If this is not the case, what we have will be another trial (which in the case of the silent formulae will take place inside the author’s mind, through a series of attempts to weave a poetic text which is unsounded but nevertheless musical). The distinction between these two genres of formula is thus based solely on the ‘sounding’ or ‘non-sounding’ of the text; from the point of view of composition and musicality they are analogous. However, this single distinction is weakened when a silent poetic formula has to be given – by a magician to his pupil, for example. This action inevitably involves its vocalisation. The pupil must of course memorise the formula in his turn. Once it has been memorised – with all the possible variants – the text becomes again internal, silent, and will for years be recited only within the mind of its proprietor. To recapitulate:

(a) all poetic formulae (silent or sounded) are composed by the same basic mechanism – the transition from an intuitive process, through trials which involve the possibility of mistakes and corrections, to a definitive text;

(b) some formulae are performed with the voice and can therefore be heard, while others are performed only in silence, inside the mind/memory of their owner, and cannot be heard even by the person reciting them;

(c) all poetic formulae must however necessarily be sounded when they are given, in a process of transition from the composer/singer to the singer/performer, and so on to other singers.

One example of a sounded poetic formula is *Da weriya*, which was recorded for the first time in 1976 in the village of Lalela, and a second time in 1987 in the same place. It is a polyphonic, public song, which can even be performed in front of the entire village, and can therefore be heard by everyone. It is said to have been composed by a poetess of the island of Muyuwa, or Woodlark, who is remembered under the name of Nabwaikasa (see *Watowa IV*, line 1c). The beauty of the song consists entirely in the evocation of an atmosphere of melancholy in which the names of the dead are interwoven with garlands and wreaths of flowers.

The sounded poetic formula *Lube’gu*, meanwhile, which is sung for the loved one, is classified as private and must be performed in solitude, not listened to by the inhabitants of the village. It is monodic, and because of its private nature – it is addressed to the loved one alone – it may be subject to a greater number of variants than that which is found in a poetic

by now my transcription must inevitably be regarded as the first written version – within certain limits, a ‘critical’ version – of some of the poetic formulae of the Nowau.

formula with many voices like *Da weriya*. This greater degree of subjectivity affects not only the theme (love, including love in its erotic dimension – see for example lines 7-12), but also the licence allowed in the singing of the formula: the performer is not – or at least should not be – listened to, so that there is greater scope for the introduction of variants on the original text than in songs like *Da weriya* and the poetic formulae for the Kula. In the knowledge – or pretence⁵⁴ – that there is no listener, the singer is, objectively speaking, in a position to vary not just the manner of performance but also the content of the formula. He is freer to feel and interpret it in a different way from that of the original performance – that which was envisaged or intended by the author. In the case of *Lube'gu*, for example, the singer Togeruwa Matawadiya explained to me in the course of the first interpretation that the person for whom the formula was intended was a friend of his within the Kula ritual circle. As can be heard on the tape, he performed the song at a very low pitch, in a voice which seemed tremulous and hesitant. I originally attributed this vocal difficulty to the delicacy of the subject matter, to the complex of images evoked by the voice, which revealed an erotic affection for the subject of the song. Subsequently, in the course of checking my translation, in June 1987 – eleven years after the recording – Togeruwa denied that the formula had been composed for a boy, although he confirmed, word by word, the correctness of both transcription and translation, identifying the subject of the song as a passionately desired girl.

On the other hand, the scope for variation of the content of a poetic formula, and also of the manner of its performance, are reduced to a minimum in the case of the texts for the Kula. These songs are based on mythical subject-matter which, as well as having a basic underlying structure, has been shaped by a canonical *modulatio* – or at least, one which is more canonical and more subject to scrutiny than in the case of *Lube'gu*. With *Lube'gu*, then, the singer/performer's interpretative freedom is much more marked, and less subject to scrutiny. As regards its composition, the mechanism is the same as that of all the other poetic formulae, including *Monikiniki* and *Tougatu*, which have to be interpreted according to more canonical models, by virtue of the fact that they are supposed to evoke ancestral contexts which are taken as common, not just to Nowau culture, but even to the other cultures in the region of the Kula Ring. So *Lube'gu* appears as a private poetic formula which expresses the feelings of the composer/singer – and, after that, those of the singer/performer who makes them his own – more than those of a whole group (such as the inhabitants of a village).

The type of vocalisation involved in its performance – the fact that the poetic formula is scarcely murmured – and the context of solitude in which the performance takes place, are also features of the group of poetic formulae which are sung for the Kula ritual exchange. (These are however distinguished from the group to which *Tougatu* belongs by a different kind of relationship with the subject for whom the poetic formula is intended.) For when a singer performs a poetic formula for the Kula, he takes over the mythological inheritance of the ritual exchange in the form in which it has been interpreted and elaborated by the author of the formula which the singer is performing. But the singer is aware in advance that the poetic formula works according to rules of composition which are more canonical, more rigid. They are more rigid because they have been elaborated for the purpose of representing a series of themes whose content does not allow for a free style of treatment, based on the

⁵⁴ 'Pretence' and 'pretending' are ways of being and of expressing oneself that are widely accepted and practised within Nowau culture. I would argue, indeed, that they can be considered as cunning techniques used to harmonise 'rule' and 'violation' of the rule. A *megwa* for the Kula – which is secret but sounded – should not be heard, but frequently *is* heard, and this hearing cannot be denied as a matter of fact. In order to resolve the contradiction it is sufficient not to be physically present in the space in which the recitation takes place (e.g. the singer is on the beach and the hearer behind a tree, slightly hidden).

caprice of the formula's author. They are mythical, sacred texts, which once chosen, and aesthetically structured, can only be interpreted in a different form, or represented by different verbal or vocal images, on condition that they respect what one might call the 'canonical iconography'. This iconography is made up of themes – along the lines of mediaeval 'themes' such as the blue mantle of the Virgin (which could be realised in azure or in violet) or the gold background of triptychs (which could be either yellower or lighter; see Chapter 2). There is for example the theme of the mythical hero Monikiniki, who may be represented in the song with different images, but always images connected with his characteristics and actions (see *Monikiniki*, *Mwasila Monikiniki*); images which refer to his beauty, the fact that he has wings, his passionate loves. The images used in the various Kula poetic formulae are encapsulated in verbal figures which modify the 'conceptual mythical subject matter' on a superficial level – that of forms of expression – without affecting it at a deep level. Indeed, one may even say that their respect for it is such as to make the Kula formula more choral and objective than a formula sung for a loved one. The image of the millipedes, for example, which (although it may be sung with a range of subtle vocal variations) metaphorically represents the sinuous, agitated motion of one who is going to his comrade for the ritual exchange; or else the quivering body of a man involved in a Kula expedition, given metaphorical expression as the tremor of a mountain (which is itself a personification of the mythical hero), may be different from the image which represents the same action, characteristic or attitude in another formula; but its metaphorical value will be the same. This common group of mythic images is what constitutes the characteristic nature of the poetic formulae sung for the Kula, and what makes it less subjective than such formulae as *Lube'gu*. And this is true in spite of the fact that both types have in common the solitude and secrecy that go with their performance. Before leaving for a ritual expedition – the context is therefore that of a collective event which at one level or another involves all the inhabitants of a village – a singer of *Tougatu* cloisters himself in the solitude of his shady hut and sings. There is no listener – it is expected that no one will listen – and yet all the inhabitants of the village know instinctively that he is singing a poetic formula, even if they do not know which one. They can probably even envisage its manner of performance. They know that he is probably addressing one of his comrades in the ritual exchange, and that he is 'calling him to him':

- 1 Come close to me, come to me,
- 2 come closer and closer to me, we'll be together
- 3 excited like the sinuous, millepede, sinuously.

From their hearing – which is a purely imaginary assumption – they also infer the probable images employed in the formulae; this is made possible by the fact that we are within a framework of elements that belong not merely, nor even primarily, to the men involved in the ritual exchange, but also to those who culturally share the myth of Monikiniki, the collective hero. All who participate in this myth, even at an unconscious level, have an intuitive grasp of the link between the singer and his 'ritual mate', who appears in all the poetic formulae as his reflected image or double. They realise, that is, that this link is also a metaphor for the relation between the singer and the mythic hero Monikiniki himself, and that, through the abstract figure of the hero, it is transformed into the relation between the singer and Nowau culture itself; they realise too, at a more general level, how the author of the formula has placed himself in relation to this culture, and how he has interpreted it. The singer here emphasises his role as the memoriser of a certain network of images – above all musical

images – which has been woven by a poet who is no longer alive; in this role he preserves both the memory of this network of images, and its values. And this memory and set of values are not affected or diminished by the secret, monodic nature of the formula.

Though it might seem self-contradictory, it makes sense to say that the formulae for the Kula have a ‘choral/collective’ character from the point of view of the images sung, but at the same time also a ‘monodic/subjective’ character in respect of their performance. A formula like *Lube’gu*, meanwhile, is basically monodic as regards both the images sung and the manner of the performance. Even its compositional fabric is more subjective and private, because it sings of an exclusive erotic relation between two lovers, which is not mythical (in this case at least) and which does not represent the actions of a hero but only the feelings of two individuals. The collective character of the culture is represented only by language (*langue* in the sense used by de Saussure) and by the musicality of the poetic formula, rather than being directly involved in the erotic relation.

A last group of poetic formulae is constituted by compositions which are performed silently, only ‘in the mind’ of their owner, without being sounded. Their vocal realisation takes place only on the occasion of their passing on from one magician to another: for example, *Ī yai ĩ yai I*, performed by Krobai of Okabulula, or *Kwarakwara* performed by Rosigega of Lalela.

The utter secrecy that surrounds them is a function of their purely mental nature; and the fact that they are performed in absolute silence, enclosed within the mind, is an indication that they deal with feelings, ideas or concepts whose vocal expression the community regards as a threat to their cohesion, but whose existence at the individual level they cannot deny. The desire for a person’s death, for example, is recognised as a possible feeling; but to make such a desire public – to vocalise it, even in a scarcely audible murmur to oneself – is considered a danger to the structure that holds together the social group. As an individual, a man may even acknowledge a negative feeling; but at the same time, as a member of the community, he must deny this feeling’s existence. The contradiction is sanctioned, in a characteristically nominalist procedure, by the displacement of the individual’s negative feeling to his mind – which in this particular case is regarded as a secret place in which the feeling can be sung in absolute silence. Silent performance thus becomes the manner in which to sing a desire which is classified as negative, and whose content is only assumed by the inhabitants of Kitawa, while it is known by the few magicians and by their equally few initiates. (In the whole Lalela territory there was only one initiate up to the second half of the 1980s.)⁵⁵ An indirect confirmation of my hypothesis is provided by the extraordinary difficulties encountered in the attempt to establish not only an acceptable transcription of a silent text, but also a correct translation. For the other formulae, there is a fairly large range of informers to whom one may turn; these informers will display differences in their approaches and levels of knowledge, but will be able to assist one in tracing the vague meanings which are associated with the words sung, especially in the case of formulae performed for ritual exchanges. But with this other kind of poetic formula the number is markedly reduced. It is not just that there is an objective difficulty which arises from lexical considerations: the impossibility, for example, of locating a lexeme within its lexicon, or the ambiguity of the lexeme as sung. There is also a psychological difficulty, namely that no one apart from its owner/magician is allowed to know this type of *megwa*, and to hear one (as in the case of my recording) is considered blasphemous and highly dangerous. To ask a person

⁵⁵ This was Demuda Denekwa, apprentice of Tausia of Kumwageiya.

to listen to and then interpret a silent poetic formula is tantamount to an invitation to his death; or, to be more precise, it involves inflicting on that person the possibility of a violent response on the part of the possessor of the *megwa* – a response that usually takes the form of a poisoning.⁵⁶ And this is the case even with someone like Siyakwakwa Teitei, the most highly equipped of people from the linguistic point of view, who helped me to establish both the sounds of the formulae performed by Rosigega and Krobai and a possible translation of them into words, as well as their probable meanings.

However, beyond these considerations of custom, which belong outside the context of any kind of poetic expression, silent formulae show, to a greater extent than other poetic compositions, the effective power attributed to the musical word in the construction/representation of reality. (This reality cannot be a metaphorised reality: the words are equivalent to speech acts; see Searle 1969).⁵⁷ The *modulatio*, once sounded, reveals one of the values associated with the vocalisation of the musicality of any Nowau formula. The vocalisation metaphorises the power of the composer/singer to construct a sung reality. The vocalisation shows the linguistic ‘competence’ which inheres in all speakers of a language (in this case Nowau); this competence is however perceived by the majority of them only at the intuitive level. Competence is made explicit and conscious in the person (i.e. the composer) who constructs sounds/words (i.e. the musicality of a poetic formula), and also in the person who performs these sounds/words (i.e. the singer). In this case we have an example of linguistic ‘performance’, where ‘competence’ is made explicit in sound.

We may thus consider the matter under three headings: composition, performance and transmission and memorisation.

(a) COMPOSITION

All poetic formulae undergo a phase of construction, in which they are woven into a definitive text, by a process of elaboration of an initial idea, proceeding by trial and error. This text can then be sounded (in a performance) or not sounded (in which case it remains silent, with only an internal performance on the part of the proprietor of the formula).

⁵⁶ I encountered considerable difficulties, first in persuading Rosigega and Krobai to sound their silent *megwa*, and then in persuading Ipaiya and Siyakwakwa to listen to them so as to assist me in establishing a correct transcription and in identifying the probable meanings of each word used in the texts. There was the same problem – perhaps to an even greater extent – in making Uniweni of Lalela, the grandson of Edi, tell the version of the foundation myth that belonged to his family group. Uniweni was indeed a probable successor of Geredou and Tokuraeiya in the leadership of Lalela – a succession whose legitimacy was disputed by the two brothers. In telling me his own family group’s version of the foundation myth – the one connected with the Misimasi rock – he was committing a double violation of the rules: he was telling the myth without yet being the head of the area, and he was telling a version in conflict with the text that belonged to the family which had for centuries been in power in Lalela. I believe that only my intervention with, and gifts to, Geredou, to whom I explained that Uniweni’s version of the tale interested me purely for study purposes, succeeded in saving Uniweni from the vengeance – though certainly not from the resentment – of the former.

⁵⁷ I believe that their vocalisation – the concrete realisation of the musical design with which they have been woven – metaphorically terrifies the hearer. The transition from the silent phase, from the absence of sound, to the sounded phase is tantamount to an act of construction; and the sound is made concrete, in a temporal sequence, in notes which evoke the image of something expanding and growing. The vocalisation of a silent poetic formula is heard as a continual incision in time, a cascade of ‘heavy’ notes which oppress the ear and the spirit. One experiences the clear sensation of the vocalised sound’s becoming real. Obviously, the same sensation is not experienced if one is already used to the vocalisation of the poetic formula, as in the case of a *wosi*, or of a poetic formula for ritual exchange.

(b) PERFORMANCE

The texts of some poetic formulae are vocalised, and therefore heard. Certain other texts, usually those intended for the expression of a feeling or attitude which is classified as negative by a particular social group, are recited in silence, within the mind of their owner, thus occasioning an internal hearing, without sound. The singer's body remains almost motionless and the performance is monodic in type. Performance in the strict sense thus only takes place with sounded poetic formulae.

(c) TRANSMISSION AND MEMORISATION

In the context of communication within an oral culture, all poetic formulae are transmitted through a vocalisation of the text. The kind of vocalisation however varies according to the kind of text. A text such as *Da weriya*, for example, may be transmitted to a number of people – theoretically even to all the members of a village who belong to the four clans – without the violation of secrecy. This is because the theme dealt with in the formula belongs not to a particular clan or subclan but to the collective culture in the broad sense; it can thus be heard by everyone. The transmission, and corresponding memorisation, of a formula like *Lube'gu* is secret; it will perhaps be transmitted and heard only by the loved one, who will in his/her turn be able to transmit it to another loved one. It might also provide an example of a text which once composed and performed is not transmitted, except in the case of a recording. In short, we have here a case of a poetic formula living out its entire life within a very select group. It may have been composed by only two people, and its transmission is exhausted in a very short space of time. A poetic formula such as *Tougatu*, on the other hand, may circulate freely in spite of always being transmitted in a context of secrecy, within a single clan, a nuclear subset of the clan (e.g. by Gidou to his brothers Geredou and Tokuraeiya), or even a family group the selection of which does not obey the laws of matrilineal succession (e.g. by Gidou to one of his children). Another feature of the transmission of these formulae is that of going beyond the confines of the above-mentioned groups, 'travelling' around the Kula Ring. Their secrecy therefore consists in both the manner of transmission (from person to person, with the donor/owner of the formula isolating himself, for the duration of the performance, with the person who is receiving it) and the manner of performance (in a low voice, with a scarcely audible murmur). The time of performance is similarly secret: before and during a ritual expedition.

The style of transmission of a silent poetic formula is different. According to the accounts of both Rosigega and Krobai, it takes place only on the occasion of the passing-on of a formula by its magician/owner to his initiate. Initiator's and initiate's membership of the same clan is the *sine qua non* for transmission and acceptance of a silent poetic formula, in view of the fact that many of these formulae are sung for the specific purpose of defending a clan from the malicious attacks of other clans. This type of formula represents an example of an absolutely secret style of transmission, and this involves a considerable mental effort: the effort of rendering the musical fabric of the memorised formula at the level of sound. The person who is reciting it for the purpose of transmission finally hears the formula, and perceives real sounds which have for decades been preserved in a completely internal manner; this leaves open the possibility of a discrepancy, in performance, between the mental sound and the real sound, possibly leading to an attempt at adjustment between the two.⁵⁸ It

⁵⁸ It is highly probable that in the performance of a *wosi*, or of a *megwa* for the Kula, the phenomenon of detachment between musical text and vocal text, which may take place with the silent *megwa*, should not be in evidence.

is evident that this process of correction in the transmission of a silent poetic formula constitutes a crucial problem: if the giver notices that he is running into discrepancies in performance, he 'corrects his aim' during the realisation of the sounds. Furthermore, the singer may realise that the vocalisation of the musical fabric in the silent poetic formula can also be independent of the meanings associated with the structure of the formula. This independence may of course be interpreted by a singer/performer at a number of levels, as set out under (1) and (2) below.

(1) At a general level, it might imply that the sound used to give phonetic form to a silent word – the word is itself to be taken as the product of an arbitrary association between signified and signifier – is completely independent of the mental image of the word itself. The silent word could also be given a different phonetic form.

(2) More particularly, the possible dissociation, or non-adjustment, between a mental image and the sound that ought to represent it (as it has been imagined musically in the mind of the singer) is the specific characteristic of silent poetic formulae. Their performance is an internal one which actually puts aside the question of vocalisation of the text, except at the single moment of transmission. Of course, the error may be correct, and the singer may rediscover the sound which suits the musical image. This kind of error is frequently the result of this very practice of non-performance which characterises the silent poetic formula. The singer may have memorised the formula correctly when he received it from his initiator; but subsequently, as a result of the necessity of performing it in the mind alone in order to manage to preserve it, he has lost its verification in sound to the extent that he can no longer reproduce the original association – heard at the moment of memorisation – between mental sound and real sound. Between the moment of memorisation of the formula and the moment of its transmission, when it is given again, there is nothing but silence: an absence of sound in which the image of the music is perpetuated at the mental level.

The 'internal performance' of a silent poetic formula leads inevitably to a process in which its aesthetic/musical content is made absolute. The network of signs of which it is constituted flows on in silence. These signs, neither written nor spoken, flow in the singer's mind, where there is a different perception of time and space. (In the case of sounded poetic formulae, time and space are used to express a clear formalisation of the verbal text's rhythm and melody). What we have is a kind of compressing of the formula into a dimension which we might call 'atemporal'. Then, at the moment of transmission from one singer to another, we move from this compressing to an unwinding, an unravelling, in which silent is transformed into sounded. This is the moment at which a gap may open up between the sound which was heard at the time of memorisation and the sound performed in song during its transmission. It sometimes happens that in the course of this transmission of the silent formula the giver varies not only the tonality but even the actual melodic outline of the song, to such an extent that one is put in mind of a new composition. I would argue that in this case there is even an objective possibility of confusion between composer and singer of the silent formula, arising from the fact that the hearer (and so also the transcriber) knows in advance that the text may, by the very nature of this kind of formula, have been manipulated. It is no accident that there may be instances when the sense fails completely – not so much musically as conceptually and semantically.

The difficulties which confront anyone who transcribes, and then translates, a poetic formula of this kind are greater than those involved in the transcription and translation of any other genre of formulae. It is, for example, an extremely complex question whether or not it

is correct to divide the text into stanzas, and the stanzas into two or more lines, or whether a different kind of division may be in play in the flow of the sounds which are performed. Clearly the difficulty is exacerbated by the fact that one has only one performance of the poetic formula on which to base the transcription. One performance, that is, in the sense that it is performed by only one magician, unless one has the good fortune to hear the same formula again – possibly from its first owner. I was not lucky enough to do this; but, even if I had been, the problems would have remained the same, because of the particular nature of these formulae. For example, the possibility that a magician may alter a poetic formula at the moment of its performance/vocalisation cannot be completely dismissed, partly because the singer of this kind of formulae has been initiated, and undergone a period of apprenticeship, and so is better trained technically in the business of manipulation of the text than is a simple singer involved in a ritual exchange. The latter will necessarily perform the Kula poetic formula in a manner which respects the text to be performed. This will be a layman's type of performance; the magician's, on the other hand, is closer to that of a professional singer: both are trained to work with mental, musical and vocal images. It is therefore possible that a magician, by virtue of his greater capacity for manipulation of sounds, is able at the moment of passing on a silent poetic formula, that is of vocalising it, to realise the expressive value of the sound as an aesthetic element in its own right; and that he may therefore also vocally compose a silent poetic formula, trying a different *modulatio* from that which he has memorised.

The possibility of vocal manipulation of a text of this genre becomes even greater if one bears in mind that a magician knows other types of poetic formulae – that is to say, other kinds of vocalisation – such as the poetic formulae for ritual exchange. At the moment when he vocalises a *megwa*, he may have in mind, or undergo some influence from, these vocal forms.⁵⁹ In the process of transcribing, then, though one may even regard the text one hears as the unique example, one will not be able to confirm its authenticity. It will be impossible to know whether the sounds recorded are in fact those established by the author of the text, not least because it is assumed at the outset that the force of a performance of a silent poetic formula consists precisely in its internal nature.

1.8 PROBLEMS IN TRANSCRIBING A NOWAU POETIC FORMULA

The possibility of a discrepancy between 'mental sound' and 'real sound' is a feature of any poetic formula, but especially of silent poetic formulae. It gives rise to a number of doubts regarding the objectivity, or correctness, of the ethnologist's transcription of the text recited. What I have in mind here are not so much the doubts which exist concerning the comprehensibility of sounds: whether, for example, a sound is an allophone of another, or should be classified as a 'new' sound, outside the range of sounds already classified with IPA symbols. (This is a problem for phonetic transcription as such.) I mean rather the problem whether a sound is really 'that sound' which the singer wishes to perform; whether the real sound corresponds to the sound envisaged by the composer at the time of the definitive construction of the poetic text; or whether a mental image (a concept or signified)

⁵⁹ The possibility cannot be ruled out that the style of vocalisation of a particular *wosi*, or of a *megwa* for the Kula, may influence the vocalisation of a silent poetic formula when the latter is given by an elder magician to his pupil. The fact that he has performed it for many years in his mind alone, and at the same time as the performance of other, sounded poetic formulae, may lead the magician to confuse the musical fabric of the silent *megwa*, at the moment of its vocalisation, with the musical fabric, or fabrics, of other poetic formulae.

has been associated with the sound which is sung (and then transcribed by the ethnologist), and this mental image is impossible to extract from the word which the lexicon of everyday Nowau associates with this transcribed sound. In this last case, the sound would express an independent value of its own. The silent poetic formula might thus provide confirmation for the hypothesis that the music which is the basis for the construction of Nowau poetic formulae follows its own rules, which then affect the choices made in the verbal text, as well as its manner of construction. It is a complete reversal of the relation between the libretto and the score of an opera, where the latter sets the former to music. With Nowau poetic formulae we have first the musical score (which constructs the magical effect of the poetic formula) and then the 'libretto'. Ipaïya of Lalela, in his function as composer, gave confirmation of this manner of construction. It is therefore precisely this relative independence between the two texts – the verbal and the musical – that poses, in a dramatic way, the problem of the singer/performer's function in relation to a poetic text. I say relative independence, because the words to be associated with the musical text are determined by it, and must attempt to give an adequate representation of it at the moment of their construction in the context of the definitive performance. A word may have to be manipulated in its manner of expression in order to bring it into line with the musical pattern represented or adopted by the composer; its syllables may be modified in relation to their normal phonetic form, in such a way as to make the word produce, not its usual meaning/concept, but a musical meaning. The performer may indeed feel justified in introducing vocal variants which are not envisaged by the author of the formula in his definitive text. On the grounds of the probable dissociation between musical text and verbal text, the hearer is predisposed to accept a 'varied' interpretation, one which does not correspond to the composer's text. When, further, a text which is sung – with all the likely variants – presents itself from the outset as a musical self-expression, the manipulations which the performer feels justified in making will be such that the hearer may even confuse singer and composer. And yet this text – the 'original' – does exist, and the fact of its existence is partly an indirect result of the close attention with which the inhabitants of Kitawa listen to the performance of a poetic formula: an attention that they exercise at a number of different levels. (Silent formulae constitute an exception, although in their case there is scrutiny from a smaller, more select group, that of the magician.) This kind of scrutiny is rendered possible by the functioning of Nowau oral culture in accordance with its own mechanisms, and in particular by acceptance of the values which the poetic formulae express in song. Anyone recording or transcribing a poetic formula recited within an oral culture should thus be aware of the possibility of distortions in the course of a formula's transmission from one singer to another, and of the further possibility, in the case of silent formulae, of a complete rift between the sound envisaged in the musical text and that performed. S/he is thus forced to address the question whether the formula which has been recorded and transcribed is in fact the original, the 'piece' constructed by the composer. If we accept the historical existence of T.S. Eliot, John Keats and Homer, and the validity of attributing to them, respectively, *The waste land*, *Hyperion* and the *Iliad* (with, of course, the necessary distinctions between different authors and different periods), why should it be impossible to ask the question of the identity of the author, X, of a poetic formula, Y, which the ethnologist has recorded? In the light of the above considerations, the response that 'the author is always identical with the singer' seems to me unacceptable. (The case of Ipaïya, where the ethnologist is aware that these two figures are represented by one person, is an exception.) The fact that a singer performs a poetic formula which is recorded for the first time, and subsequently transcribed, does not imply that that formula is the 'original'. It may be that Homer composed and wrote down, or dictated, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and these two

texts may even be the 'originals'; but it does not follow that this is always the case, especially in the domain of ethnology, where the problem of the author (if we admit that it can no longer be denied) is probably to be posed in a different way from in a 'written' culture, where the name of the author may be memorised by other means. For example, no one at Kitawa can deny that Ipaïya of Lalela is the author of the poetic formulae *Nadubeori*, since he composed and sang them, and they have been recorded in their final, definitive form. Nor can they deny that the author of *Da weriya* is a woman, whose name is still preserved in the memory of all the inhabitants of Lalela; or, again, that the author of the poetic formula *Ba yaruwa* is a poetess who lived on the island of Muyuwa. But I do not believe that it is necessary to identify a specific name, X, as in the case of Ipaïya of Lalela, in order to accept the hypothesis that there is always an author of a Nowau poetic formula. It should suffice to accept the theory of a model of the poetic formula, which, in its nature as model, must have been constructed, elaborated and asserted by someone – poet or poetess – at a particular time, which is partly identifiable on the basis of the type of musicality and language in the model itself. *Tougatu*, for example, in the performance of Siyakwakwa, who is (by his own assertion) not its author, belongs within a particular model of poetic formulae for the Kula; this model may be described through an analysis, not just of the text of *Tougatu* recorded, but also of other poetic formulae of the same genre. The appeal to tradition by both composers and singers ("I am performing the poetic formula as it was performed in the past", or "I was singing as my ancestors sang", or even, "I sing like Ipaïya" – an implicit reference to the idea of the author of the text, but one which might be extended by analogy to cover other poetic formulae as well) is not necessarily always, or only, to be assessed in terms of justification of the correctness of one's own performance, or of the correctness of one's own poetic composition. It is not obvious that the only significance of the attribution of a given musical pattern (e.g. that of *Nadubeori*) on the basis of which a poetic formula is composed or performed, to one's own master/initiator, is that of conferring authority on one's own composition and/or performance, and on oneself as the upholder of this tradition. In many cases (which could be better documented by ethnologists) the resort to tradition is to be interpreted as a synthetic – and therefore metaphorical – way of saying that the text has been composed, or performed, by reference to an underlying model, and also to rules which allow this model to be represented at the individual level, through the construction of a poetic formula.

Without a model to which to refer, it is impossible even to assess the novelty, or the assumed novelty, of a new poetic composition. The model may have been elaborated, or suggested, by one's own master, by a composer/singer; it may also be a specific model which characterises the poetic tradition of a village, of a clan or subclan. When a singer raises the issue of tradition (often by association with a specific name, such as, in the case of Ipaïya of Lalela, his own father – see Chapter 2), he merely means that he is performing a poetic formula in accordance with the canonical rules which he learned at the time of his apprenticeship, which are identifiable at the time of hearing of the performance and which are encapsulated in the recited text itself. A performance cannot avoid being subjective, even though it is connected with the context in which it takes place; but by its very nature as an interpretation, it is equally clear that it presupposes – and poses – the problem of the author of the text performed, which must have been constructed at a particular historical time.

One might, for example, raise the question whether the *Iliad* was actually composed by Homer, or whether it is merely an interpretation sung by Homer which, for various reasons, came to be written down and thus fixed. In other words, the written text of the *Iliad* may be

regarded as 'the text' or as 'a text' – an interpretation of the original. The question is clearly a captious or rhetorical one: in this specific case we have a 'written' text of the *Iliad* which defines itself as the 'original'; it presents its own 'authorisation' as 'the text of the *Iliad*' (it is the 'authoritative text'). Before this text, we possess nothing of a similar complexity, as regards both length and compositional fabric; or so it seems.⁶⁰ We have some fragments, but these in themselves arouse the suspicion that the *Iliad* (composed, let us say, by Homer) is a poem woven by a process of trial and error, before being defined as the 'text of the *Iliad* of Homer'. The *Iliad* represents the compositional model of the 'making of epic poetry' in the tenth century B.C., by reference to which we may examine all the other compositions of epic poetry of the same period. The model is explicit, and is accepted as such by all other authors of poetry of the same genre. The singer of the *Iliad* after Homer (even the day after) is classified as 'a singer' of the *Iliad* (the equivalent of the Nowau singer), and not as its 'author' (the equivalent of the Nowau composer). This singer may recite the *Iliad* in some modified form; he may introduce variants. But both this form and these variants will be liable to evaluative judgements based on the text of the *Iliad* of Homer. The name of Homer as author of the *Iliad* in itself prevents any possible confusion between singer and author of the poem – that is, between the singer and the author of the model of the 'making of epic poetry in the tenth century B.C.'. Furthermore, the fact that the *Iliad* is regarded as an absolute starting point means that it is posited as 'the model', precisely because there previously existed nothing of sufficient complexity to fulfil this function of point of comparison for the other members of the same genre. The '*Iliad* model' is explicit because it is contained within the 'written text' of the poem itself.

In ethnology, however, even the transcription of oral texts is usually carried out by a member of a different culture from that in which the text was constructed. The attempt to determine the 'compositional model' of, for example, the poetic formulae for Kula ritual exchange, is therefore more complex; but it is still possible. Such a model may be encapsulated in the totality of the poetic formulae of ritual exchange; these are probably too numerous to be transcribed by a single researcher, and can thus be represented only partially by the recorded texts. Even though a model is always to some extent encapsulated even in one poetic formula (so that even in *Touguatu* one may identify a probable model of reference for 'poetic formula for ritual exchange'), the model so constituted will be of a particular, somewhat stunted kind. A model of reference needs a whole range of actualisations, which can be seen as interpretations revealing its basic structure, or a part of its structure. A single poetic formula will be able to suggest only one interpretation of the model; it cannot represent the model adequately or exhaustively. Consider as an example the prowboards of ceremonial canoes. I may say that board X interprets model A, because there exists a series, N, of other boards which are equally interpretations of the same model A. I may also say that model A of the School of Towitara of Kumwageiya is different from model B of the School of Kurina of Lalela. Further, I conclude from a comparison between A and B that there exists a 'schema', of a general and abstract kind, to which both A and B may be referred (Scoditti 1990a).

Basically, a single poetic formula may be referred to either a model or a schema. So its originality arises from the 'manner' in which it interprets a model, and, through this model, a schema. If we hypothetically posit *Touguatu* as the unique example of a poetic formula for ritual exchange, then *Touguatu* will for me represent both model and schema. If, however, besides this I also record other poetic formulae in which I find a compositional fabric similar

⁶⁰ See Montanari (1989:152-176) 'Omero e l'epica greca arcaica'.

to *Tougatu*'s, I may then say that this formula is merely an interpretation – a version – of a model. And I may say too that this model has in its turn (as we gradually increase the selection of texts) interpreted a compositional schema (that of 'the construction of poetry', for example) which may be valid not just for the formulae sung for ritual exchange, but also for other poetic formulae sung for the festival of Milamala, and for love-enchancements. What we have is the 'schema of making Nowau poetry from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century'.

In a poem like the *Iliad*, then, we can probably identify, in addition to the compositional model, the pattern of which the *Iliad* is merely one interpretation. Thus, Homer had the opportunity, not just to construct a model – which is contained within his poem – but also adequately to represent the pattern of 'Greek epic poetry' in his period. The set of poetic formulae for ritual exchange in this volume, on the other hand, though they may in themselves give an adequate representation of the various models of reference on whose basis they were composed, do not give a similarly adequate representation of the general, abstract schema. Or, to be more precise, while a model is encapsulated in a poetic formula, a schema is encapsulated only indirectly; in order to identify it accurately we require a number of models of reference (e.g. the model of the poetic formulae composed at Iwa, Gawa, Kiriwina, Vakuta and Muyuwa).⁶¹ Basically, we would need a larger selection of poetic formulae for ritual exchange in order to identify their general, abstract schema more exactly. However, it does not follow from this consideration that the schema of the poetic formulae for ritual exchange cannot be given in outline, or grasped intuitively: this, at least in a 'weak' sense, is possible. The schema is always partially represented by any of its models, even if the only concrete version of the model is fragmentary. There always exists a correlation between schema and model, even though the schema determines the model, not the other way around. The schema of 'expressing oneself poetically', or of 'composing poetic formulae in accordance with a given melody' is independent of its various models (the model which has produced a poetic formula such as *Tougatu*, for example), in virtue of the fact that it may exist in latent form, without achieving concrete expression in a specific or definite model. It may be present at a particular period of history and then disappear, to reappear later. Or it may characterise one period to a greater extent than another. In the region of Lalela, for example, the schema of recitation of 'poetic formulae for ritual exchange' (the pattern, that is, which is limited to the performance of these alone) was characteristic of the whole of the period leading up to the Protestant United Church mission, but was then suspended through pressure from the missionaries (see Chapter 2). This is not to say, however, that this schema did not remain latent, and retain its validity as a manner of expressing oneself in poetry, independently of its actualisation. It remained as a potential to be represented at some future time, probably interpreted with different models. It could, for example, happen that a hymn to be sung during a service of the local United Church might, by its musicality or manner of performance, reflect a model based on the traditional schema of 'poetic formula for the Kula', or might recall the model of a poetic formula of the *Da weriya* type. The latter is a much more realistic possibility, in view of the fact that formulae

⁶¹ The real problem for the definition of a poetic schema is not whether or not it may be posited within an oral culture, but rather the possible difficulty (these days the near-impossibility) of recording and documenting a whole range of poetic formulae and their respective models of composition. I myself, for example, in fifteen years of research, have been able to record only a fragment of Nowau poetry, which scarcely suffices for the formulation of interpretive theories. It is, however, large enough to give some indication of the complexity and immensity of Nowau 'literary' production – and of the corresponding aesthetic philosophy.

of this type have not yet been affected by any ban by the Christian churches. However, the fact remains that a model of a poetic formula for ritual exchange may achieve fruition within the composition of a new Christian hymn, since the former is regarded as a manner of self-expression which is connected with the 'sacred', and a Christian hymn is also classified as sacred. The opposite development is, I believe, more problematic: it is unlikely that the composition of a hymn would influence the manner of construction of poetic formulae for the Kula. It might, possibly, have an influence on the manner of construction of a poetic formula like *Da weriya*. But a more likely kind of influence from a Western/Christian schema is that which might eventually lead to the disappearance of specific models in the construction of Nowau poetry. At the beginning – a period which will cover a considerable number of years – it is likely that one or more models of Nowau poetic formulae will disappear: for example, *Da weriya* will not be recited any more – in other words the model encapsulated in this formula will disappear, or be regarded as no longer valid. But the mode of recitation and singing of *Da weriya*, on the other hand, will remain for a long period of time. When, for example, a singer hears a prayer to a Christian saint which has not been constructed in accordance with the musical model of *Da weriya*, he will probably attempt to superimpose this model on the prayer.⁶² Essentially, the manner of singing, of vocal articulation, will – at least initially – dominate the prayer. The model of the prayer, which is in its turn an interpretation of the schema of 'Christian/Western prayer', is interpreted as if it had been elaborated within the traditional 'poetic schema' of Nowau culture. But it is the manner of singing, not the so-called 'content', or meaning, of the Christian prayer, that will be modified. For example, an *Ave Maria* may be sung exactly like a *Da weriya*. Its phonetic form, in the sense of the articulation of sounds of a text expressed in a language (e.g. English) different from that in which the singer usually expresses himself, is influenced by the phonetic form of the singer's own language. (In this case the prayer is transmitted and performed as though it were a purely oral text.) And this will continue for a long period of time, at least until the phonetic system of a language achieves a status as a functioning part of a living cultural system.

It appears that this is a further proof of the dissociation between the 'content' of the Christian prayer (for example) and the manner of its vocal performance. The Christian 'content' is enveloped in Nowau music. Here again it is the style of performance that predominates, producing its fascination and magical effect. The 'content' of the prayer is forgotten, as is clearly demonstrated by the songs and hymns which I recorded in the local United Churches, especially in the regions of Kumwageiya and Lalela, beginning in the second half of the eighties. (At Okabulula, on the other hand, the influence of the church is much weaker.) The same phenomenon is attested in many other churches in Papua New Guinea.⁶³

⁶² The poetic formula *Da weriya* does not impinge on the Nowau domain of the sacred in the way that, for example, the *megwa* for the Kula do; its musical design and fabric can therefore be manipulated to make them fit the design of a Western musical model (such as Gregorian chant) and to suggest a new composition.

⁶³ Father Theo Ärts of the Bomana College at Port Moresby, who is a keen student of contemporary religious experience, especially in the Melanesian area, has drawn my attention to the fact that the musical design, and the concomitant musical fabric, of a prayer or hymn is the source of greater fascination than its 'content'. This phenomenon is followed very attentively by the Catholic Church (and Father Ärts is one of their most intelligent observers), to the extent that the 'music' forms the central part, sometimes the predominant part, of a Catholic rite. This music may take the form of both vocal compositions and those for solo instruments – drums and Polynesian guitar. The result is the production

1.9 MUSICAL TEXT, VOCAL TEXT, TRANSLATABLITY AND CONCEPTUAL NONSENSE IN NOWAU POETIC FORMULAE

So the content of Nowau poetry is shaped within the formula through the musicality of its fabric. The author must therefore devote his attention to the forms of expression, not just of the sounds, but also of the possible 'words', which give a metaphorical representation of these sounds. The musical design of the formula (whether intended for 'vocal performance' or for 'silent, internal performance') conditions the author fundamentally: all his work as a composer must involve the adoption or modification of music inherited from the tradition or constructed anew. He must reach the level of expression which enables him to transform a 'vocal magma' into a conscious 'sound', or into a group of sounds. The poetic word which, then, he associates with these sounds must lose the conceptual connotations it would have in the everyday lexicon: the concept associated with the sound must 'sing'. During the process of composition, the memory of the composer must preserve the rhythmic flow, on which the 'words' are mounted. He will also use this memory to check – albeit intuitively – to what extent a sound harmonises with the entire musical programme of the formula. (However, the long apprenticeship and experience as composer add a new dimension to the term 'intuition'; it becomes a much more concrete phenomenon.) Further, he must use his vocal memory to take note whether this particular sound has already been used, and if so where and when, how and by whom. Ipaïya constructs a formula with his memory fixed on an ancient, archaic vocabulary, but at the same time also on a vocabulary of his own, which is constructed with, for example, Muyuwa sounds superimposed on Nowau sounds. He creates new musical effects through the combination of different vocal strands; he as it were casts about in the reservoir of the Nowau, Boyowa and Dobu languages, as well as in the language of 'closed' souls. But his musical construction does not essentially take place outside the Nowau phonetic system (nor outside the phonetic systems of the other languages used in the Kula region). He must, indeed, take account of the rules of these systems too. For example, in composing a poetic formula, Ipaïya is aware that a sound can acquire poetic value inasmuch as it 'contrasts vocally' (in a certain way, which is chosen and established by him) with the everyday use of the same sound; and he knows, as does any Nowau speaker, that this 'contrast value' also depends on the context in which the sound is placed. The phoneme 'l', for example, gains its definition from the extent to which it contrasts, in the Nowau phonetic system, with 'm', 'n' and 'r' (although it may also be an allophone of 'r'!). However, Ipaïya differs from the ordinary Nowau speaker who is not also a composer/singer in that he may manipulate the syllable 'l' within a musical fabric which is programmed in advance to be different from the musical fabric of everyday speech. He may 'extend' or 'contract' it to the point of re-composing it as almost equivalent to 'r', thus placing it in an 'ambiguous' vocal range which spans the values of both 'l' and 'r'. This effect is achieved, in the first place, within a musical fabric; when this fabric is then transcribed in writing, it may continue to suggest, especially for a non-Nowau, a morpheme which is equally ambiguous from the point of view of its meaning, within a chain of transcribed sounds. But in order to construct in this way, Ipaïya has to know not only the Nowau phonetic system (in which 'l' is contrasted with 'r' but may also, at the same time, function as an allophone of 'r'), but also the rules which allow him to work within this system so as to produce a 'new' sound. These are the rules that govern the mode of construction of Nowau poetry. The sound will be new because unusual in the everyday lexicon which is employed in ordinary communication; it

of forms of musical syncretism which are completely unknown in the Western Catholic Church – forms which, it seems to me, sometimes show a marked predominance of indigenous musical themes.

may be simultaneously 'l' and 'r', but also neither 'l' nor 'r', in the sense that once it is sung or sounded the syllable does not correspond to either 'l' or 'r'. This ambiguity may give rise to magic – to the poetic value of the new syllable or sound.⁶⁴

The singer, in his turn, perceives a fabric of sounds which are harmonised in a particular manner and which he must reproduce at the moment of performance. This mechanism is applied also in the case of someone performing a silent formula for the first time, provided we accept that the mechanism of construction for such a formula is the same as that for a sounded formula. In both performance and hearing, the sense is understood of the whole musical fabric of the text performed; the anthropologist can grasp this sense, and the meaning of the 'words' associated with the sounds, more precisely by means of a transcription, which reduces the vocal fabric to a 'written text'.

One consequence of this theory would be a different interpretation of the terms 'translatability' and 'untranslatability' in the context of a Nowau poetic formula. The problem of untranslatability does not arise, and if a singer, or a hearer, says that he is unable to 'translate' the musical fabric of a poetic formula – that is, in this case, to represent it with a sign different from the sound – this response is to be interpreted metaphorically. It means merely that the sung musical text, once reduced to the form of written words, loses its effectiveness and its characteristically oral nature. As they say at Kitawa, it loses its 'magical effect'. What this means is that one language has been substituted for another. To perform a poetic formula orally, by the modulation of the voice alone, is a quite different matter from reading it, visually following the words written on a page. Hence the inevitable ambiguity of a sound reduced to 'written sign' (morpheme, or word): its explanation/interpretation cannot but be ambiguous, and the reader of the formula cannot but associate a number of different, sometimes conflicting meanings with the same sound, since the sound as sung, chanted or murmured is richer, more expressive, than the sound reduced to written sign. The meaning of a 'poetic word', then, lies in its musicality, which is expressed by the performance (whether silent and internal or sounded). So the problem of untranslatability of a poetic formula within Nowau culture does not arise; the term 'untranslatable', when used, comes to be no more than a synonym for 'vocal effect' or 'magic'. It is equivalent to saying, "This poetry produces a magical effect", or "This poetry is made up of sounds". If an inhabitant of Kitawa said, "I cannot render this poetic formula in words/concepts", this sentence would have to be interpreted as a metaphor, a manner of speaking, referring to the musical value of the poetic formula.

For someone, on the other hand, who does not belong to Nowau culture – such as the ethnologist – the problem of translatability, and before that the problem of transcription, of a poetic formula, are formulated in different terms. Before deciding whether an oral text is unrepresentable in words, or untranslatable (into, say, English), the ethnologist must bear in mind the following methodological points:

(1) the relationship between the sound (signifier) and the meaning (signified) of a verbal sign is by definition arbitrary (de Saussure 1974; Prague Circle 1929);

⁶⁴ This kind of ambiguity is clearly immensely difficult to communicate through transcription, especially orthographic transcription. It is an ambiguity which is realised 'orally', in the recitation of a syllable, a whole word or a whole line. The hearer may clearly perceive the abnormality of the sound – more especially if he is an apprentice composer or an apprentice singer. One of the functions of the apprentice, it seems to me, is precisely that of mastering techniques of representation of the sound of a syllable or word (operating entirely on the *expression plane* of the word) and of noticing – in his role as future singer – the subtleties and ambiguities of the sounds constructed by the composer.

(2) the relationship between sound and meaning is doubly arbitrary when we are dealing with a 'musical sign' which, together with other musical signs, defines and characterises an oral poetic formula;

(3) a consequence of this double arbitrariness is that the 'signified' of a musical sign in a poetic formula (its *content plane*, in Hjelmslev's terminology) will be obscured by the 'signifier' (the *expression plane*), when we seek the true meaning of this sign;

(4) the imbalance between the two planes of the musical sign produces an 'unusual meaning', by contrast with that which is associated with the same sign when transcribed as a morpheme, or group of morphemes, and used, for example in everyday conversation.

So the problem which the ethnologist faces when s/he has in some way to transform a piece of Nowau poetry, not merely into an orthographic form but also into another language – a language which does not even belong to the same, Austronesian group to which Nowau belongs – is that of having to operate chiefly at the *expression plane* of the musical signs which constitute the formula itself. S/he must bear in mind in his/her transcription that its meaning lies in a particular musical form, which has to be 'commented' on by an operation which I would call metaphorical. For example, the transcription of a poetic formula like *Lube'gu* must take its original oral form as a starting-point, in such a way that the musical form of the performance may be rendered 'adequately'; this musical form must be represented equally 'adequately' in the translation into another language. The transcription of *Lube'gu* must not be a merely phonetic transcription (which would in any case not completely solve the problem of how to render the original musical form of the poetic formula, except in an approximate way), nor a merely musical one, written in notes in a score, but also an orthographic transcription so that we have a verbal representation of the formula in written words.

However, the ethnologist should never confuse the reduction to 'words' of a sung sound with the graphic representation of this sound, and thus of the poetic formula: the written word is only a metaphorical representation of this sound. The written sign, or series of written signs, which we reach at the end of various transcriptions, will be merely a visual substitute for the musicality of the oral word, and should be interpreted as a metaphor for the latter. Nevertheless the reduction of the formula to a series of written signs will never be an 'adequate representation' of its musicality (unless graphic devices are invented to enable the 'singing' of a poetic formula on paper), but merely a metaphorisation of that musicality. (And the same applies even to an oral transmission which breaks the formula down into syllables, in order to 'dictate' it, word for word, to the transcriber.)⁶⁵

It is in this very context of the process of metaphorisation that the problem arises in the ethnologist's mind of recovering the likely concept or meaning to be associated with a harmonic series of sounds reduced to graphic signs 'as if' the meaning belonged to this harmonic series. The correspondence between sound, transcription, graphic rendering of the sound, and meaning associated with this graphic form, is entirely arbitrary and may even produce conceptual nonsense; it is almost realised that the written text does not give an adequate representation of the musical text, and that the two texts are not translatable into another language. But I would argue that the near-untranslatability of a Nowau poetic formula is also a function of the nature of the sound, which moves on the *expression plane*

⁶⁵ I refer here to one of the moments during apprenticeship in which an elder singer or composer makes his pupil memorise a poetic formula.

(where there is a relation between 'substance' and 'form' of the expression), while the written verbal sign, which gives a metaphorisation on paper, moves on both the *expression plane* and the *content plane*, where it is possible to trace the meaning/concept of the sign (though concept and meaning remain arbitrary). But it is true, too, that in the everyday lexicon a meaning which can never adequately represent a certain sound is associated with a graphic sign (the written word) which has metaphorised this sound. The person who reduces the sound to verbal sign, and the person who reads it, realise that the sound expresses something more than, or different from, the graphic sign which metaphorises it. This, then, seems to provide further confirmation that the sound, or series of sounds, of a poetic formula has its own meaning, which can be analysed only approximately when the formula is reduced to a 'text of graphic signs'. Hence arise the various techniques employed in the attempt to refer to the sound, and the attempt to reconstruct the entire poetico-musical fabric of the formula, by means of metaphors which force the interpreter to manipulate the content of the graphic signs (which transcribe the sounds of the formula). Some of the concepts will seem descriptive and others excessively synthetic. The 'new' verbal text, made up of written words, can only be a metaphorical text, something (the visual sign) which stands in place of something else (the sound). It is a substitution of languages in the fullest sense – analogous to the case where the eye sees a landscape and, experiencing certain visual sensations, wishes then to translate these into words. Nor is the problem simplified if the substitution is made by musical notes, even though these would to an extent succeed in re-evoking the sound which they represent: what we have is still a 'silent' graphic sign, and the sound is still substituted by an element – the musical note – which occupies a certain space on the page of the score, rather than the time taken up by the oral sound. This is the reason why a singer who could hypothetically see a transcription of a poetic formula would not succeed fully in recognising it or reproducing it: a movement in time has been replaced by a location within a particular space. A poetic word sung, chanted or murmured is not the same as that word transcribed: the 'oral' word moves in time, while the same word transcribed can only more or less adequately refer to this movement in time; once it has been fixed on a surface – a sheet of paper, a papyrus, a rock – it will no longer be the same. From the sound, as non-verbal element, we move to a graphic representation of it (the abstract symbol of the phonetic transcription), and then this symbol is again metaphorised with a syllable or group of syllables. But even within the phonetic transcription we have to adopt graphic techniques to refer to the inadequacy of the phonetic symbol with respect to the sound which we wish to transcribe, for example /d/ or /t/ – techniques which must convey the vocal subtleties. It is as though one wished to use phonetic transcription as a means of stopping the temporal flow, which is characteristic of the spoken, recited or sung word, and confining it in a given space. In the next stage, the orthographic transcription of the same sound, this very richness of symbol employed in the phonetic transcription is reduced, and its complexity is reduced to a single written syllable. A half-long 'a' and a long 'a', for example, are no longer distinguished, but are reduced to the single vowel 'a': the reassertion and reproduction/execution of the 'openness' and 'closedness' of the vowel are entrusted to the reader's memory. It is therefore memory – 'aural memory' – which 'opens' and 'closes' a syllable, which articulates it at a higher or a lower pitch, which sings it or murmurs it. It is in the aural memory that a particular sound – and indeed the sound of the syllable, word and entire poetic formula – are re-composed: vocal memory returns sound to the written word. The value of this operation lies in its ability to recover the correct tone of voice, the original musical form, the rhythmic connection between one line and the next, the intervals between syllables. But in order to restore the musicality of a written word, one must first have it in

one's memory, represented in accordance with the mode of recitation in which it was performed in the past and which can never adequately be represented by the transcription of this word. The reader who is not privy to this mode of recitation can only imagine it – especially if his 'aural memory' is not accustomed to the sounds used in Nowau formulae. Of course, the transformation of a word from a vocal/oral to a visual/written entity is 'strong' when it operates in the domain of poetry, as in the case of the Nowau formulae. It is 'weak', on the other hand, when it is represented by musical notation. The latter gives an essentially adequate representation of the sounds for which it stands; the reader of the music can actually 'hear' the sound.⁶⁶ The 'oral poetic word', as sung, chanted or murmured, always requires the use of visual techniques to prevent a loss of sonority when reduced to a written sign: it is no accident that ambiguity is sovereign here.

In the original oral state, a language is simply organised musicality. As long as Siyakwakwa sings *Tougatu*, with its invocation to the mythic hero Monikiniki, the winged red serpent, his words are heard and memorised as sounds. Siyakwakwa has no need of transcription in order to sing the poetic formula: his vocal memory enables him to perform and hear it as a group of sounds organised in accordance with a certain mode, and in accordance with the rules of the Nowau poetic tradition. In the oral poetic language of Nowau Siyakwakwa finds the correct mode to sing the text of *Tougatu*; he does not require to 'see' this text, and its mode of recitation, transcribed in phonetic symbols or in musical notation. The difficulty which Siyakwakwa – like any other Nowau singer – would encounter in 'reading' *Tougatu* reduced to a written text is that which is characteristic of people used to expressing themselves orally, with the voice alone – people who, more particularly, memorise and classify words as musical form. It is that sound cannot be entirely reduced to a graphic sign because it is by nature more abstract than the sign. An 'oral word' is constructed with sounds organised according to a particular mode, and it occupies a musical time which consists also of intervals, pauses, accelerations and decelerations. This musical time cannot be adequately represented by a graphic symbol which cuts temporal polysemy, something that can be represented only metaphorically. Let us say that the performance of *Tougatu* by Siyakwakwa lasts, for example, three minutes. As he sings, Siyakwakwa is not aware of these three minutes; he does not notice the time that passes from the performance of the first verse to the performance of the last. His aim is to sing the deeds of the hero, or to represent a scene of Kula ritual exchange. Neither the deeds nor the scene can be fixed within a particular time; they move in his vocal mind as a harmonic totality of sounds, and are not placed in a definite space, as they will be once they have been reduced to written words. They are actualised only at the moment of Siyakwakwa's singing. They do, of course, exist within his consciousness as a singer, as also in the consciousness of the listener. The hero fighting a 'flying witch', and the man who decorates his companion with garlands of flowers in the course of a Kula ritual exchange, exist for both Siyakwakwa and his public at the moment of their actualisation through the performance of the poetic formula (consider for example the use of the present continuous, or historic present, which is a feature of nearly all Nowau poems). If Siyakwakwa could read his own written poetic formula, he would 'see' a number of graphic signs, but he would not hear the sounds. The written word 'memorises' differently from sound, just as a coloured sign 'memorises' differently again. Thus, in order to move from one level to another it is necessary to employ

⁶⁶ See Sloboda (1985), especially 'Music, language, and meaning', and 'Musical learning and development'; Cooke (1959); Levin and Addis (1980); Schenker (1979) (vol.2 in Oster's edition has particularly helpful examples).

techniques such as the use of metaphor, so as to get closer to the original level, the level to which the sound thus metaphorically represented belongs. So the word which is spoken, and 'not-sung', can never be recognised as a sound by a Nowau singer (assuming the hypothetical existence of a singer who could read). In order to revocalise the sound, this singer would have rather to turn back, with his aural memory, so as to reconstruct from the written sign the musical form of the word as he has always heard it. If, for example, Siyakwakwa could read my orthographic transcription of the performance of his poetic formula, he might even fail to recognise *Tougatu*, since the musical form of the sung text is not adequately represented by the words which give an (arbitrary) visual representation of this formula. The inadequacy at issue here is of course methodological in nature: the impossibility of representing graphically the sound/musical form of a sung word, rather than inadequacy in the sense of some particular error arising in the phonetic and orthographic transcription.

If Siyakwakwa had to sing my transcription of *Tougatu*, he wouldn't read or even look at it, but would attempt to reconstruct the musical text which he had previously memorised, closing his eyes and opening his ears. It is as though at the moment of remembering the sounds he were composing them anew; the ethnologist gains the impression that he is not merely the singer, but also the composer, of *Tougatu*. This is, however, only an impression: in this hypothetical operation, Siyakwakwa is not constructing the poetic text of *Tougatu*, but merely recalling it to his memory and restoring it to the hearer in the form of sounds, in an attempt to reproduce the musical mode which is characteristic of the orality of the poetic formula – a mode which Siyakwakwa has heard and memorised.

However, Siyakwakwa's performance will never be that of an author of poetic formulae, like Ipaïya of Lalela, who is able to say how one of his texts should be sung; it will, rather, be a performance which is conditioned by the other singers who have preceded him.⁶⁷ In recalling the tradition, Siyakwakwa reasserts a 'canonical' interpretation, which does not register significant variants of the transmitted text, especially at the musical level. The appeal to respect for the original musical mode of the poetic formula should not, however, be interpreted in the sense of static conservation of this mode, but rather as a reaffirmation of the validity of a certain musical poetics. The composer of *Tougatu* must have made a number of attempts at various musical hypotheses before arriving at the final solution, with which we are familiar through Siyakwakwa's performance. Siyakwakwa has memorised, primarily, the musical form of the poetic formula, the musical mode, whereas the content, or meaning, of the poetic formula once the oral text has been transcribed, may be different from the original content, or it may have been memorised and recalled in a fragmentary way. The singer performs first and foremost 'sounds', not words/concepts. It is the musical fabric that is retained in the singer's memory; and it is on the basis of this fabric that the singer may, if he is particularly inventive, weave in variations or transformations of 'words' originally

⁶⁷ Ipaïya is without doubt the person best placed to suggest how a poetic formula should be performed, from the point of view of both *modulatio* and interpretation of this *modulatio*. A singer's interpretation of one of Ipaïya's poetic formulae will thus be subject to Ipaïya's examination. The singer will not have the same degree of interpretive freedom (except in a very broad sense) as he would have in the performance of a poetic formula composed in the distant past. Respect for the 'text' of a poetic formula is therefore entrusted to the 'technical' memory of the singers, and also to their honesty as interpreters of a work constructed by someone else. So, the possibility of the 'closed' recension of a poetic formula within an oral culture may be asserted especially in the case where the author of this formula is still living and working. The text constructed by this person coincides, metaphorically, with his physical existence. After his death, the text may be subject not just to a greater interpretive freedom on the part of singers, but also to actual manipulations, so that we then have the possibility of an 'open' recension.

chosen by the author of the formula – provided that he respects their musical value. I am not thinking here primarily of the sounds sung to create a particular atmosphere, such as that of the wind, the murmur of the forest, the hiss of the spear, the whispering of souls with their ‘eyes closed’. Such sounds are indeed characteristic of many Nowau poetic formulae, and, in that they are suggestive of an atmosphere which is in its nature devoid of meaning (a gust of wind cannot have a meaning), they lend themselves to variation; a singer may reproduce the sound of thunder in a different manner from that of the original text of the formula. What I have in mind are rather the ‘empty sounds’, that is to say those sounds which represent the mode of the composition and performance of the poetic formula. To begin with, for example, it is likely that a particular word will be associated with a sound which is constructed by the author of the formula (the ‘empty’ sound). This word will represent the sound to the hearer. However, since we are dealing with the association of a sound used within a poetic formula, rather than within an everyday conversation, there may be a variation in the mode of performance which will influence this association of the two elements, as well as any possible interpretation (in its nature arbitrary) of the meaning, at the semantic level. And this influence will be wholly in favour of the sound, which will thus gain the ascendancy over the meaning. We seem to have here a further confirmation of the fact that both the musical design (the characteristic of a genre of poetic formula) and the musical fabric (which distinguishes one formula from another within the same genre) dominate, obscuring the words associated with them. The magic of the poetic formulae consists in the manner of constructing the voice, and in the expressive capacities of this voice. It seems that the musical model of a given poetic formula is represented in its essence by this voice, constructed through the use of a particular mode. In recalling the musical model, a singer – or the composer, who sings the same formula at different times – repeats a ‘manner’ of association of a specific word with a particular mode. But this vocal mode, which represents an expressive model, could also be constructed using a different word from that envisaged in the original text, but one with the same type of sound. We thus have a sound synonym. Once this synonym has been transcribed, however, and reduced to a graphic sign, it will realise a different ‘conceptual’ meaning. For as long as the word is sung, and heard, the musical synonym with the original word of the text is not remarked; once it has been transcribed, and this vocal synonym no longer gains concrete expression, its different meaning will be realised. And this meaning may even be nonsense. Such a hypothesis does not seem to me too far-fetched if one bears in mind that the context of Nowau poetic formulae is one of pure orality, one in which the essential feature is the construction, memorisation and transmission of musical modes. These modes represent models of reference for the construction and execution of another poetic formula belonging to the same genre.

The guiding force, then, in the construction of the poetic formula is a particular model of a vocal pattern; and this model is memorised by the singer as he hears, during his apprenticeship, the formula, or formulae, which encapsulate it, and which he may interpret in subtly different ways; as exemplified under (a) to (d) below.

(a) The singer may respect the model inherent in a poetic formula which he has memorised in accordance with the original sound-pattern and the original ‘verbal’ text; in other words, the singer may perform a formula for a certain length of time without introducing variations on either the musical or the lexical level.

(b) The singer may repeat a musical model, but introduce into the ‘verbal’ text of the poetic formula, which is constructed on this model, vocal words which are allomorphs of the vocal words of the original text; in other words, he may respect its meaning. In this case the

variation is not significant but merely reveals the considerable technical ability of the interpreter.

(c) The singer may respect the musical model of a given poetic formula, but introduce new vocal words into the 'verbal' text, which, when reduced to written signs, cannot any longer be considered allomorphs of the vocal words of the original text. Once transcribed and translated, they will signify new concepts, or they will form nonsense. This type of variation is usually possible for a singer who is also a composer, but who is interpreting a poetic formula composed by others.

(d) The singer may respect both the musical model of a poetic formula and the vocal words of the 'verbal' text of this formula, but vary, for example, the order of the lines which make up the original text. This kind of variation is found above all in poetic formulae for the Kula.

It is only through a concrete analysis of the various genres of poetic formulae that one may discover to what extent a musical model influences their construction and performance. However, it is always the case that a certain musical model has precedence over the vocal words that are chosen and/or constructed in order to compose a poetic formula on the basis of that model. Furthermore, a musical model does not exhaust the singularity and significance of a formula, any more than a particular model of a prowboard exhausts the significance and singularity of every *lagimu* and *tabuya* based on this model. Each prowboard is a visual object in its own right, and will always display some variation on the reference model, even if only a slightly larger or smaller graphic sign, or a brighter colour. But such variation, even if it is minimal or at times even imperceptible, is what gives both board and formula their singularity and uniqueness. But for a single composer or singer to notice one or more variants of the same poetic formula performed on various occasions seems to present more problems than is the case with a prowboard. The latter is an object which is liable to a greater degree of visual control, and may be compared with its model of reference, itself a visual object (except in the case where it actually is the model of reference; see Scoditti 1990a). A Nowau poetic formula, on the other hand, even a silent one, is only heard; and the hearer is captivated by the musicality of the formula – or possibly, on the contrary, disturbed by its lack of musicality – so that any comparison with its musical model of reference cannot be a direct one (unless another poetic formula representing this same model is performed simultaneously, or the model is incorporated in the formula itself). Such a comparison can in fact only be established after a number of performances, and only when the performer and hearer have the original text at their disposal. The fact that this text is not written does not mean that the comparison is impossible, but only that it is more problematic, relying as it does on an ability to place several interpretations alongside each other and in relation to a single text, which must already have been memorised and accepted as the 'original text' – an act which requires a considerable feat of memory. Such ability does exist, although it is less widespread than in a culture in which the both the text and its interpretations – and variants – are memorised in a more rigid form such as writing.

But for the transcriber of the poetic formula, the comparison between his own interpretation – the recorded performance – and the respective model of reference is more problematic. The formula is composed with 'sounds' which are structured in accordance with a certain mode, and the sound, even when reduced to a graphic symbol (as in the case of phonetic transcription) is transformed and metaphorised from another language.

Furthermore, the symbol that represents the oral sound is doubly arbitrary. Not only is it still a case of metaphorical representation, but also this representation is only a partial one: a phonetic symbol does not exhaustively represent the sound which it translates. So a variant introduced in an orally performed poetic formula becomes obvious only to the ethnologist, and is only fully analysable, after it has been written down. It should also be remembered, however, that the sound thus transcribed, and classified as a variant, may also be merely the result of a performance which is an incorrect version of the original text, or of a 'flawed' hearing. Even in the case of a poetic formula that is tape-recorded – a mechanical reproduction of the sound – what we have is nevertheless still no more than an act of memory, a witness, however valuable, of a likely interpretation of the formula. It does not solve the problem of whether the version/interpretation recorded is a model – one of the possible interpretations of the pattern of 'poetic formula for the Kula', for example – or the original text, or even a text with variations. (The question arises whether Siyakwakwa's performance of *Tougatu* is a model of the pattern of 'poetic formula for ritual exchange', or simply an interpretation of it, with or without variations.) Further problems arise, such as whether the sound recorded is actually the original sound, whether it is the sound that the author of the poetic formula had in his mind, or whether it might not rather be the result of some expansion that took place during the recorded performance. Nevertheless, the sound recorded is still a sound within the Nowau musical/poetic system; however much it may be expanded, this expansion is one which happens inside a defined – or definable – system.

Obviously, I do not wish to raise here the general question of the validity or definability of each language's own specific phonetic system. Rather, I am attempting to establish the extent to which this system allows such phenomena as expansions, which are tried out in the context of the actual construction and performance of a poetic formula. One example of musical, vocal expansion would be the prolongation of the syllable 'a' during the performance of a poetic formula, in such a way as to bring it close to the sound of a yawn, or stifled cry. How is this sound to be transcribed and interpreted, if its aim is to represent the spray of ginger from the mouth of a magician at the end of the performance of a poetic formula? And how, at the next stage, is it to be transcribed orthographically, let alone translated in terms of its musical form? An expanded sound is in itself always of musical significance; but if it is to be associated with a graphic symbol – as if the latter represented its 'content' – it is difficult to establish the limit of its vocal expansion (or abbreviation) in such a way as to enable its representation on paper by a phonetic symbol, and then by a graphic symbol. An 'a' prolonged by the singer for a certain length of time may be represented by a phonetic symbol which interprets it, for example /ā/ or /a'/. But we could also render or translate it in writing with an exclamation, or as if it were the whistling of the wind – in other words, with something which may be interpreted as an image or sensation. But the statement that a phonetic symbol /a/, or a series of such symbols, is an exclamation, or the whistling of the wind, or a reaction of amazement, does not amount to an association of a sound with a meaning. It implies, rather, a metaphorsation of the value of the sound, which places it outside the musical context – that of the oral poetic formula – thus carrying out an interpretative act based on assumptions which may even have nothing to do with the sound itself.⁶⁸ The doubts regarding phonetic transcription of a poetic formula are primarily those

⁶⁸ The extreme difficulty of associating a meaning, or set of meanings, with a sound arises from the fact that this sound already had a meaning of its own, a meaning which consists in its musical form. This musical form is recognised by the hearer as 'meaningful'. Either one accepts the phonetic transcription of a sound – which is the nearest thing to musical notation, and also to an essentially meaningful

which concern the problem of how to represent the effect of musical form – of rhythm, melody, metre – on the ‘word’ which is written down.

A particular kind of musical form can thus be specified in the case of the Nowau poetic formula, not as the relation of expressivity (the *expression plane*) to meaning (the *content plane*), but as the formula’s expressivity itself. The author and, subsequently, the performer of the poetic formula operate mentally and vocally (the formula may be either sounded or silent) purely on the *expression plane* of the constitutive elements of the formula. The operations which he performs on these elements tend to abolish all reference to the content, which can be regarded as the level characterising everyday verbal communication. The plane of verbal content is absorbed by the *expression plane*; here ‘form of expression’ and ‘substance of expression’ represent the material (Hjelmslev 1969) with which the author of the formula works to obtain the desired effect (a magical or musical effect). The significance of the sound in a formula is obtained through the manipulation which the composer manages to carry out at the *expression plane*, in a process of cutting up the amorphous magma of the vocal material with ‘musical forms’ – which may also be traditional. The translator and transcriber of the poetic formula – who, we must remember, is not a member of Nowau culture, but rather an ‘acculturated’ person – must therefore reconstruct the manipulation carried out by its author and, at a lower level, by a singer, on the formula, at the *expression plane* of the constituent sounds. He has essentially to give some material form, in ‘words’, to sounds which he has perceived as organised in a particular way; these ‘words’, however, must be heard less as bearers of meaning (as would be the case with a word used in everyday discourse) than as bearers of musical form. Consider the difficulty of representing or interpreting the vocal effect of *sirididi* when sung by a magician, or that of *geraki*. The latter is not a straightforward ‘no’ (which would be *gera*), but a reference to a ‘no’ which is sung, and has a particular emphatic quality. The musical effect of a poetic formula is, on the one hand, clearly perceptible and interpretable by the hearer as a value in itself, without reference to any meaning which might explain it. It is undeniable, for example, that in listening to a singer’s performance one will receive a certain musical effect even without knowing the Nowau phonetic and musical systems. On the other hand, this same effect and value are no longer perceptible when they have to be interpreted at the level of ‘meaning’, that is, when they are reduced to the transcription of a sound on paper, and are no longer sound, but rather word. A translator may now be considered as a singer who must reinterpret in terms of writing a text which has not been composed in written, but only in oral, form. At this stage it seems to me that, given the methodological difficulty in rendering adequately the musical effect of a poetic formula, such a translator may at most hope to deconstruct this formula into its constituent elements, whereas he will never be able to reproduce its original musical form. So we will have an analysis of the metre, rhythm or melody. His only recourse will be to construct verbal techniques to represent metaphorically the musical effect of the formula; if he has captured the totality of elements which constitute this effect, he will have to set in motion a fictive mechanism to reduce to written language something which had no visual origin, but only a musical one. I choose the term ‘fictive’, because the reader of the poetic formula thus transcribed must be aware that the object in front of his eyes is not the musical reality of the formula itself, but only a metaphorical expression of it. The validity of this metaphorical expression will depend on the extent to which it succeeds in evoking that reality, to which it is indirectly linked. The reader of the written text of the poetic formula should be re-hearing

representation – or one must admit that any other form of representation, including orthographic transcription, is bound to be only a metaphorical expression of its meaning.

the sound of the singer's voice, the high or low pitch, the rustling sound produced by the murmuring lips, the 'voiced' sound of the air passing between the walls of the pharynx. Consider the difficulties involved in the written interpretation (in a manner that will enable a re-evocation on the part of the reader) of the subtle hissing sound made by chewed ginger; this sound is produced by the *tokula* (literally, 'man who participates in the Kula ritual exchange') with lips moistened by the glassy substance, rendered magical by the poetic formula with which it has been mixed. It cannot be merely a spray of saliva; it must also be a magical, vocal spray. So: how is one to reproduce a magical, vocal spray? How is one to render this imperceptibly fine substance of mysterious sounds, or to recreate in writing the babbling atmosphere of magic, the cloud of vibrations produced by the *tokula's* vocal chords? If one has witnessed these vocal vibrations, and seen the transparent cloud of pulverised ginger, one may then be able to recreate the aural atmosphere, by 'reading' on paper a vibration of syllables which have been encapsulated in a specific 'written' word. One's aural memory will recall the sounds previously heard at Kitawa; one will hear again the rustlings of the *tokula's* voice as he leans on a black ebony mortar filled with the red pulp of areca nuts, and chants the poetic formula; and one will hear too the final 'shot' of the voice, which on the point of concluding the recitation suddenly explodes in the sound of pulverised ginger. So it is memory – to be precise, 'aural memory' – that is able to revocalise a series of dead, voiceless, silent syllables on the page. But in this case the sound as encapsulated and memorised in the mind of one who has previously heard the poetic formula 'intervenes' in the written syllables to revocalise them. There is a reassertion, which may sometimes be provoked by the manner in which syllables are laid out on paper, of the original connection between form and substance of the expression of the sounds of the poetic formula; and this reconstruction is carried out by the 'aural memory' of the translator/interpreter of the formula itself. The translator is like the singer of the poetic formula, which must be 'reborn' for the audience of a culture which employs writing – a culture which reads, rather than listens to, poetry, with the musical form established by its author. The memory of the sound of the 'oral text' must be deduced from the 'written text'. The reader of the written text must trace the musical form of the poetic formula from the 'manner' in which it has been represented graphically; he may not, however, rely on a 'direct' memory of the formula itself. Such a memory will belong only to the person who first transcribed the formula (if, that is, we exclude the possibility of hearing the tape-recording), and who must attempt to encapsulate its musical form, which is in its nature 'temporal', on the graphic space of the page. This space is defined by a series of written words, and should also refer to the time in which the musicality of the words transcribed operates. From this arbitrary representation – that of the written sign which has replaced the oral sign – the reader must understand that the word was constructed as vocal; the written word, which remains immobile in the graphic space of the page, should provide a metaphorical expression of the sound which distinguishes this word at the moment of its construction. That is all that it can do. For when a poetic formula has been transcribed, the reader – even if this is the same person as the singer – has to carry out a labour of reconstruction, of re-composition, at the musical/phonemic level. By reading with his eyes (a movement in space) he attempts to vocalise (a movement in time) the written word, endowing it with a rhythm which 'is not there' in the verbal sign, but only in his 'aural memory'. The word is detached from the page and returns to the mind/memory; instead of occupying a space it flows, again, in time. Thus it is again made oral, even though this may be a special kind of orality, and again takes on its original form of life, which is realised by the emission of sounds organised according to the mode which is envisaged and desired by

the author of the poetic formula – or according to a version/interpretation of this mode. As one reads the written word, one ‘hears’ its sound anew. Transcribers and translators frequently ask: “How does this word sound to you?” Depending on the response, they may then change the ‘word’ in such a way that it ‘sounds’ correct.⁶⁹ But what does this mean? Why does one use such terms as ‘it sounds good’ or ‘it sounds bad’ to decide whether a written word adequately represents the same word as ‘spoken’, ‘sung’ or ‘recited’? It may simply be a way of expressing the fact that the word ‘represented’ and ‘translated’ on paper must be heard, realised as sound; that, in other words, it must be re-established in its original function, as a way of cutting up (at the *expression plane*) the indistinct flow, or magma, of the voice into ‘distinct’ units (the phonemes) which, when structured in accordance with the rules of the phonetic system of a language (in this case, Nowau), produce a significant sound.

So the transcriber/translator knows that his is a work of metaphorisation, a work which must construct an object – the word – which has then to evoke a different object – the sound. This is where his inventive capacity is brought into play: the capacity to reconstruct words which must, by virtue of their manner of occupying the space of a page, ‘re-sound’. For example, the arrangement of words in a vertical column evokes a musical form because as the eye runs along the syllables it suddenly comes upon a blank space, which throws it on to the next line, and so on until it comes to a stop. This ploy is the most obvious example of the imposition of a rhythm – one more or less like a whirlwind – on the reading, which thus becomes like a cascade of sounds. Again, the lack of punctuation marks, which function as brakes of the rearing from one line to the next, represent another ploy – another metaphor – which has the aim of increasing the speed with which the words are read: in the absence of stops, the eye gains its own rhythm and is transformed into voice. Or there is the example of a word which is cut off and merges directly into the next word, thus giving rise to something like a unique sound; or that of the words which disappear in the stream of the singer’s breath to the point where they themselves become breath rather than written words. And behind these processes of running, of breathing, of subtle hinting, the imagination is unleashed; it cannot be held back by a determinate concept, or anchored to a ‘written’ word. For the written word (especially in the context of poetic formulae) in fact diminishes the polysemic richness of oral language, as if it were inviting the reader to align himself with no more than one fixed concept. Another ploy used to capture the sound – to convert space into time – is the construction of a word which could through its graphic representation crystallise the plurality of meanings encapsulated in the ‘oral sound’; such a word would be suggested by the translator in his attempt to capture the strong polysemy of orality. But this would still be a metaphor, made with written words, which is substituted for the sound of the oral word and confines it in the dimension of space rather than that of time. The word is thus ‘fixed’, and in this process of fixing it is impoverished, and at the same time saved. For like everything that happens within time, the oral word may disappear or wither away: after its articulation it may die within a longer or shorter period, depending on the memory and life of a man, or of a whole cultural group. It exists as sound and is memorised as sound. In this pure context, it has no need to be written and ‘read’ in order to exist. Once fixed, however, it is hardened and dried out; it lives with man, but also survives him; it becomes detached from his voice and fixed on paper, or papyrus, or wax tablet. And on paper the word records, fixes, delimits, chooses one meaning rather than another, expresses a meaning that is essentially

⁶⁹ This is a regular way of reminding us of the musical essence of a Nowau poem or poetic formula, and also of its nature as a fabric of signs of oral origin.

'relevant' to a sound; but this sound may quite possibly be lost in the course of time, and have no further existence after its vocal articulation by a man. The written word is, in relation to the oral word, a 'strong' form of memorisation, at least as long as it survives on paper or papyrus – or in the memory of a computer. But its context remains that of the 'visual' transcription, writing and memorising of text. If I record the word on tape, I might also say that the sound of the word has been fixed and confined, at least for the length of time that the tape survives. For example, if I had not recorded the *Aesthetic conversations* with Siyakwakwa Teitei and Tonori Kiririyei in 1976 I would not now be able to listen again to their definitions of 'beauty', 'harmony' and 'symmetry'. I have committed to 'memory' the ideas on aesthetics expressed by two Kitawa engravers at a particular time.⁷⁰ By the operation of a tape-recorder and a spool, I may actualise a past in the present; it is as though Siyakwakwa and Tonori were present at this moment to discuss art. So, a mechanical recording of the voice, which has not yet been interpreted through phonetic transcription and reduced to writing, actualises the past; but all this takes place through the emission, and hearing, of the sound. When listening again to a recorded voice, one re-composes a scene from the past (even if it is only the immediate past), which reasserts itself as though it were unfolding now, in the present. Thus the 'time' (the essential dimension of orality) over which the sound of the account runs is an 'unhistorical' time; a flux which comes and goes without well-defined limits. Such limits are, rather, characteristic of 'space': a physical space exists in virtue of a delimitation – even if it is only that of my body. For example, when Geredou tells his version of the foundation myth, he asserts that the origin of his clan and subclan is the emergence of the female ancestor from a rock, and that this woman then fertilised herself and gave birth to a son and a daughter. These two may then have come together – this act is subtly hinted at rather than clearly expressed – and given birth to sons and daughters, and so on until we come down to Geredou. But he recounts all this in a period of thirty minutes – the length of time taken to smoke a few black rolls of tobacco and to chew some red areca nuts. What does this mean? One possible implication is that the oral tale compresses episodes which are distanced in space into a single time (so that past and future converge on the present), realising things that are far off, or supposed to be far off – and which will later (after transcription and writing down on the page, through the use of past tenses) again appear far off. But as Geredou narrates, it seems that his female ancestor is emerging now from the bowels of the earth, in the very place of the Yabuyabu rock, which is venerated as sacred. Both the rock and Geredou represent concrete, physical terms, which provide a metaphor for the time within which the tale of the foundation myth unfolds. A

⁷⁰ The fact that writing is a 'strong' memoriser of a word or sound plays an important part in turning the attention of people used to orality towards 'written texts', such as the Old and New Testament. Indeed, in a context of the dismantling of a culture, when traditional methods of memorisation are beginning to be broken down and there is an awareness that the cultural heritage is disappearing with the death of those who have preserved it, the intuition that there is a method, like writing, which has the power to save them from this loss, encourages the learning of this method. But between the acknowledgement of the desire to learn it and the mastery of the new method of memorisation there may be a gap of many years. Writing is considered initially only as a means of preservation rather than a vehicle for self-expression, or at least this was my experience in Kitawa. In the meantime the traditional mechanisms of memorisation are weakened and the information preserved by these mechanisms continues to die with the person who has preserved it. Besides, when writing is mastered, it tends (again, on the basis of my observations at Kitawa) not to be used to preserve the information of one's own culture but only to 'learn' the culture to which the technique belongs. On the interaction between 'orality' and 'writing', especially the question whether the adoption of the latter can influence the mechanisms of construction of an expression, see Finnegan (1988, 1989) (whose interpretive conclusions I share); Goody (1968, 1972, 1977, 1987) (whose conclusions, by contrast, I find highly questionable); Ong (1967, 1977, 1982); Havelock (1982); Oliver, (1955, 1971); Baumann (1986); Thomas (1989).

Nowau oral tale 'eats up' time, abolishing the space between one event and another in the course of the act of narration: this space is compressed into a contemporaneous setting. Geredou tells the tale, I listen; between his tale and my listening there unfold the actions of his mythic ancestor who thus becomes present in reality. But if I transcribe and write it down, and subsequently read it, I see a consecutive sequence of words, delimiting the space of the page. I confine and fix what Geredou has recounted, but now I hear it no more. The time thus becomes an 'historical' one, and some of the words used in the tale acquire the flavour of an archaic proverb, a hotch-potch of Proto Austronesian. The mythical ancestor becomes 'fixed', no longer acts, does not perform her deeds; but I 'read' that she did perform them in the past. In short, phonetic transcription and writing (though in different ways) destroy the mythic tale in its essential nature as fiction and metaphor, and reduce it to the 'description' of a series of events which are frequently defined as 'historical'.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT, OR *KAVIRA*: CHARACTERISTICS OF ORAL COMPOSITION AND PERFORMANCE IN NOWAU

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The construction of a Nowau poetic formula, including both *wosi i tota* and *wosi i sisu*,¹ takes place within the framework of the cognitive philosophy of the inhabitants of Kitawa. It would be meaningless to ask how a poetic formula is constructed, memorised, transmitted and performed, without attempting to form some theory regarding the mechanism of its construction. Such a theory may of course be influenced by a typically Western, or Westernising, way of formulating the question, or by the particular interpretation of a narrow group of individuals (such as the poet Ipaïya of Lalela, the singers who have performed the poetic formulae, the magicians).² But this reservation seems to me irrelevant in the specific case of Kitawa: up to the second half of the 1980s, it was always possible to identify the essential framework of Nowau cognitive philosophy. The reason for this is partly that the influence of Western thought – which is represented (given the necessary distinctions and the various possible differences in interpretation) by the local United Church – has been limited to a vague representation of the ‘Christian way of life’, based on the explanation of a few passages of the New Testament translated into Dobu, the official language of United Church in Milne Bay Province.³ This influence has not yet affected the manner of composition,

¹ ‘Nowau poetic formula’ indicates any composition in verse, of whatever genre, whether performed by the voice (i.e. sounded) or recited silently in the mind of the magician (i.e. ‘silent’, but still ‘musical’), or with the accompaniment of the drums, as in the case of the *wosi i tota*. Included in this definition are love poems, epic poems, poems for the Kula, for the cultivation of the yam, for the initiation in the profession of engraver of prowboards for the ceremonial canoe, for the enchantment of wreaths and garlands of flowers, for the invocation of rain or of someone’s death or healing. The essential features of a poetic formula are the musical design and fabric.

² The very posing of the question of how the mechanism of composition or construction of a Nowau poetic formula works might be seen as an example of a style of reasoning typical of a ‘rationalistic’ culture – as though it were impossible for an oral culture to pose, and resolve, problems which fall under the heading of ‘cognitive philosophy’. Greater attention, from an ethnographical point of view, to the philosophical capacities of oral cultures can be found in the writings of such scholars as Edmund Leach (1961, 1976, 1982); Stanley J. Tambiah (1985, 1990); Marilyn Strathern (1988); Ruth Finnegan (1967, 1985, 1988); Dan Sperber (1982); Clifford Geertz (1973, 1988); Rodney Needham (1972) and C.R. Hallpike (1979).

³ The conversations relating to the process of composition, memorisation, transmission and performance/interpretation were conducted mainly in 1984, 1985, 1987 and 1988, with Ipaïya, Sïyakwakwa, Redimu, Geredou, Dadayoura, Giorera and other singers, both male and female. When I left Kitawa in 1988 an atmosphere of cultural confusion prevailed. The ‘Bible reader’ Sabewa Kasiotagina of Kumwageiïya (one of the three regions of the island), a member of the local United Church, had been sent away from Lalela. From the beginning of the 1980s Sabewa had exercised a strong influence on the inhabitants of Lalela, interfering in a very heavy-handed manner in all aspects of local life, with little opposition from the *bwagau* Rosigega of Taraigasi. He attempted to interfere in the ritual exchange too, denouncing its dangers for ‘Christians’, with particular reference to the performance of *megwa*. In view of their secret character these were of course not subject to a direct form of ‘persecution’. Sabewa’s influence can be attributed to a large degree to the fact that up to the end of the 1970s he was one of the most able

memorisation, performance and transmission of Nowau oral poetry. Some influence might be identified in the introduction of the rudiments of literacy, which are taught in the Lalela territory by the 'Bible reader', Sabewa Kasiotagina, with the aim of assisting the memorisation of parts of the New Testament. But this does not allow us to infer that the introduction of writing in itself modifies Nowau thought and, in particular, the mechanism of construction of a poetic formula. Those inhabitants of Kitawa who have been initiated in literacy – still a small group, within the Christian community of the United Church – use it exclusively to copy, from a blackboard, brief sacred phrases, written in Dobu by Sabewa. Up to 1988, no-one had used writing to construct and memorise a poetic formula of any Nowau genre. This attitude may indicate that the introduction of writing does not – at least for a period of time which must be documented in individual cases, but which one may certainly expect to be very long – affect the cognitive processes of a given culture, especially in the context of the construction of a piece of music or poetry. The mechanism of composition itself, which may be based on either the deductive or the inductive method, is not affected by the introduction of writing; writing does not make a method or style of reasoning rational, irrational or arational, nor is it the central influence in the ordering, variation or analysis of concepts, ideas or images which are elaborated on the basis of the chosen method. The notion of 'supposing', for example – supposing that a certain event happened, or that an object is black or white, or the existence of a different world – as developed and used by Siyakwakwa Teitei in *Aesthetic conversations* (Scoditti 1990a:367-369) is a clear example of the way in which a particular method, or logical mechanism, is independent of the adoption of writing. Siyakwakwa had no need of writing to discuss and explain the meaning of 'supposing' an event, reality or object; he did not need to see his argument written down in order to develop it without internal contradictions, and in accordance with the deductive method on which the argument itself was based. Here writing may assist the ethnologist to memorise Siyakwakwa's method, as it helped me to understand, after the transcription of the conversation, that the elaboration of an act of 'supposing' is not characteristic of cultures that use writing. Similarly, the rationality, irrationality or arationality of thought, and the use of rhetorical figures such as metaphor, metonymy or synecdoche, are not tied to literacy.⁴

At a second level, it seems to me normal that the function of memorising, describing and interpreting the various kinds of verbal and non-verbal expression constructed within a culture should be entrusted to a restricted group within it. There may however be a possibility that these individuals – at certain historical times and in certain conditions – will amount to a real group.⁵ It is a fact that Ipaïya (as composer/singer), Siyakwakwa Teitei (as

exponents of the strategies of the ritual exchange, and among the most expert in the techniques of manoeuvre and navigation of the canoe used for Kula expeditions. It was this profound knowledge of traditional Kitawa life which disorientated the inhabitants of the island: within a period of only five years he succeeded in clamping down on a large number of forms of expression and behaviour that were part of Nowau culture. He also succeeded in pushing many people at Lalela into a kind of 'double life': they continued to take part in the Kula expeditions and to perform the poetic formulae, hiding behind the secrecy of this kind of performance – a performance to which they could not be forced to admit at the 'public confessions' imposed by Sabewa during the Christian rites.

⁴ See Jakobson (1988) and Tambiah (1968).

⁵ It cannot for example be denied that the community of singers, like that of players of the drum (and especially of the *katunena*, the smallest drum in the orchestral group), and the owners of silent poetic formulae, may form a pressure group at moments of crisis or tension, thus leading to a range of possible reprisals. Between June and July 1988, for example, Geredou, the leader of the Lalela region, remained on the island of Kiriwina beyond the period of time which Nowau practice allows, and did so, moreover, at the time of the Milamala dances. Geredou's behaviour upset the whole pace of the festival's rituals, as

linguist/critic), Togeruwa Matawadia, Gidou Modigalobu, Togenuwa Morabawa, Towitara Buyoyu, Redimu and Giorera of Lalela (the former as singers, the last two as players of notched flute and panpipes), among others, have, in accordance with their respective capacities, composed and/or performed the poetic formulae, or analysed their literary values in relation to Nowau philosophy – specifically, Nowau aesthetic philosophy. Their activities seem to me completely proper if one accepts that the systematisation of aesthetic thought at the theoretical-critical level bears no relation to the practical exercise of this aesthetic thought. A Nowau poet can compose and perform a formula without needing to make explicit the poetics encapsulated in the text – even though both composer and singer may be able to identify and give a theoretical systematisation of this poetics and of the corresponding performance techniques. Ipaïya is an example of this. But, equally, a particularly gifted individual, such as Siyakwakwa or Towitara, may carry out a highly accurate analysis of Nowau poetics without taking anything away from either author or singer in terms of their ability to compose and perform.

To identify a poetics is to make explicit the norms which condition the construction of a particular verbal or non-verbal expressive form, locating these norms in the wider context of the cognitive processes of which this poetics is only one manifestation. It involves such questions as why a certain *modulatio* is constructed – or accepted – rather than another, or why the *wosi* must, according to the traditional canon, be articulated in five lines, while the *megwa* are not tied to this form of articulation but may (although they need not) be represented in stanzas consisting of two two-line segments. Such an identification may also be attempted by someone – an ethnologist – who does not belong to the culture which produced this style of cognitive philosophy and, at the more specific level, this poetics. But for this, the *sine qua non* is a thorough knowledge of the language (in this case Nowau), because, in the context of an expressive form such as poetry, both cognitive philosophy and the poetics determined by it ‘pass through’ the language.⁶ Here I am not referring to the researcher’s linguistic competence in carrying out the transcription, writing, translation and interpretation of a Nowau formula. I am referring rather to a linguistic competence, above and beyond that of transcription and translation, which involves rather the ability to comprehend an oral text, to ‘hear’ it – that is, to enter into the atmosphere arising from a hearing, and to grasp the text through this hearing.⁷ As I listen, I have to take in not just the

well as the delicate balance between the four clans and various subclans, which relates to their respective functions in the organisation of the dances themselves. It was an unusual action for a leader of his rank; and it provoked the following reaction. On Geredou’s return to Kitawa, there was strong opposition from the singers, and in particular from the man responsible for the songs, Redimu, who caused some of the formulae which should normally accompany the various dance-figures not to be performed. The result was that the performance of the dances for the Milamala festival of 1988 has been recorded in the memory of the people of Kitawa – and especially of Lalela – as one of the most slovenly. This is a further example, this time in the field of poetry, of the kind of behaviour which I noted previously in the context of engravers of prowboards: in revenge for a customer’s parsimony, an engraver may produce graphic signs which are incorrect, scratch the wooden board, or use colours which fade quickly on contact with water (Scoditti 1990a).

6 Compare Malinowski on the theory of the ‘context of situation’: Malinowski refers to a material context, I refer to a linguistic context, which may be deduced from the text, or from the texts, of a particular genre of poetic formula. See Malinowski (1935).

7 Here Malinowski’s theory of the ‘context of situation’ is again relevant. A Nowau, or a Boyowa, possesses – at various levels – the ability to ‘listen’ to a text (e.g. a love poem or a song for the dances), and to enjoy it as he listens. But he is also able to interpret its subtle allusions (especially in the case of a *megwa* for the Kula ritual exchange). Further, he is able to decide in which genre the text belongs. These are all judgements which it is within his capacity to give on the strength of a single hearing of the

vocal subtleties of Ipaïya's language, but also his poetics and, indirectly, the poetics of Nowau. My comprehension will admittedly be incomplete, given the lack of a wide framework of cultural references, of the sort that could only be provided by a thorough knowledge of Nowau cultural history, but it will still be relatively adequate to the text which is performed and heard. So the adequacy of one's comprehension of a Nowau formula at the moment of its realisation varies depending on one's knowledge of certain linguistic information, namely that which relates to a historical period long enough to allow a diachronic analysis of the text itself. Transcription of the poetic formula can only help the researcher visualise its text in graphic space (and it should be remembered that the transcription of an oral text is a problem which concerns a researcher brought up in a literate culture, not the composer or singer of an oral culture).⁸ And this visualisation will assist him, for example, in establishing the morphological nature of the lexemes used in the text, and whether they belong to one lexicon rather than another, or how much Proto Austronesian survives in the lexemes themselves. From the researcher's point of view, the use of writing in Nowau undoubtedly records a whole range of poetic formulae of the same genre as *Nadubeori* (but composed before Ipaïya), whose poetics, style and musical form are represented only incompletely by the *Nadubeori* group. The same lexemes which Ipaïya claims to have constructed, or to have chosen from other poetic formulae composed in the past by other poets, or from archaic Nowau lexemes as well as those of the other languages of the Kula Ring, are accepted with little possibility of checking the correctness of the information. But this problem is still the researcher's problem, and is related to his usual practice of studying and working on written texts, with a methodology or ideology belonging to a 'man of letters'. But it is true also that in the case of the poetic formulae which are not of a strictly ritual, sacred and secret nature (such as the *Nadubeori* group) we have a poetic language which is much freer and more creative than that used in the *megwa* which are sung during a Kula ritual exchange, or in the silent *megwa*. With the former, the identification of a poetic lexeme which is linked, for example, to a particular historical period (e.g. the 1970s–1980s) and to a specific poetic genre (e.g. that of love-songs), and/or to an author (e.g. Ipaïya Mokuïyara), may tend to be less complex, because the analysis and subsequent interpretation of a lexeme which belongs to this lexicon can rely on the disyllabic nature of Nowau. I use the phrase 'tend to be', because certain elements of a lexeme may be archaic, or borrowed from Muyuwa, Boyowa or Dobu, or not traceable to one of these lexica and therefore not translatable into another language. Furthermore, it should be added – and this seems to me even more important – that a Muyuwa linguistic component as used by a Nowau composer to construct a poetic lexeme takes on a completely new sound, in such a way that it influences, or transforms, the original meaning of this component, which may thus become unrecognisable. It seems to me that one of the aims a composer of poetic formulae sets himself in this latter kind of operation is precisely that of achieving a musical effect which is abnormal within the Nowau phonetic system, or which could not be achieved by the use of this system alone.

poetic formula. Of course, his judgements, and indeed his enjoyment, will vary in accordance with his abilities as a hearer and his frame of reference.

- 8 A Nowau poet or singer – and indeed an ordinary inhabitant of Kitawa – knows other methods of checking the correctness of a text or word. These methods are based primarily on a different way of understanding the relationship between past, present and future, which are seen as less far apart than they are in Western thought. This means that checking the text is the same as checking the manner of performance, and the person performing – because of the fact that he has been initiated in the art, and because of his long apprenticeship – in a certain sense represents the text itself; in his performance past, present and future are conjoined.

In the case of silent poetic formulae, and those for the Kula, meanwhile, the archaic nature of the morphological fabric (which is primarily due to the date of their composition itself belonging to an archaic period) guarantees a certain degree of stability of both lexicon used and musical form of the text. This very archaism, however, makes the interpretation of the original meaning of the lexemes used more problematic; the analysis and interpretation of the musical setting of the formula in which these lexemes occur will, on the other hand, be less problematic. For musical structures are identifiable through hearing, while the meanings of the lexemes incorporated in the structure have their origins in the memories of the singers of *megwa*; and these singers tend not to be able to reconstruct them.⁹ The analysis of Nowau poetic formulae is of a different level of difficulty from that represented, for example, by the prowboards (*lagimu* and *tabuya*) for ceremonial canoes, even though analogies between the two types of language may be established (Scoditti 1990a). For example, an archaic pictorial language is adequately represented on a contemporary prowboard, for the reasons set out below.

(a) The language is as it were 'written' on an object – the wooden table – which fulfils at the same time a practical function (the boards serve the purpose of splitting the waves (*tabuya*) and keeping them out the boat (*lagimu*) and thus requires the use not just of a specific geometric form, but also of an equally specific ornamental language (e.g. the use of curved rather than rectangular or square graphic symbols).

(b) It is a pictorial language which records visually its own constructive process. For example, by analysing a graphic sign one may reconstruct the technique by which it was engraved. As regards the process of its formation, on the other hand, one must sound out the intellect of the author, who may have chosen a particular graphic sign because it encapsulates a system of symbolic values (Scoditti 1990a).

(c) It is a language more easily memorisable by an inhabitant of Kitawa, who can thus test the authenticity of the visual text to which the language itself refers.¹⁰ This kind of test

⁹ Even among speakers of Nowau – it seems an obvious point to make – there are those who are perfectly capable of grasping and analysing some of the linguistic processes that characterise their own language. Breaking a lexeme down into its component parts is thus not an activity confined to the ethnolinguist. Siyakwakwa Teitei, and before him Towitara Buyoyu (both of whom had a complete mastery of language, enabling them to produce genuine 'lectures' which remind me of Noam Chomsky's lectures on Cartesian linguistics, were completely capable of giving a full range of meanings for every word used in the poetic formulae, and, further, of making extremely intelligent suggestions regarding the interpretation of a word's morphological structure. The breaking down of *tomuduwosi* into *to-mudu-wosi*, for example, and the realisation that the infix *-mudu* is a synonym of *bougwa*, or that *rumuyega* is connected with *Muyuwa nuw* or *nuway*, were made possible by the collaboration of Towitara and Siyakwakwa in this kind of work – and, to a lesser degree, of Redimu, Giorera, Dadayoura, Tonori, Gidou, Geredou, Uniweni, Birana, Tausia, Krobai, Tolematuwa, Togeruwa, and many others.

¹⁰ By authenticity of the visual text I here mean the degree of correspondence of a prowboard with the model which preceded and gave rise to it. The person who perceives the board refers it – at least in the unconscious – to the model to which he is accustomed, or to the dominant model within a particular school (e.g. the school of Towitara Buyoyu, known as that of 'Kumwageiya'), which operates in a village over a particular historical period. This comparison is the basis upon which he forms his reaction and his judgement. 'Correctness' is thus constituted by respect for the set of aesthetic principles which hold sway in the consciousness of the perceiver at a particular period, and for the rules determined by these principles. But there is another kind of correctness too: the correctness of a prowboard as a harmonious design of graphic signs which must not contradict the overall plan of this design (i.e. the 'visual logic' of, say, the *lagimu*), nor the value and function of each individual graphic sign, at the formal level as well as the technical (i.e. type of engraving). This second sort of correctness is internal to the prowboard, but is related to the external kind of correctness (respect for a model). Obviously, the viewer may also decide that the 'correctness' of a board consists in its violation of a previous model: in

requires the participation of the mind/memory as well as the eye (Gombrich 1982), and involves as a corollary the possibility of establishing analogies between one prowboard and another, in short between two 'visual texts'.

But the process of testing a poetic formula – a process which is more complicated in the case of the silent *megwa* – does not employ the assistance of a visualisation of the formula (as in writing); this means that the identification of analogies between this formula and another becomes more problematic, although not impossible. Equally problematic is the question whether the formula respects a particular model, or, again, whether its author – or a singer – has introduced variants which involve a longer or shorter period of time.¹¹ But an inhabitant of Kitawa in the 1970s–1980s knows in advance that the language of the poetic formulae for ritual exchange is basically a rigid one, which has been developed in the past and is not liable to significant variation, especially as regards musical design. In performing a poetic formula for the Kula, he is therefore prepared at the outset to sing an archaic text. He is possibly not even affected by the doubt that the text might have been varied for a number of reasons connected more with the morphological, disyllabic nature of the language than with the oral character of the text itself.

2.2 NOWAU COGNITIVE PHILOSOPHY

According to Nowau cognitive philosophy, the formation of a verbal and non-verbal expression follows a route which has its point of origin in the centre of the human body: the thorax is the location of intellect, intuition, perception, memory and soul, which are brought together by the 'vital spirit' *momova* (Baldwin 1939a:382, 384). Vital spirit is the motor centre which sustains a man's life up to death, when the soul (*baloma*) leaves the body and flies to its new home, the island of Tuma, where rise the villages of the souls (Malinowski 1916; Powell 1957; Leach & Leach, eds 1983; Weiner 1976; Damon & Wagner 1989). The soul (*baloma*) stands to the vital spirit (*momova*) in the relation of 'particular' to 'general', with a completely independent and specific function. Vital spirit (which can also be more broadly translated as 'life') is the totality of all the faculties of a human being, the synthesis of the functions of intellect, intuition, perception, memory and ratiocination (this last function is classified as *daba*, which also indicates the place where it is performed: *o daba'ra*, literally 'in his/her head'). But vital spirit has a wider significance too: it comprises a whole range of elements – belonging in the unconscious – which are scarcely noticed by a man, which are only perceived, without having yet been classified and solidified in rationalising categories, and can be represented by such means as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches (see Tambiah 1968). This area presents extreme difficulties from the point of view of a translation

this case s/he evaluates the new 'internal correctness', asking whether this amounts to the assertion of a new model. But all this is made possible by the fact that the viewer is dealing with objects which can be checked more successfully because of their visual nature. In the case of the poetic formula, the checking is purely mnemonic/musical, and therefore more difficult to perform for one who is neither poet nor singer.

¹¹ I believe that the checking of the text of a poetic formula may be carried out (by means of techniques which vary according to the degree of orality and the type of culture) over a period, roughly speaking, of four to five generations, and that in this time the text may even remain 'fixed'. The very fact that Nowau singers insist on the superior importance of the musical design with respect to that of the lexical fabric of a poetic formula is one of the most eloquent signs that this design functions as a link between the different generations of poets and singers. It is the musical design, above all, that possesses an essentially archaic quality, representing the canonical and classical nature of a formula and establishing the characteristics of a text.

into the language of classification, which would at best refer to it obliquely. And it is, I would argue, precisely in this area that a Nowau composer seeks his poetic images; it is the area, also, which can provide an explanation of the processes of internal, silent, avocal performance. 'Vital spirit' may be in a tree, in a leaf, in a rock, in a mountain (*koiya*, the mountain which is sung of in many of the poetic formulae for ritual exchange), in the *tokwai* (the tree sprite which is invoked before the cutting of a branch for the ceremonial canoe), in the sounding shell (*tau'ya*), in the betel nut, the 'intoxicating red fruit', in the white heron, in the sea: all these images appear in the poetic formulae, as a kind of sign that the composer/singer is operating in the domain of vital spirit (*momova*), just as the white heron or the leaf operate also in this same domain. All these elements are both integral parts and manifestations of the vital spirit, and as such make up part of a man's life – they contribute to its formation (in the same way as do his soul, his hand or his intellect) focusing primarily on his function as creator of images. This function comes to predominate in the case of the composer and singer of poetic formulae, the engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes, the player of the panpipes or the drums. Nowau philosophy recognises the existence of the vital spirit in animals (who however do not have a soul, *baloma*, which is the distinguishing mark of human beings alone; a dog, *kaukwa*, participates in the vital spirit but has no soul, even if it is a totemic animal); and also in the sea, a plant or a rock, thus establishing a correlation, according to the various kinds of function (Hjelmslev 1969) with the external world, which is thus acknowledged as existing. A sacred rock (*dakuna*) has connotations in the village memory of the coming forth of the mythical female ancestor, the founder of one of the four clans of the island. (The sacred rock Yabuyabu, for example, recalls the ancestor who founded the *Nukwasisiga* clan and the *toriwaga* subclan.) The recognition of the presence of a vital spirit in such a rock does not in fact imply some kind of animism, but merely gives metaphorical expression to the recognition, on the part of man, of the existence of a world outside his own consciousness. The 'animation' of a mountain, the act of endowing it with a vital spirit constitutes a metaphorically expressed admission of its existence independently of the person experiencing it. The statement, for example, that the mountain 'breathes' is for a Nowau a way of making explicit his acceptance of the mountain as one of the elements in nature, and also a recognition of its fundamental role in arousing his awareness of the world outside his own consciousness. When, in the poetic formulae, we find a range of expressions of the form "fame, like a powerful wave, surges towards" (*Wosi sobala Ia*, line 2), or "I shall be blown away on the wind," (*Wosi sobala IIIa*, line 1), or "like a shining wave our speech will flow" (*Weponu IIa*, line 2), we must interpret them as metaphors which bear witness to the admission by the author of the poetic formula, and then by the singer (both of whom can be seen as representatives of man 'expressing himself') of the reality of the external world in relation to a cognitive act on the part of man. Nor should we underestimate the subtle metaphorical allusion to the constructive ability of a poet, which is contained within an element of 'animated' nature. Through the animation of this element the composer of Nowau poetic formulae affirms his function as 'inventor of images'. The composer/singer in his turn becomes a metaphor for the man who 'constructs', or 'invents', although this function is not always perceived clearly by the ordinary man. The latter has already (at the beginning of the history of Nowau thought) delegated this function to the composer/singer, the engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes, the player of the small drum (*katunena*), the magician.¹² He even reaches the point where he forgets that the

¹² The player of the *katunena* is the conceptual equivalent of an orchestral conductor, and his instrument performs the function of providing the rhythmic base for the orchestra as a whole. An orchestra may contain from seven to thirteen or fifteen *kasausau*, or *tolukwai*, but only a single *katunena*, which is

language which he uses every day is a continual construct of his own making of images, feelings and ideas, one function of which is to classify and record his relations with the other animated elements – such as the mountain.

So the vital spirit, *momova*, is not the distinguishing feature of man alone, but of man together with the world around him.¹³ We might characterise it as the synthesis of the totality of relations which man has established with the external world or with nature, including the past, as constructed by his ancestors. In producing his images, or in using his language, a man at Kitawa realises the past of his ancestors (at various levels and with various differences of capacity and of detail), and this realisation constitutes an act of revitalisation. It seems that the relations between man and nature, as arranged and established by his ancestors (and recorded in the memory in the form of categories, prejudices, attitudes and beliefs) have been reanimated and placed alongside new kinds of relation. And this comparison – which is sometimes purely unconscious – may give rise to a new attitude, a new belief, a new image, a new poetic formula, a new prowboard for the ceremonial canoe. Essentially, the past presents itself to him as a set of models which he has incorporated in his consciousness and which comprises the points of reference on which he bases, to which he relates, any new attitude or image. The distinction between past and present thus becomes a distinction between two models of reference (or sets of models of reference) one of which has already been defined in all its components, and one of which is in the process of being constructed in relation to the other. The distinction is thus a relative one, inasmuch as the two (sets of) models converge in the construction, or perception, of a new piece of information, or a new poetic formula.

Vital spirit, or *momova*, represents and gives metaphorical expression to all that lives; and it is not confined to what 'lives' in the purely physical sense. It is a thread that runs (from an arbitrarily posited starting-point), unceasingly through every action and expression of man in his complex relation with nature and the external world. It is the synthesis of all man's faculties, which are realised through the operation of the various human functions, and of the elements of nature; and also of events as they have been and continue to be determined in relation to their classification and interpretation by Nowau culture. It is located, in the Kitawa phrase, "*o nopou' ra wowo' ra*" – in the centre of the human body – although it is not exclusively a human property. But it is because they are part of a vital spirit that humans are involved in the attempt to give it concrete definition;¹⁴ and vital spirit, in its turn, participates in the formative process that leads to the construction of people's concepts, feelings and

smaller than these. The player of a *katunena* is a professional, must be initiated and must follow a regular apprenticeship, while the player of *tolukwai* is considered a musical amateur.

¹³ Baldwin (1939a:382) also reports the lexeme *momova*, which he translates as 'living' and relates to *mova* (p.384), which is interpreted as 'live'. There is no doubt that the approximate sense is 'live', 'living being', 'life'. But this purely literal translation takes no account of the cognitive philosophy of the Boyowa and of other Milne Bay cultures. (The same is true of many other lexemes; in fact, Baldwin in this respect simply repeats and continues the tradition of the lexicographers and linguists who worked in Papua New Guinea between the twenties and the thirties – although there is no shortage of contemporary examples.) The translation is correct as far as it goes, but does not make use of the morphological structure of the lexeme, which assists us in identifying the cognitive element within it. If we break it down into its constituent parts, *mo-mo-va*, we see that the component *mo-* is not merely a marker of masculine nouns, but refers too to man as part of the genus of living things – a meaning encapsulated in *-va*, which suggests everything which is 'effective', or which 'is constructed'.

¹⁴ See Bergson (1912).

values.¹⁵ Vital spirit incorporates a set of general values, as opposed to the set of particular values of the soul (*baloma*) which belongs to each individual until it leaves him or her at death. Vital spirit, on the other hand, continues to exist independently of (for example) a man's death, thus safeguarding the complex of relations established by this individual and his culture during his lifetime. It also preserves his memory within the groups of his clan and subclan, to which he will continue to belong through the agency of *momova*.¹⁶ This may be a positive or a negative memory; in either case it will recall him as an individual who found his own particular solution, based on his own experience, of the relationship with the external world. This relationship then becomes part of the vital spirit. *Momova* represents the 'place' in the process of forming a concept (or of an image, object, judgement) where the totality of reference models handed down from the past have been recorded in the memory. An example would be the reference model that is given metaphorical expression by the initiation rite of an engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes. Such reference models form the basis on which a Nowau produces other images, ideas and objects – or even, as in the case of poetic formulae, other reference models.

The *nona* or *nano* (Baldwin 1939a:408), is the faculty or group of faculties which presides over all the functions which make up a man.¹⁷ By contrast with the soul (*baloma*), which belongs to each individual in the same way as his hand, head, eyes or voice, the *nona* represents the intellectual faculty in Nowau philosophy: the capacity to react to an external stimulus, and also to provoke or classify such a stimulus. The soul is specifically related to the spiritual or religious aspect of life, and to ideas concerning the realm of the dead and of a

¹⁵ For a Nowau, vital spirit or *momova* may be noticed either consciously – especially when one has a practical problem such as the construction of a hut or of a ceremonial canoe – or unconsciously – for example, when one produces an everyday utterance, and applies the rules of Nowau syntax without any deliberate act of control over the syntactic construction of the phrase. But it is not experienced, or investigated. 'Deliberate', conscious cognitive experience belongs rather to the area of – for example – the composition of poetic formulae. This is the kind of experience which enables one to establish new ways of relating to, say, a plant, a flower or a previously neglected experience. Or to rediscover relationships once investigated by a previous poet but now forgotten. Vital spirit is understood as completely independent of man, although connected to him; so that there is always a possibility of new investigations and new experiences. These cannot be denied, since they are continually being experienced. The possibility of constructing a new model of poetic formula, for example, is envisaged and accepted, in the sense that it is not ruled out on theoretical grounds, and in the sense that it is known that, historically speaking, such construction is always taking place. For example, a schema for the ceremonial canoe called *goragora* used to be engraved – with its related models – at Kitawa. (It was similar to the schema *nagega* which is still used to the east of Kitawa, on the islands of Gawa, Kwaiwata, Yanaba and Muyuwa.) How can the change be explained, and how can it be denied, if one does not accept a cognitive philosophy which envisages and justifies the possibility of such change in the first place? Vital spirit safeguards this possibility, performing the synthesising function of a metaphor.

¹⁶ See Malinowski (1916, 1929, 1948); Weiner (1976); Damon and Wagner (1989) and Tambiah (1990).

¹⁷ Baldwin (1939a:408) reports the lexeme *nano-la*, which he translates as 'mind', 'heart'; but he also suggests other interpretations depending on the various verbal contexts:

<i>Avaka nanom?</i>	What do you want?
<i>nona gaga</i>	unhappiness, sadness
<i>nona bwaina</i>	happiness

He also associates with it the meanings 'think', 'know' and 'to have an idea'. It is strange that Baldwin, whose *Vocabulary* represents an outstanding piece of work, as yet unequalled by any lexicographer or linguist who has worked in the Trobriands, should still have remained as it were 'on the surface' in his analysis of many Boyowa lexemes, even while showing an intuitive grasp of their expressive potential – as, indeed, in the case of *nona*. And yet Baldwin was a missionary, and one with a very high level of linguistic training: one might have expected him to pay particular attention to a term which belongs to the Boyowa philosophical, 'spiritual' lexicon. Perhaps the fact that he was a Catholic missionary was what prevented him from carrying out a deeper investigation of *nona*, and what we have here is evidence, of an indirect kind, of a methodological/ideological prejudice.

man's extra-terrestrial existence; the *nona* meanwhile corresponds to the capacity to perceive or think intuitively, in an immediate way, without the mediation of the rational faculty, which is situated in the *daba* – literally, the 'head', or 'high part'. The *nona* is thus the composite of intellect, intuition, perception and memory; it is the synthesis of the faculties which are 'pierced' (Scoditti 1990a) during the initiation rite of an engraver of prowboards and during that of a composer/singer. The fact that it is located in the middle of the human body, which is also the seat of the *baloma*, is a metaphorical expression of its participation in both the spiritual (essentially extra-terrestrial) and the material (empirical) world. The vital spirit (*momova*) places man in a very broad context: that of tradition, of experience of the past as it is received and understood in the present. *Nona*, on the other hand, posits man as an individual who, within this context, has his own thoughts and intuitions. The *nona* is the impression that a man manages to leave on the *momova*; it is his own construction. For example, a composer of poetic formulae of the *wosi* type may leave a love poem of his own as his 'impression' on Nowau culture; in the process he will also contribute to the formation of the *momova*. But this effect is achieved by the *nona*, the mind or intellect, which is thus defined as the part of a man which operates in relation to the outside world of his experience (i.e. the history of his culture, nature, relations with others, his clan and subclan). This kind of activity forms the basis of a man's individuality, which is provided by the *nona*. (The soul, *baloma*, places him in the context of *momova*, while the *nona*, without negating the *baloma*, distinguishes him from it.) This individuality also gains expression in the activity of classification, and reaches its level of highest potential with a composer of poetic formulae or an engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes. Such persons, by virtue of their type of work, subject both themselves and the historical products constructed within their field of investigation to continual scrutiny. When, for example, a poet composes a poetic formula, he does so by reference to a given poetic genre within which he places this formula. This in itself forces him to enter into a dialectical relationship with the formulae composed in the same genre before him.

Man in his capacity as *nona* (mind/intellect) expresses his individuality, his existence as a distinctive element; and such independent expression is made possible by the very fact that he belongs to the vital spirit, the formation of which he (as *nona*) affects by means of an act of conscious realisation (*nona*). In this realisation he grasps intuitively the existence of the *momova* as it is presented in a previous thought, or in the various elements of nature. One such element – a tree, for example – is intuitively considered as 'given', and this intuition (which is the first act in the formation of a process of realisation) gives rise to a process of construction which ends with the production of a new category, or of a new poetic formula. Even a repetition – as in the case of the adoption of a previous model for a poetic formula – is equivalent to a process of realisation. In this case the basic value of the realisation is that of reasserting the validity of a solution already suggested in the past: this solution is still regarded as valid by the person who imagines, perceives and elaborates it.¹⁸

¹⁸ It is therefore not true that the repetition of a model – of a prowboard, for example, or of a genre of poetry – always amounts only to an act of non-creativity, an act implying the lack of a conception of time passing, the impossibility of grasping the difference between one era and another, between generations and, in particular, between expressions (verbal and non-verbal) produced by different people. Respect for a particular poetic model, even as a point of reference for the construction of a new poem, is the confirmation of its validity in a given cultural and historical context. The singer of a poetic formula composed by Ipaïya (in this case the performance is equivalent to an admission not being the author of the formula) himself confirms the validity, especially in the aesthetic sense, not just of the formula but also of the model which it embodies.

So the *nona* is the seat of immediate, intuitive realisations, the results of which are then sifted or modified by the rational faculty (located in the head, *daba*). The main purpose of this modification is that of producing a verbal – and non-verbal – expression which conceals the immediacy and sincerity of this intuitive realisation. By virtue of being the domain of the formation and development of intuitive awareness, the *nona* is thus also the domain of ‘pure’ awareness – of the awareness that belongs to the mythic being and to his descendant, the artist. It is no coincidence that, in the initiation rite of the engraver of prowboards, it is the *nona* that is pierced by the vision of the *lagimu* and *tabuya*, it is the centre in which the graphic symbols to be engraved by the initiate are, as it were, gathered together.¹⁹

By contrast with the *nona*, the *daba*, which may be defined as the rational faculty, performs the function of ‘dampening’ the object which is imagined, constructed or received by and in the *nona*. The distinction between these two faculties may not always be explicitly recognised; but its existence is seen in a range of linguistic expressions which assert the possibility that what is said in a statement – a linguistic expression – does not always correspond to what is thought. Since this thought is in the *nona*, or is the *nona*, it follows that the *nona* constructs or produces the immediate, ‘pure’ thought. *Nona* and *daba* thus represent the two intellectual ‘poles’ of man’s cognitive activity.²⁰

The *nona* is credited with the ability to produce immediate thought, uncontaminated by the interference of the *daba*; and the *nona* is in this respect considered superior. The *daba*, as rational faculty (which is regarded as different from the intellect), has the function of cooling down (i.e. accepting), or of sifting and modifying the data perceived by the *nona*. It is the linguistic mechanisms of the *daba* that may give rise to a falsehood (*sopa*) deliberately engineered for a particular purpose. In the *daba* intuition may be separated from intellect. (In this case intellect is seen as distinct – but not separate – from intuition: both come together in the *nona*.) Here intellect becomes a purely rationalising consciousness, in the sense that it may falsify the fact which was perceived directly by the *nona*, manipulating it for purposes independent of the original cognitive act. Thus, a *sopa* arises from a manipulation: it is a lie which distorts the immediate object of the perception. And this lie may take on the form of a verbal utterance; language is its privileged mode of transmission. *Isopa* – literally ‘he lies’ – refers not merely to the fact that there is a falsehood, but also to a man’s ability to use language as a means of communicating a thought that has been manipulated by the rational faculty. We thus have a true language (*biga monita*) arising from the *nona*, and an untrue or false language (*biga sopa*) arising from the *daba*.²¹ *Sopa* is therefore the result of an activity which distorts or falsifies the immediate object which is sent by the *nona*. It is produced by a conscious mechanism of manipulation – above all linguistic manipulation – of an object which the *nona* receives or produces ‘directly’.

It is thus not the object *per se* which is seen in a false light, and is then inserted into the schema already established by the *nona* – albeit arbitrarily – as correct. Rather, the *daba* falsifies and distorts the schema itself in which the object is to be inserted, presenting it to the

¹⁹ See Scoditti (1990a:29-66).

²⁰ The sentences to which I refer, and which confirm the opposition/correlation (though this relationship may not always be clearly defined) between *doba* and *nona* are of the type: *biga ituwali nano'ra ituwali* ‘word is different from thought’; *gera ta' nukoli: kaina sopa kaina monita* ‘we do not know; it may be true, it may be false’ and *biga monita biga sopa* ‘true word and false word’, or ‘true and not true’. From this it can be seen that falsehood, or deceit, is carried by the word: the deceiver may only deceive by means of a word which hides his true, immediate thought.

²¹ See Senft (1986); Baldwin (1939a) and Malinowski (1920, 1935).

external world – through linguistic utterance – as though it were correct. Such a distortion thus involves the desire to lie, to falsify. The *nona* may be mistaken; but a mistake of this kind (*sura*) is the result of an error in perception or intuition: the object perceived – or the image presented directly to the *nona* – is evaluated in the light of a reference model which treats it as if it were veridical, in that it appears so to whoever perceives, imagines or realises it. Here there is no desire to distort or manipulate; it is, in any case, impossible for the object to be perceived differently, since the *nona* is by definition the locus of intuition and of direct awareness. Error is here defined in relation to a reference model,²² and by reference to the totality of a man's knowledge – by reference, one might say, to his *nona*. On another level – and to a different degree – it is also defined by reference to the totality of knowledge, theoretical and practical, that his culture (in this case, Nowau) possesses.²³ Before the arrival of the 'white men', for example, it was believed that the sun went round the earth. The sentence *Pwepwaiya i sisu, kalasi i tavina* ('The earth stays still and the sun turns around it') was, in the context of Nowau scientific knowledge, correct. Such a statement reflects a perfect accord between the *nona* (where this type of knowledge is worked out) and the *daba* (where the linguistic utterance is produced that gives 'correct' expression to such a piece of knowledge). When, however, this scientific hypothesis is no longer considered valid (because it is shown by a different culture that the earth moves while the sun remains still), and a Nowau who is unaware of the new hypothesis continues to assert that the earth stays still, he commits a straightforward 'error' (*sura*), but does not utter a lie (*sopa*). The use of the same expression by someone who is aware of the new scientific hypothesis, on the other hand, would amount to an actual 'lie', a *sopa*.²⁴ So the *sopa* is produced partly by means of a particular way of using language. Anyone who now still employs an expression like

²² For example, an engraver of prowboards might – this in fact happens – engrave an incorrect graphic sign because his master/initiator engraves it, or did engrave it, in this way. It is neither a deliberate error nor one committed through a deficiency of aesthetic and technical competence, but purely because the error is already there in his reference model. It is different if the engraver engraves a graphic sign on the board in a place other than that laid down by the canonical schema, thus leading to confusion between the various graphic signs. This kind of error may be carried out on purpose: the *tokabitamu* may wish to take revenge for his patron's lack of generosity. So here we have a sort of 'deliberate mistake'. Of course, the perception, and corresponding reception, of the error by the public affects the judgement on the error itself: the public may receive the second type of error as correct, thus allowing themselves to be deceived by the engraver, whose aim is thus fulfilled. Indeed, it is this kind of error that represents the realisation of the deceit intended by the engraver. The first kind, on the other hand, remains within the context of the relationship between an engraver and his master's reference model.

²³ See Hallpike (1979) and Chomsky (1966, 1968, 1980).

²⁴ I am indebted for this example to Siyakwakwa Teitei, who used it in 1987, in the course of a conversation on the possibility of making 'linguistic' mistakes (from the point of view of syntax and semantics) or of committing an error in the process of 'reasoning' from one's own knowledge, reference models and technical expertise. The Nowau – especially the intellectually sophisticated Nowau, like Towitara Buyoyu or indeed Siyakwakwa – are by no means unaware of the contradictions inherent in a style of thinking, either in its 'pure' form, uncontaminated by external cultural influences (such as might arise from the impact of whites on Melanesian culture), or when this thought is affected by another culture (which is not necessarily Western: it could, for example, be the culture of the Uli or the Chimbu). Such contradictions may come about as a result of the coexistence of different ways of posing, and resolving, the problem of one's relationships with the outside world. It is undeniable that for an elder of Kitawa it remains true that the sun revolves around the earth; this is what his traditional, canonical – one might say, 'classical' – reference model expects, and this is what his eyes 'see'. If, then, an elder believes that the earth is static, such belief may be regarded as wrong by a Kitawan youth who has been brought up according to a different reference model, which maintains that the earth moves round the sun. But it is equally true that this latter hypothesis sounds 'wrong' to the elder. 'False' and 'true', 'wrong' and 'right' depend entirely on the models to which the terms are referred, and, more generally, on the cognitive philosophy (and the cognitive lexicon) on the basis of which these models have been developed.

Pwepwaiya i sisu, kalasi i tavina does so with the intention of conveying – and before that, of giving concrete form to – an idea which is deliberately distorted, an idea which is used as a mask, or as a means of deceiving the listener. And this deception is increased by the fact that the expression in itself is correct – it has been constructed in accordance with the syntactic, semantic and phonetic laws of Nowau – but conveys an image, a scientific theory, which is no longer valid. The deception arises from the impossibility of discovering the true thought of the speaker (that is, the constructor of the phrase) through his linguistic utterance, since this utterance does not contravene Nowau norms of syntax, semantics or phonetics. But there is another source of deception apart from internal correctness of the sentence. It is the possibility of separating the linguistic utterance – which is realised by the functioning of the *daba* and expressed through the voice, *kaiga* – from the intuition (which is represented by *nona*). In the *nona* the theory that the sun and not the earth turns is memorised and perceived as true: this is the model created by Nowau scientific thought from the motions of the stars and handed down from ancestors, from the past. This is how the Nowau imagine it; this is how the motions of the stars appear to their eyes/minds. As a man, for example, sits in front of his hut – in, say, the village of Lalela – he observes that the sun rises in the east, proceeds slowly to pass over his hut and, very gradually, before the arrival of evening and night, disappears in the west, over the village of Kumwageiya. His eyes, but above all his *nona*, allow him to see and grasp intuitively that it is the sun which moves, while the earth, on which he stands, stays still. By use of the phrase *Pwepwaiya i sisu, kalasi i tavina*, he displays a complete harmony and lack of contradiction between his intuition – what he notices – and what he expresses verbally. To admit the opposite would mean – from his point of view and from that of Nowau scientific knowledge – to produce and assert a falsehood, and to give rise to a contradiction. It would involve not only going against the findings of scientific knowledge accumulated over the centuries of Nowau cultural history, but also, and most importantly, going against the external evidence as perceived by the mind/eye. So the statement that the sun stays still while the earth turns around it would be classified as false, as deceptive (*sopa*). This does not however imply that, from a different point of view, with a different way of perceiving, analysing and classifying the phenomena of the external world, one might not be able to assert the opposite. An inhabitant of Kitawa, particularly if he is an expert in the construction of scientific thought, as in the case of someone who has produced the star map for night-time navigation of ceremonial canoes, or who has worked out an (intuitive) definition of the relationship between the different elements that make up the canoe, has no difficulty in admitting that someone belonging to a different culture – the ethnologist – may have a different conception of stellar motions. It is quite legitimate for such a person to assert that the sun remains still while the earth moves around it: a Nowau will accept this point of view, in spite of its contradiction of his own, because the culture that expresses and justifies it is different.²⁵ When, however, this different point of view begins

²⁵ The difference between cultures is another factor which is very obvious to a Nowau, and which is considered of the highest importance, in particular as a possible cause of differences in behaviour, values or judgements. In one of our conversations regarding the aesthetic principles which guide the engravers of prowboards, for example, Tonori Kiririyei and Siyakwakwa Teitei pointed out to me the way in which it was possible to give different interpretations of a single phenomenon, or of a single action or expression, because of different cultural models as well as individual differences. They explicitly defined 'tradition' as a set of models which condition one's judgement. If an initiate must respect the prohibitions imposed on him during apprenticeship (otherwise he will lose his ability to engrave) it is because this is the meaning of the imposition – a meaning established by tradition. If a member of a different culture – I myself, in this case – then interprets the relation between respect for the prohibitions and ability to engrave as a metaphor for the essential value of the apprenticeship, such an interpretation may be considered valid, but

to impose itself on his own, the existence of the two styles of theory leads to what we might call an intellectual fissure in the consciousness of the Nowau, forcing him to seek a new reference model.²⁶ (Here the subject is complicated by a number of factors, such as the historical relations between such cultures as the Nowau and Christian/Western culture in its manifestations as, first, the English colonial administration, and, subsequently, the Australian trustee administration up to the second half of the 1970s.)

It is not, then, the case that a Nowau does not admit the possibility of an alternative way of producing interpretative theories with which to cope with the external world, but rather that he uses his own perspective as a basis (as he necessarily must: the ethnologist too uses a perspective of his own as a basis) on which to evaluate the correctness or otherwise of a theory which differs from his own. That is, he uses 'his own' reference models. To convince him of the opposite – that the sun stays still and the earth rotates around it – involves more than just a negation of the validity of his theory. It amounts to a dismantling of the whole network of his reference models, to a negation of the sense of 'certainty' which he attributes to the *nona* – which up till now has caused him to perceive a still earth and a sun rotating around it. It thus throws him – at different times and in different ways, depending on the areas of knowledge affected – into a state of crisis. The reason for this crisis is not clear to him; or at least, it does not appear to him as an 'objective' matter without implications of a practical – usually, that is, of a economic/political – nature. Finding a general or abstract reference point or model able to embrace both the Nowau and the Christian/Western scientific theory might force a Kitawan inhabitant to abandon the phrase *Pwepwaiya i sisu, kalasi i tavina*; and this renunciation, within Nowau culture, still makes utter nonsense. It constitutes an example of the lie (*sopa*).

The *sopa* is thus the result of a deliberate distortion of the intuitive sense of the *nona*, a distortion which is realised by recourse to the *daba* (both the place and the function), which interferes with the object sent to it in its 'immediate' form by the *nona*, both defining and classifying it. In the course of this defining operation, though, the level of interference may be more or less accentuated. An intuition or thought may be defined by the *daba* in a purely linguistic way: that is, a set of morphological components is chosen that will reflect this intuition or thought in the form of a sentence which is correct not merely in the linguistic sense – it respects the Nowau syntactic, semantic and phonetic rules – but also in the sense of agreement with the *nona*. In other words, the immediate object is not negated, but simply perfected in such a way as to appear with clarity in its communicative form. In this case the operation of the *daba* or rational faculty has the single aim of representing an intuition (at the verbal and the non-verbal levels), thus giving rise to a perfect correspondence between *nona* and *daba*, between intuition/intellect and rational faculty.

To sum up, the intuitive/intellectual function, *nona*, constructs 'immediate' or 'sincere' awareness (in Nowau terminology), while the function of the rational faculty is to make this explicit by means of a definite form, which may be a lexeme, a whole verbal phrase, or a non-verbal form such as the prowboards for ceremonial canoes. It is however possible, without the intervention of the *daba*, or rational faculty, to produce an already formed

only on the basis of his/her own reference models. It certainly cannot be imposed on Nowau culture: a Nowau must take account of his/her own tradition. See Scoditti (1990a:211-369).

²⁶ In this particular case the reference model might be represented by the statement that the sun is still and the earth goes round it. But for a style of thinking which is accustomed to a different kind of scientific hypothesis, or more especially to a different way of experiencing the validity or otherwise of such a hypothesis, it is quite impossible to assert this statement.

interpretative theory, thought, or poetic formula, provided that this product will not appear in the external world, but will remain encapsulated within the *nona* of the person who imagined it. By means of the rational function (*daba*) this same product – when it is not manipulated – is communicated to the world outside in verbal or non-verbal language. (An example of the latter would be a piece of music for performance by percussion instruments alone.) A result of the harmony between *nona* and *daba* might be a sounded poetic formula, even when performed only by its own composer – or a silent poetic formula such as *Konakwana*, performed by Krobai of Okabulula.

An image produced by the author of (sounded) poetic formulae is itself already perfectly formed in the *nona*, where it was conceived intuitively. In the *daba* it achieves only strictly linguistic classification and definition. If, for example, the form of image chosen by the author in his *nona* (where the immediate image has been preserved as a line) has already been used by another poet, or by the same poet in another formula, the *daba* intervenes (thus operating, in this case, in harmony with the memory, which resides in the *nona*) to put the two identical or similar forms alongside each other. The poet is thus able to decide, on the basis of his original intuition of the image itself, whether or not to accept this identity, or similarity, between the two images.

The *daba*, as place, faculty and function, thus acts upon an already formed image. But it may also disguise it, by the imposition of a linguistic mask over the image which has been imagined or formed, with the result that it looks like a different image. This implies that for a Nowau the *daba* does not intervene in the process of formation of an image used in a poetic formula. This image, once formed, can be 'transmitted' to the outside by vocal performance. Such transmission is characteristic of a *wosi*, the essential feature of which is precisely this vocalisation; the manner of vocalisation of the formula depends on the musical design which has been constructed, or adopted, by the composer in his *nona*. So it is at the moment of a formula's construction – which takes place in the *nona* – that the *modulatio* of the voice must be moulded with the musical design of this formula. This implies that voice as such does not impinge on the process of construction of a poetic formula, but only on its vocalisation, on the actual moment of performance.

Here a distinction should be made between 'voice' (*kaiga*) and 'word' (*biga*), in their role as elements of a Nowau poetic formula. The word is moulded together with a certain musical design (which is to an extent canonical) and composed using this design as a basis. The Nowau word, too, which becomes part of the verbal text of the formula and which can be sung by the voice, is subordinated to the design and *modulatio*, rather than the reverse. In this process of adjustment the composer must operate at the *expression plane* of the word itself; he must transform it into sound, into a vocal form which can then be uttered by the singer's voice. A Nowau poetic word, then, has an objective reality in the *nona* of the poet who adopts a certain design and musical pattern, independently of its realisation through the singer's voice. The voice merely communicates this word to the outside, allowing it to be heard and memorised in the process of transmission from one singer to another. But this vocalisation has no influence on the nature of the poetic word; in the case of silent formulae, indeed, its function is completely abolished in favour of the silent musicality of the word. Furthermore, in sounded poetic formulae it is the *modulatio* that constitutes, as it were, the meaning of the sung formula, while in silent *megwa* this meaning is given by the musical design and pattern performed within the mind of the magician. So, while a *modulatio* is usually 'heard' sounded, musical design and pattern may be merely perceived or noticed by the performer of the silent poetic formula, without being vocalised. In the former case, much

of the expressivity of the poetic formula lies in the voice; in the latter, it lies in the intellectual effort aimed at producing a particular effect (which may, as in the case of *Konakwana*, be a negative effect). But, in the context of the Nowau poetic word, the voice is not responsible for the production of a falsehood: it is the word itself, as the representation of a poetic image, which may be false or true, correct or incorrect.²⁷

The poetic word is the tangible historical product of a process which is both intuitive and conscious. (It can therefore be classified and traced within Nowau history.) But its classification as a noun (such as *kalasi*, *pwepwaïya*, *sopa*, *monita*) requires the operation of the rational faculty – a process, that is, of structuring in and by the *daba*. The process of classification of an element, for instance from nature, takes place – still in the terms of Nowau cognitive philosophy – as the result of its contact with a man's *nona*. This *nona* is already endowed with its own memory (conditioned by consciousness and history) which predisposes the individual to a certain manner of receiving information from the outside, and thus of reacting immediately to this information in an intuitive manner. (This predisposition will vary somewhat from individual to individual.) This element, which is seen as 'objective' and 'real', forms part of the vital spirit which embraces it as it also embraces the *nona* of the man who perceives it. The contact gives rise to a particular image in the *nona*; and this image is placed in the centre of the man's body, next to his soul (*baloma*). Here it is memorised and fixed as 'genuine'. It is the product of the synthesis of two 'true' elements: the external object, which comes from nature, and the reception of this object by the consciousness/intellect of the man, who accepts it without manipulating it, although such acceptance may be based on a reference model. But I would argue that this type of acceptance is not filtered through the rational faculty – which can manipulate both the external object and the relevant reference model – but takes place within an intellectual framework inherited from the past. Such acceptance is thus never passive, but as it were, 'guided'; it consists not in amazement or lack of control in the face of the unexpected, but rather in amazement at finding oneself faced with an object which the consciousness/intellect – the *nona* – has not previously recorded in the memory. To have an idea of the newness of an object is a way of reacting (with and in the *nona*) to this object, or to an image elaborated by the *nona* of, say, a composer of silent poetic formulae. From this contact a man constructs a certain thought, which he may evaluate as consistent with, or in contradiction to, the expectations of his consciousness. He may be surprised by the novelty of the object, or by its perfect – or less than perfect – conformity with his *nona*. Clearly his classification – involving the intervention of the *daba* which may use its rationalising potential to disguise the object – is of a primarily linguistic nature, even though it may take place entirely within his *nona*. For:

(a) it is not necessary to establish a linguistic term – a name – for the thing being classified object, feeling, image, since it can equally well be memorised by the faculty of consciousness/intuition. Naming and classifying are not identical operations, and one should not assume that 'perceiving' an object, or becoming aware of it, is equivalent to 'naming' it, which involves the construction, or adoption, of a linguistic term;

²⁷ Clearly 'correct' and 'incorrect' refer to the content (concept or meaning) of a word – which is entirely lacking in the case of 'voice'. The correctness or incorrectness of the voice arises only in the context of its *expression plane*: the 'correct voice' for performing a particular poetic formula, for example *Da weriya*, means a voice which adopts a particular *modulatio*. In the same way, in the final scene of Giuseppe Verdi's *La Traviata*, as Violetta dies the timbre of her voice must be that of a soprano.

(b) a term may be constructed without necessarily being organised within a sequence of sounds. This distinction will be of use in attempting to establish the differences between sounded poetic formulae, intended for performance involving voice, and 'silent' poetic formulae, which are performed without being sounded. It is also important in analysing the process of their composition. When a word – a name – which is used to classify an element (a thing or an image) achieves concrete form in a sequence of sounds, this may give rise to a *sopa*, to the extent that the vocalisation fails to reflect the immediacy, the 'genuineness', of the object perceived. For the perception or intuition of the object cannot in themselves be other than true, although they might not be true for a different cultural system. In such a case, as we have already pointed out, there is an error in evaluation (*sura*) based on incorrect premises, which are however considered correct.²⁸ Linguistic classification might give 'definition' to something which was itself incorrect from the outset; but this would not make the classification a deceitful one. If, on the other hand, the linguistic classification is manipulated (by the intervention of the *daba*), then we will have a word which is geared towards deception; the *daba* does not adequately reflect the object in the *nona*, and the rational faculty does not follow the intellect. The concept is separated from the immediate intuition on which is based 'true' awareness.

2.3 THE FUNCTION OF *nona* 'MIND' AND *daba* 'HEAD' IN THE COGNITIVE PROCESS

Nona, then, is both the seat of the intuitive and intellectual faculties, and these faculties themselves. It is also the seat, not only of the first contact between mankind's mental processes and the external world (in which both man and the world are governed by *momova*, or vital spirit), but also of the formation of the basic sketch of a thought or image. In short, it is the place where the image is put into focus, where it forms an immediate impression, without the possibility of deception, exactly as it is received. This reception involves the operation of a certain reference model, seen in its turn as the result of previous experiences. Once this sketch is established in the *nona*, forming the basic element in mankind's cognitive activity, it constructs a 'thought' (*nanamusa*) which is different from the 'concept', or 'idea' (the two terms are regarded as synonymous). 'Thought' and 'concept' differ in Nowau cognitive philosophy, the latter being the element that is liable to manipulation. The thought is the product of the *nona* in its pure form; it is the immediate result of intuition/intellect, without the mediation of the rational faculty, and is thus free of impurities. Remaining within the *nona* of a man, it cannot be involved in any form of deception. The expression *i nanamusa* ('he thinks') indicates the production of thought rather than concept, implying a state of absolute certainty, in which the possibility of doubt is not raised. A statement such as *Ra nanamusa bougwa makara* ('this is what he thinks') involves the attribution of the highest degree of certainty to the speaker's thought. No one will ever question the fact that this, and precisely this, is the thought of the user of the phrase – a phrase which is understood as the result of a perfect correspondence between the thought and the word that represents it. (Vocalised poetic formulae constitute an example of this kind of

²⁸ This is the kind of mistake to which the ethnologist is liable: he makes judgements, or evaluates a situation, on the basis of premises which are mistaken, or with reference models which do not belong to the culture that he is analysing. Such an error is 'normal' and unintentional; it is made in good faith. It is impossible to avoid using one's own reference models in the initial stages of an analysis (and thus also of a field investigation), although these models are subsequently corrected if they do not function properly, or else are placed within a general, abstract schema within which they are defined only as 'possible' models rather than as the *only* valid ones.

correspondence.) Thus the production and expression of one's own thought does not admit of doubt, but is based on the certainty involved in a strict correlation between *nona* and *magi'ra*, or will.²⁹ An expression like *nano'gu magi'ra*, for example, meaning 'my mind desires', or 'the desire/will of my mind', implies a lack of doubt in a verbal utterance constructed, or received, by the *nona*. The expression *daba'gu magi'ra* ('the desire/will of my head'), although syntactically and semantically correct, is never used in Nowau. Furthermore, the phrase *i nanamusa* ('he thinks'), indicates that the subject is not lying, and that he is expressing an opinion which is free from doubt, and the desire is not to lie with the thought expressed, or with an expression constructed in a false manner.

The *daba*, on the other hand, both as function and as place where this function happens, can produce falsehood or untruth. The phrase *i doka*, for example, ('he supposes, or 'he thinks'), suggests that the supposition or belief is a result of the rational faculty – of the rationalising activity which is seen as different from the activity of intellect. The word *doka* implies doubt or vacillation. If one says *a doka* ('I believe'), one is giving expression to an idea which may turn out to be wrong, or which may be contradicted. And this is because the *daba* manipulates the object of intuition, possibly transforming it into something untrue, through the assistance, in particular, of verbal language – of the word (*biga*). *Doka* represents an actual supposition, which as such may be refuted (Scoditti 1990a): it is the expression of an idea as a result of the activity of the rational faculty, which has interfered with the direct object of intuition. *Doka*, moreover, is equivalent in force to the particle indicative of doubt, *seiki* 'perhaps': both words belong to the area of uncertainty. With the term *doka* a man formulates a hypothesis on a subject which by virtue of being in the realm of hypothesis – that is, subject to doubt – may be refuted by another hypothesis;³⁰ as he uses this verbal form, he is giving expression to a thought which lacks the quality of certainty. One might say that the form *doka* can be represented as the external sign of the existence of the *daba*, seen as the place of employment of the rationalisation which may modify an object produced directly by the *nona*. The latter is as certain as the former is uncertain. *Biga*, too, both as 'word' and as 'language', finds its proper place in the *daba*, which enables it, first of all, to represent a concept, supposition or doubt to the external world.

To sum up, the Nowau cognitive mechanism is based upon:

(a) the presence of a world external to the *nona* (intellect, intuition, perception, memory) of man, who recognises that he has not constructed it entirely;

(b) the existence of a vital spirit (*momova*), which is not only in man but also in all the elements that make up this external world, forming a connection between them;

(c) the *nona* (seen as the group of functions comprising intellect, intuition, perception and memory), which is situated at the centre of the human body, in a way that gives metaphorical expression to its centrality in the cognitive process. To it belongs the function of reacting in an intuitive manner to contact with the external world, which it recognises as an object of

²⁹ Absence of doubt arises from the comparison of a reference model with an object perceived, or imagined, on the basis of this model: there is no contradiction between a particular expectation and the object of that expectation.

³⁰ This implies that a Nowau does not give his own set of reference models the status of an absolute: otherwise he could not accept the notion that the sun stands still and the earth moves around it, which within his own cognitive system appears as a real contradiction. The reason for this acceptance of a new point of view is not of crucial importance to the problem: my interest here is to show that the Nowau cognitive system contains within itself the means of constructing and/or accepting new reference models, which can immediately be judged right or wrong on the basis of this system.

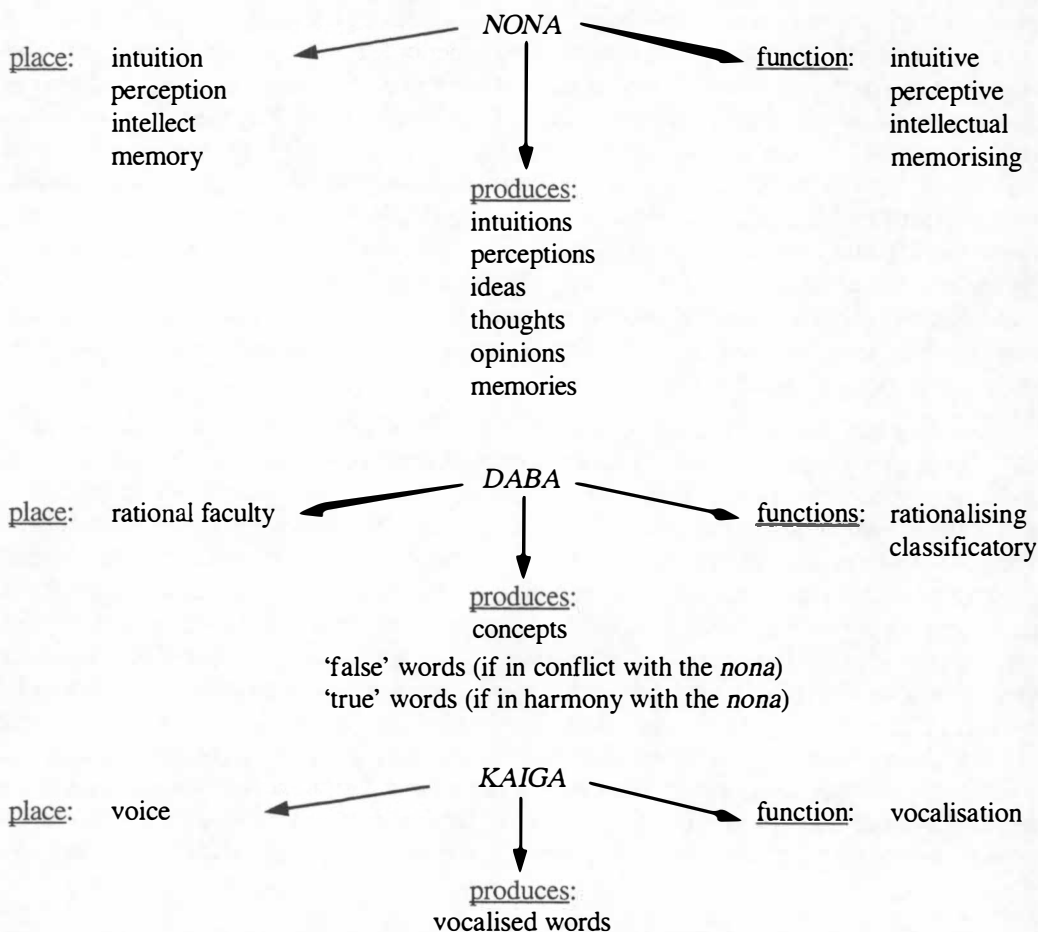
equal significance (in view of their common membership of the vital spirit). The essential characteristic of this intuitive reaction is, indeed, that of perceiving the external world as autonomous. And this form of perception is based on reference models which the *nona* inherits from the culture in which it is embedded. In the *nona* the images – for example whose related in poetic formulae – and ‘immediate’ thoughts are formed, which are grasped intuitively (still on the basis of an previously existing cognitive system). In the *nona* these achieve their full and correct formation, without any intervention from the *daba*;

(d) the *daba* (seen as place, faculty and function), understood here as ‘head/rational faculty’ and ‘rationalising faculty’. To the *daba* come objects (including images and thoughts) which are already formed, since they are grasped intuitively in their pure form. They are thus ‘true’ objects: ideas or opinions (*nanamusa*) presented to the *daba* complete, even as regards manner of expression. The *daba* may accept these as they arrive, in which case it recognises their expressive character – their value as previously formed ideas – or it may modify them by means of its rationalising function. ‘Rationalisation’ should here be taken to mean a conscious act of manipulation of the object intuited: this object, which in the *nona* exists in its entirety, is dissected into its component parts, which are then analysed individually.³¹ In the course of this operation, the rational faculty may carry out modifications which affect the nature of the intuitive object. Alternatively, the rational faculty may perform its function on the ‘form’ of the object. In this case we have a linguistic operation, affecting the form of expression of the object itself. This might give rise to – for example – the construction of metaphor, of metonymy or of synecdoche – or of other rhetorical figures. The essential point about such figures is that they conceal the intuitive object, which may thus be presented to the external world as different, or as untrue, with respect to its point of departure;

(e) a range of logical acts which are constructive of images, thoughts, opinions and objects (in a broad sense). The constructive phase of these acts is performed in the *nona*, in order then to be sifted by the *daba*. The intuitive act, for example, takes place in the *nona*, and is the act which forms the essential basis of the cognitive and constructive mechanism. The reaction to an external object is in itself a ‘formative act’. The reason for this is that intellect functions simultaneously with intuition: one might say that knowledge is born from the assonance of the two. Intellect takes possession of an external object (or a sensation), and encapsulates it in a reference model, the memory of which it preserves. The object which is thus known, or constructed, may pass into the *daba*, where it is straightforwardly accepted in the form it has achieved and in which it has been registered. (In this case the rational faculty, or rationalising function, does not conflict with intuition/mind/intellect.) The image perceived through the intellect (or the object already constructed as a design) arrives fully formed in all its fundamental aspects, although the rational faculty may give it a different form of expression in order to communicate it externally. A product of intuition/intellect already has

³¹ An example of such dissection would be the subdivision of a lexeme into its basic components. A poet wishing to construct a new lexeme for a poetic formula, or a lexeme with a quite unusual sound, may resort to already existing lexemes, which – in view of the disyllabic nature of Nowau – may have locked within them fragments of the meaning (in particular the musical, phonetic meaning) which the poet wishes to construct and insert into his new poetic formula. He may graft these fragments onto a previously existing musical design, or onto one which he has himself constructed. But in order to complete this operation he must also use his rational faculty: the intuition that led to the manipulation of the various fragments is no longer sufficient on its own. Thus the *daba*, as place and function, enables him to refine, or to bring to its conclusion, an enterprise which has already been planned and put in motion by and in the *nona*.

an existence as an element of the language, and of a particular form of the language. If an inhabitant of Kitawa has a new intuitive idea of a 'hut', this idea will already exist in verbal form too, within the Nowau lexicon, though it may never be vocalised. So the function of the rational faculty, which resides in the *daba*, is to find a vocal form for a thought or image, so that with the intervention of the voice it may be communicated to the outside, so that it may be sung. But the vocalisation of a thought/word has nothing to do with the validity of the thought, or image, nor with its memorisation. This last process, which is referred to by the term *uruwai*, takes place in the *nona*: it is always intellect which presides over memorisation, since the latter function is also one of accumulation of the data into whose framework are set the new images, ideas and objects. The reference model is thus also a 'memorised form'. The mechanism of cognition and construction of an image, of an idea, or of any verbal or non-verbal Nowau expression may be represented by the following figures:



In short: an image, for example that of the curving motion of the millipede, is formed in a poet's *nona* (and is subsequently recalled by a singer at the moment of performance), where it is also memorised. It is then transmitted to the *daba*, which classifies it with a word, or with a group of words. The 'verbal' form which he receives in the *daba* does not affect the substance or value of the image, which is in itself valid in its formation in the *nona*. In the *daba*, however, an image may also be manipulated in such a way as to acquire a form different from that established in or by the *nona* – a form which disguises it to the extent of

rendering it unrecognisable both to the memory of the singer who has to perform a poetic formula and to that of the audience of the performance.³² This image – whether manipulated by the rational faculty or accepted as sent by the *nona* – may then be consigned by the *daba* to the voice (*kaiga*) which vocalises it in order to express it externally.

2.4 INITIATION

In the context of the composer/singer's initiation into his/her profession, one should bear in mind the distinction between poetic formulae performed in public (*wosi*), which are not secret, and those which are secret. The latter are referred to at Kitawa by the term *kipara*.³³ Within this category there is a further distinction, between poetic formulae for the Kula and poetic formulae composed to express erotic love – such as *Lube'gu*, performed by Togeruwa Matawadia; there are, last of all, the silent formulae, such as *Konakwana*, intoned by Krobai Tonuwabu. The initiation takes on different meanings and values in accordance with this distinction, although it is only in the case of the *wosi* that it is made explicit in a narrative form: by virtue of their vocalisation and public character, these poetic formulae present no problems with regard to 'narrative' and 'making explicit'. However, what holds for the initiation into composition and performance of a *wosi* may be extended by analogy to the *megwa* too – although one must of course do justice to the differences. Conversely, the process of initiation in composition, memorisation and performance of a *megwa* cannot be revealed, precisely because of the intimate nature of the formula. To make it explicit, to tell it, would be tantamount to revealing the mechanism of its construction, and this – like the meaning of the formula – must be protected.³⁴ The mechanism of construction and

³² At this point the characteristic quality of a *sopa* ('lie') appears as a potential (i.e. something in itself neutral in value) for manipulating an 'immediate' object, which already has its own form and cognitive significance. *Sopa* is thus not in itself negative; it is, rather, the desire to conceal some object of one's own consciousness, sometimes for ideological/political reasons. This is the case with the silent poetic formulae which are sung partly with the aim of influencing the political relations between the four clans and the various subclans. A magician knows perfectly well that by the manipulation of certain poisonous substances (such as a particular kind of herb) which have been enchanted by a silent poetic formula, he may bring about the death of an enemy, or of an enemy of his clan and/or village. This desire, however, is metaphorically transferred to a flying witch, by means of a linguistic/verbal act consisting in the intoning of a poetic formula such as *Konakwana*. The magician's negative desire is transferred to a flying witch, that is to the image of a being (iconographically represented as a bat, or as fire) that bears death. All this is enacted by a particular use of language, transferring the desire of the magician onto another being, the flying witch. The language used by the magician is thus *sopa* (a lie), in that it represents a state different to that in his consciousness (*nona*). The *sopa* functions as a mask – here a verbal mask – which is placed over the 'true' fact. The word is *monita* in the *nona*, and may be *sopa* in the *daba*.

³³ The verb *kipara* is cognate with Boyowa *kipali* or *kipapali*, which is reported by Baldwin (1939a:238) and translated as 'hide', 'take and hide for oneself'. It is formed from the marker *ki-* (contracted form of *kabi*, 'grasp', 'hold', which involves the idea of manipulation; see Baldwin pp.100 and 226) and from the root *-pali*, which literally means 'choose', 'pick out' (Baldwin p.432).

³⁴ So there exist an initiation and an apprenticeship in the performance of silent poetic formulae, but they are not discussed, or are discussed only in a very cautious, allusive manner. The same kind of reticence was previously remarked in the context of the initiation in the profession of engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes. In the particular case of the silent poetic formulae, the refusal to speak about initiation arises from the very fact of their aphonic nature: there would be no sense in talking about an activity, or function, whose principal characteristic is that it takes place in complete silence. Nor should one forget the importance of their position within the Nowau cultural system: they are considered negative, or dangerous, because they fulfil a 'punitive' or intimidatory function – a function of revenge – within this system. The *wosi*, on the other hand, especially when sung in public, fulfil a completely different sort of function, and the unveiling of the process of initiation in the profession of composing and singing is an unveiling of the way in which one composes or creates – an ode to joy, or to the

performance of a *wosi*, by contrast (both *wosi i sisu* and *wosi i tota*) may be recounted – and its initiation revealed – because in this case the utterance does not belong exclusively to the composer/singer. Of course, the fact that the manner of construction of a *wosi*, such as *Da weriya*, may be related does not mean that anyone who comes to be aware of this mechanism will automatically be able to compose such a song. There must be an apprenticeship, which is seen as the crucial phase in the process of composition of a poetic formula (as it is also in the case of the prowboards; see Scoditti 1990a), and also a ‘predisposition’. The fact that I know the elements and conditions of initiation, and the mechanism of composition, does not in itself enable me to compose a poetic formula of the same type as *Da weriya*: this kind of text is considered by the inhabitants of Kitawa as a form of self-expression, on the part of a man or woman endowed with a particular sort of musical and linguistic awareness, and with a particular ability to manipulate the vocal element – the expressive form – of a word. The vocalised word may, for example, be no more nor less than a construction of the Nowau composer – in a sense, it always is. Similarly, his utterance may be the construction of ‘negative’ poetic words which recur in the silent *megwa*: when revealed, these might demonstrate – at the metaphorical level – the person’s ability also to produce expressions with negative force. The silent *megwa*, which are by definition always secret, are, as remarked previously, classified as negative precisely because they may give rise to an atmosphere which is dangerous from the psychological point of view. For while the celebration in song of one’s own beloved, female or male (as in the cases of *Dorai I* or *Nadubeori VI* by Ipaïya of Lalela, in which the emotion of love is wonderfully combined with eroticism) is regarded as positive, the same cannot be said of the singing (in one’s own mind, *daba*) of a *megwa* such as *Ī yai ĩ yai I*, in which the magician hopes (at least at the metaphorical level) that an individual’s eyes may be blinded, his tongue torn out and his inner organs set on fire. But the negative content of a silent poetic formula does not imply a difference in its mechanism of composition as compared with that of a *wosi*; nor is the former distinguished from the latter by any difference in the level of magic. Moreover, it presents the same degree of difficulty as any other *wosi* in translation into another language: there are the same problems regarding the poetic rendering. It is true that the lexicon of the silent poetic formulae is more complicated to decode; but these are purely linguistic difficulties.³⁵ We have, then, the same mechanism of composition; the difference is the desire to keep it hidden in the context of initiation and the related apprenticeship. To reveal this mechanism would probably be to deprive the silent formula of its ‘threatening’ power,

expressive capacities of man. A Nowau may in fact assert that the unveiling of the initiation process consists not in recounting the initiation rite so much as in identifying its meanings. Recounting the way in which Ipaïya was initiated does not amount to revealing the mechanism by which he now constructs a *wosi*. Ipaïya was initiated and is a poet; but is he a poet because he was initiated, or was he initiated because he already showed poetic ability? The answer is certainly not provided by the initiation rite, which appears as a way of ‘rendering sacred’ a particular function – that of composer – which is quite independent of the initiation rite itself.

35 The production of nonsense is not an essential characteristic of a silent poetic formula, although it is one of its features. (Nonsense must be placed on the *content plane* of the ‘magical word’; I do not believe musical nonsense exists, since the function of nonsense is always that of constructing effects from sounds. We might have a musical effect which contrasted with a given reference model, for example an atonal sound instead of a tonal one.) I believe that the nonsense effect in this kind of poetic formula may be brought about, at the level of the meanings of words constituting the essentially verbal text, by an extensive use of archaic lexemes, lexemes constructed by the author of the formula, or lexemes borrowed from the lexica of other languages in the Kula Ring. It is therefore incorrect to say, for example, that a silent poetic formula is more ‘magical’ than a *wosi*: the magic of a *megwa* does not depend on its poetic genre, but on its capacity to embody in its musical design and fabric the *expression plane* (in this case, a negative one) intended by the author.

and also to deprive the magician to whom it belongs of his political and economic power. So the secrecy that surrounds the phases of initiation and apprenticeship of a silent poetic formula is to be understood as the defence of a particular role – that of the magician – and of the political power of one of the four clans to which a magician belongs. It is a defence, too, of the specific function, exerted primarily through psychological pressure, of reinforcing respect for the sociopolitical structure of the village in which a magician operates.³⁶ Conversely, a composer (male or female) who has composed a love-song, or a song for the ‘silent shades’ of the island of Tuma, or even a singer who performs poetic formulae for the Kula, does not fulfil the same function as that of the magician. The former are not checking people’s respect for the norms and rules which govern the sociopolitical structure of a village, but are rather fulfilling the function of construction of a part of the village’s culture – the construction, for example, of verbal and non-verbal expressions; and this function is not connected directly, or at least not explicitly, with the sociopolitical structure. The culture which they represent, and which they construct, has a broader significance, in that it is not directly linked to a specific political situation – although such a situation may be reflected in a very indirect manner. The link with power is much more tenuous and subtle; and it may be sung of in a celebratory way, in its ‘positive’ or ludic embodiment, as in the case of the dances of Milamala (Malinowski 1922).³⁷

The theory that a process of initiation and apprenticeship in the performance of silent poetic formulae takes place – though of course not in their composition, since these formulae are classified as archaic – is supported by evidence gathered at Kitawa from 1974 onward. There is, for example, the typical master-pupil relationship which links Demuda Denekwa to Tausia Yosera, one of the most famous possessors of silent *megwa*, not just of Kitawa but of the whole Kula Ring area – so much so that he has been consulted by the government of

³⁶ It seems to me noteworthy, for example, that the figure of the magician is closely associated with that of the village leader, when this leader is not himself a *bwagau* (as in the case of Krobai of Okabulula, Tolematuwa of Kodeuli and Rosigega of Taraigasi). The magician is always firmly linked to political power, and belongs to the village establishment, which he protects with his art. He uses his powers to safeguard and defend the status quo, and is, at the same time, a product of this status quo. Rosigega and X – who is considered a treacherous magician, prepared to engage in the most abject compromises with the establishment, in whose service he uses his incomparable ability in the manipulation of poisonous substances – are closely connected to the head of the Lalela region, Geredou, and to his clan and subclan (*Nukwasisiga* and *toriwaga*), although both belong to the *Malasi* clan. But Geredou’s present wife, Y (who is very well known and feared as a flying witch) belongs to the same clan as these two magicians, though to a different subclan, *tabalu*. Here we have an example of political alliance in which the control over the esteem in which the leadership of a clan is held is entrusted to another clan. It is an example, too, of the Machiavellian intricacies which are devised in order to maintain the balance of power between the four clans, and which in practice have the effect of defending the status quo. Geredou, as head of the region, represents this equilibrium which is sustained, and to an extent guaranteed, by the function of the magician as exercised by Rosigega (in its most ‘noble’ form) and by X (in its most ‘base’ form). This equilibrium is sanctioned by the bond of clan alliance which has been forged with the two magicians through Y, the wife of Geredou.

³⁷ A *wosi* may be commissioned by those with political power: the leader of a village may give a poet the task of composing an epic song for performance at the festival of Milamala, to the accompaniment of drums, with the purpose of celebrating himself. (Frequently his name occurs within the composition itself, performing the function of a mnemonic aid.) It may also be to celebrate a Kula ritual expedition which was a particularly successful one for all the men of his village. Or – this is the most common case – it may be to celebrate a dance cycle. The *wosi i tota*, precisely because of their public character, involving a whole community, are the most liable to commissioning by a patron; they have a certain epic quality and a capacity to celebrate collective festivities, such as the harvest of the yams and the beginning of the new year with the return to their villages of the souls of the dead.

Milne Bay Province.³⁸ Both are members of the same *Malasi* clan. Tausia initiated Demuda in the art of the *bwagau*; at the time of my last field research in Kitawa (in 1988) the latter was still considered an apprentice. The fact that he was not yet considered a fully functioning magician – added to the contrasting fact that no one spoke of ‘initiation’, though the link between Tausia and Demuda was universally known – implies that Demuda had been initiated and was still in his apprenticeship phase. In the case of a magician, this phase may last a lifetime; a magician may step into the shoes of another magician, taking over all his functions, only on the death of the latter. We have here a case which contrasts with the relationship established between an engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes and his pupil; in the latter case the pupil, once admitted to the close circle of engravers, is authorised to exercise his profession, although his master is still alive.

So initiation and apprenticeship are common to the person who wishes to compose and/or perform a poetic formula and the person who wishes only to perform a silent poetic formula, which, by definition, is secret and internal. (In the latter case the composition – according to Kitawa tradition, at least – belongs to an archaic period.)

Initiation in composition, which as time goes on is becoming much rarer and less talked of, has to be distinguished from initiation in performance. The latter is a much more explicit process, partly because it may involve people other than the initiator. A polyphonic poetic formula, for example, clearly involves a number of individuals, who must practise together in order to perform it. Thus members of the same subclan will sing a poetic formula at the festival of Milamala, or perform a funeral song to commemorate the return of the souls of the dead to the village. (The latter type of song should be distinguished from the funeral laments which are performed at the actual time of a death.) The apprenticeship in performance of a choral *wosi* becomes a communal event, comparable with that of players of the drums, *tolukwai*.

Being an initiate also involves a notion, albeit a vague one, of the future apprenticeship: initiation and apprenticeship are closely connected, and the first phase represents a kind of introduction made up of actions and substances whose metaphorical significance will only be explained – unveiled – in the second phase.

The initiation itself, as a ritual, admits of description because of its greater explicitness as regards ‘external’ symbolism. It is possible, for example, to describe what an initiate heard and/or saw and/or drank. What is much more difficult is to discover, and explain, the metaphorical significance of the words (the poetic formulae) which are heard, and of the objects which are seen – just as it is difficult to unravel the mechanism of composition of a poetic formula which takes place in the mind of the author. And this is true of the author himself. A similar difficulty – though at a different level – applies to the investigation into what happens in the mind of a singer when performing a poetic formula. ‘Investigation’ and ‘explanation’ are activities involving specific technical knowledge of the cognitive processes which govern the construction of a verbal or non-verbal expression, and which place the act of explanation or criticism on a different level from the act of description, the act experienced or the act recounted. Initiation is thus posited as a group of tangible symbols, both visual and

³⁸ Tausia is often consulted by the Provincial Government of Milne Bay (which has its seat at Alotau) when it is drawing up its administrative political programme, but chiefly to defuse a whole range of disputes between the various groups which live in the area of the Kula Ring. These disputes, which increased alarmingly at the beginning of the eighties, are mainly related to contested boundaries of villages, territories and regions, and to interclan complaints. At election time Tausia can be a precious ally for provincial and national leaders.

aural, which are valid 'in themselves'. They may also not be interpreted, and their significance may remain undiscovered – but this does not mean that they will be deprived of their ritual value. Their validity derives precisely from this independence of their existence from their interpretation. Apprenticeship, on the other hand, forces even the composer and/or singer/initiate to interpret; such a person must learn during his training to construct a concrete image. A poetic formula is the product of his capacity to construct; and to construct – to form – the apprentice must put the mechanism of composition into operation in his mind (*nona*). He must learn, for example, that the word has to be harmonised with a given musical design in order to achieve the intended poetic effect. He must 'reveal' to himself the mechanism of construction; he can no longer accept the metaphor used during initiation to refer to this mechanism. It is with apprenticeship, if at all, that the meaning of the metaphor is clarified; here it is no use carrying on accepting it as a metaphor. It is of no use, in particular, for the construction or performance of a poetic formula.³⁹

Another distinction to be borne in mind is that which exists between composer and performer (singer) of a poetic formula. It is a subtle distinction, which is sometimes difficult to grasp – especially for those who are reluctant to abandon their own preconceptions about oral culture, and, more specifically, about the composition and performance of a text (leaving aside any possible discussion of the notion of 'text' itself). The distinction has already been put forward and discussed in Chapter 1, and finds its justification within Nowau culture itself, which locates the mechanism of production and functioning of a single harmonic unity within a 'distinction' between two or more elements.

A similar distinction was noted in the context of the Nowau aesthetic philosophy which governs the construction of the ceremonial canoe. I refer to the distinction between the engraver of prowboards (*lagimu* and *tabuya*) and the carver of the hull and beam which constitute the two parts of the canoe's body (*waga*). This distinction is reflected linguistically by the two terms *tokabitamu* and *tokataraki*, respectively 'engraver' and 'carver' (Scoditti 1990a). There is, besides, a further distinction within the community of engravers, between *tokabitamu bougwa* and straightforward *tokabitamu*. The former means literally 'master engraver', 'master', 'one who has introduced a new model of prowboard'.

The distinction between two or more functions is valid to the extent to which it produces a harmonic unity (a ceremonial canoe, a poetic formula), and is based on the entirely empirical observation that such a unity requires for its production a separation of its design/model into

³⁹ There is an attempt during apprenticeship to interpret the metaphorical meanings attaching to initiation; and it seems to me that ability to perform this interpretation is the litmus test which decides whether an initiate is really capable of composing poetic formulae. It is at the time of apprenticeship that the initiate must prove his capacity to manipulate both verbal and musical text, to the point of fusing them in a single text, which is the final text of a performance. Ability to penetrate the complex metaphorical significance of the initiation is also dependent on the initiate's capacity to use his memory and intellect (*nona*) in order to master the model, or group of models, to which he must refer his poetic formula (or, in the case of a singer, his performance). This model is a real one, with its own internal mechanism which can be analysed, respected or violated. This apprenticeship is similar to that of an apprentice cameraman: in order to use it 'correctly', he must know all the technical secrets and operative capabilities of the camera. The result of a take will depend partly on such knowledge of the camera; but this result, and its evaluation, will also take into account other criteria, other modes of argument, which in their turn depend on an adherence to a particular filmic language. (The filmic language of Luchino Visconti, for example, is not the same as that of Elia Kazan; but both languages rely on a certain knowledge of the camera.) At Kitawa, both the effect of a poetic formula and its evaluation vary in accordance with the taste of the person listening and evaluating, and also according to fashion, historical period and intellectual 'diplomacy'; but effect and evaluation both presuppose a knowledge of the technique of composition on the part of the poet, and of the singer, who has asserted, and sung, the poetic formula.

distinct 'theoretical' and 'practical' phases, which are nevertheless closely connected. The theoretical phases would be the design constructed or adopted – perhaps with variations – by the master/initiator; the practical phases would be the realisation of this design in the form of a prowboard or poetic formula. In the final realisation of the design (the board or formula), the two must be no less intimately joined – fused, even – than are initiation and apprenticeship. Their interconnection also indicates the reciprocal relation between design and technique of realisation of the design.

Distinguishing between the designer (of, say, a model for the prowboard of a ceremonial canoe) and the reproducer (*tokabitamu* or *tokataraki*) of this design at a point in time – who thus re-affirms its validity – implies acknowledging in the author the capacity to analyse with a critical eye and mind the domain of Nowau visual and poetic art in which he operates through initiation and apprenticeship. Not recognising the validity of this distinction involves as a corollary denying that the engraver of a prowboard for the ceremonial canoe has different expressive capacities and abilities from those of a mere carver of the canoe's hulls. Different in the same way as the capacity to compose a poem and the capacity to perform it.

So initiation already establishes a distinction between the person who composes a poetic text and the person who only performs it. The former will also have the ability to perform his own text, but here we should at once point out a particular difference which can to an extent be regarded as the characteristic difference between the domains of visual and verbal poetics – that is, between the production of prowboards for the ceremonial canoe and the composition and performance/interpretation of poetic formulae. A poet composes a text, he tries it out at the various stages of its composition and, once it has been fully constructed, he is able to perform it. But the performance of the text by its own composer may be less beautiful than the performance of the same text by a professional singer, because, for instance, the latter might have a beautiful voice, and be able to interpret it in a way which adheres more closely to the 'spirit' of the music established by the author himself. For the capacity to perform the musical fabric and verbal text of a poetic formula with a particular *modulatio* implies that one is rendering the nature of the text – which is, after all, purely oral – with a suitable vocal expression. Voice therefore plays a fundamental role in the performance of the non-silent poetic formula – but is unconnected with any ability to construct this formula.

The composer of an oral poetic formula is not necessarily endowed with a beautiful voice. Thus the voice introduces a completely new element in the complex relationship between the composer of poems (excluding the silent *megwa*) and their performer. By contrast, the essence of a *tokabitamu* consists in his ability to engrave a prowboard; there is no such thing as an engraver who plans the design of board but does not then realise it, like an architect planning a building the execution of which is entrusted to a carpenter. The crucial characteristic of a *tokabitamu* is precisely that of realising in wood a graphic design for a prowboard; one might say that this is the *sine qua non* for being regarded as an engraver. So, while an engraver must physically engrave his graphic design on the *lagimu* and *tabuya*, the composer composes a text, but does not necessarily also perform it; or, if he does perform it, he does this by virtue of being also a singer.

The work of the author of Nowau poetic formulae is highly reminiscent – in terms of both the mechanism of construction and the relationship between author and performer of a text – of the work of the composer of a piece of music. The latter, in a majority of cases, makes use of professional performers – an orchestra – in order to have a piece performed in public. No

one would dream of assuming that the performer of a musical composition – Monteverdi's *Vespri*, for instance – was also the composer. The situation at Kitawa is exactly the same.

To set up a distinction between composer and singer does not entail a denial of the possibility that the two functions might also coincide. But such a coincidence serves to privilege the role of the author of the text. In short, initiation, as explained to me by Ipaïya, must have reference first and foremost to the author of a text, though it may also be considered, *mutatis mutandis*, to have a metaphorical validity for the singer. Reference is made to the author of a *wosi*; in the case of the *megwa*, meanwhile (whether silent or sounded, public or secret), the initiation seems still to be practised, in spite of the fact that this practice is not spoken of or admitted.

The initiation is referred to as *kabwayawa* (*ka-bwa-yawa*; see Baldwin 1939a:27, 98, 650),⁴⁰ and involves a relationship between an initiator, composer and/or singer, and an initiate, who is roughly between sixteen and twenty years of age. They are thus older than that of initiates in the profession of engraver of prowboards, which may mean that linguistic competence plays a central role in the choice of the initiate composer/singer. Such competence would be analysed on two levels: the general level of capacity to express oneself, and to construct sentences, in a manner suitable to a variety of contexts – in this particular case, to a poetic context; and the specific level of one's ability, on completing the period of apprenticeship, to construct poetic formulae with reference also to the various vocabularies, not just of Nowau, but also of the other languages of the Kula Ring.

In the case of singing, an important element in determining age is the quality of the voice: the initiate should preferably have reached an age at which the voice already has a degree of stability, and has acquired its own distinctive timbre. If a younger candidate is chosen, there is a risk that one will be working during the apprenticeship on a voice which is not yet fully defined. Those who are chosen have the type of voice which is regarded as suited to the performance of a poetic formula in accordance with the genre to which it belongs.

Once again, there is a contrast to be drawn between the characteristics and conditions of initiation into the profession of engraver or maker of ceremonial canoes and those of initiation in the composition and performance of poetic formulae. In the former case, it is in practice the apprenticeship, with all its rules and prohibitions, which decides whether the initiate will be able to become a *tokabitamū*, or a *tokataraki*, so that the initiation functions as an opening of the account – a metaphorical introduction to a profession which will gradually reveal the meaning of this metaphor but which does not in itself authorise someone to practise the profession. It has the force of a premonition, to which reference is made by the vision, in the initiate's dream, of graphic signs which the engraver must realise (Scoditti 1990a:43). The initiation of either *tokabitamū* or *tokataraki* functions as a metaphorical allusion to a man's constructive potential, the discovery and realisation of which depends primarily on the

⁴⁰ The lexeme is composed of *ka-bwa-yawa*, where the prefix *ka-* functions in this particular case as the auxiliary verb adding to the root element the meaning of producing an effect, of being the cause of something (it is thus a true causative; see Baldwin 1939a:98); while the infix *-bwa-* should be interpreted as a variant of *bo-*, and alludes to what is sacred, festive or ritual (Baldwin p.27); the suffix *-yawa*, finally, is an abbreviated form of *yawali*, literally 'keep a wave', that is to sing or perform with the voice. The meaning of the term is thus related to the ritual nature of the initiation, which, on the basis of the meaning of the root, would seem to be reserved for the singer alone. But Ipaïya himself has suggested that the term expresses a much broader sense than the merely literal one, so that 'sing' is in this case equivalent to the construction of the *modulatio* of a poetic formula. Initiation should thus be thought of as relating to the author of the musical text, implying also an involvement in the voice as external expression, or vocalisation, of the musical form of the text.

initiate's design and technical abilities. These abilities are ones which he does not possess, but will learn in the course of his long training.

An author or singer of poetic formulae, on the other hand, must already have such abilities in their essentials. Clearly, this applies chiefly to linguistic competence (an ability to move adeptly between the various vocabularies), and, in the case of the singer, to the voice. The initiate's age should be seen in relation to this kind of competence.⁴¹

The fact that our context is an oral language, and thus a verbal language (as opposed to the non-verbal language of the prowboards) has a further significance. A graphic sign, or a model for a prowboard for the ceremonial canoe, is, historically speaking, entrusted to a visual document, such as the board itself, or a whole series of such boards. The person who thinks up and engraves a new graphic sign constructs a precise document, which will subsequently become a datum, independent of his own personal memory of it; it will last 'visually' for a certain period of time. The author of the graphic sign, or of a model for the prowboard, will die, as will his pupils and imitators; but the model embodied in the board, and in the series which is derived from it, lasts very much longer. It may be reproduced, copied, or modified, but it constitutes a physical object, a proof of the constructive ability of the *tokabitanu* as 'inventor of images'. It also leaves its impression on the collective memory. In the case of prowboards, we are dealing with a set of 'visual documents' with a far greater degree of autonomy than the set of poetic formulae, which are much more closely linked to the physical person of their authors, and also of their singers. The former case is one of historical memories of a more enduring nature, the existence and survival of which are not dependent on the individual memory and on the voice of a man,⁴² so that the initiate in the profession is not asked to be already in control of the means of expression: he does not have to show that he will be able to continue the work of his initiator/master, and this is because this person's work has already been recorded in the prowboard, or embodied in the construction of a ceremonial canoe. It is no surprise, then, that an initiate may sometimes be eliminated in the course of the apprenticeship: he is not crucial to the preservation of the visual document.⁴³

41 The age of initiation in the profession of engraver of prowboards, and also of carver and constructor of ceremonial canoes, is from six to twelve years according to the canonical rules. At this age the initiate cannot, except in very unusual cases, show any sign of his ability. Attention is therefore transferred to the initiation rite, which is loaded, metaphorically, with mystic-ritual meanings, typical of the world of figurative art. See Kris and Kurz (1979).

42 For example the importance of the ethnographic objects in the various public and private collections, for example, as historical testimonies or memories, has almost entirely escaped anthropologists. Such objects, it seems to me, can be read as 'pieces' of history, since they are frequently the only documents of a civilisation, or of an oral culture. Moreover, an ethnographic object may be seen as a case containing the rationale or model which was followed in its construction, and may thus become a valuable witness which may help us at least to form a hypothesis regarding the style of reasoning of the culture to which it belongs.

43 I am here simplifying: clearly, since the document constituted by the 'prowboard for the ceremonial canoe' is made of wood, it too is liable to destruction, just as are the books or other means of recording. But the threat of destruction does not alter the fact that this kind of document is by nature more durable than a poetic formula. What we have is a wooden board, that is a means of expression which is physically solid, and which acquires complete independence from its author, whom it survives actually and in the memory. Consider the prowboards for ceremonial canoes preserved in the ethnographic museums, where they bear witness to modes of design and engraving which we should otherwise be unable even to imagine. The memorisation of a poetic formula, by contrast, is entrusted entirely to the memory of whoever knows and whoever performs the text; if it is not recorded and transcribed it disappears completely.

An initiate in the composition and performance of poetic formulae, on the other hand, must demonstrate in advance that he has the ability to continue the 'historical memory' of his master, and of a given genre of poetic formulae. If he lacks the requisite linguistic competence, or, in the case of a singer, the right kind of voice, he will never be able to commit to memory his master's 'document', or that of the oral culture to which he belongs. The document in question here is an entirely oral one, which requires a memory/mind as well as a voice if it is to be memorised, modified, or used as a reference model. In other words, it requires a physical person with the ability – at least potentially – to work with the semantic, the syntactic and, above all, the phonetic rules of Nowau.

If one wishes to initiate a singer, for example, the initiate must be especially well endowed as regards ear and voice, and must have a sensitivity to the phonetic or musical qualities of Nowau, as also of the other languages of the Kula Ring. The construction of poetic formulae calls for linguistic competence (a concept which is to be made more specific during the apprenticeship); and the profession of singer calls for the natural gift of voice. Without these, there can be no initiation. This is the main reason for the requirement that the initiate be already in possession of certain qualities, even if only in potential form, in order to continue the reference models which have been constructed by means which are purely verbal (the poetic 'words' of the text) and aural (the musical design which characterises a given genre of poetic formulae.) The very existence of a formula in the historical memory will depend to an extent on the initiate's ability to memorise.⁴⁴

In short, linguistic and musical sensibility is the *sine qua non* of initiation into the profession of composer of poetic formulae; while the quality of the voice (like that of a singer) is an additional consideration, but not the decisive one. One may be a composer without feeling the need to perform one's poetic formula in a public context; this may equally well be entrusted to a professional singer. Here we have again the relationship between author of a text – a musical text, say – and performer/interpreter of this text. At the beginning of the Chapter 1, I mentioned the relationship between Giuseppe Verdi's *Un ballo in maschera* and the performance/interpretation of this work by Arturo Toscanini. Toscanini is not the composer of the work but merely the interpreter; and the fact that his interpretation is regarded as a classic means additionally that Toscanini succeeded in rendering the spirit of Verdi's opera, in spite of not having composed it. The same model applies to Nowau poetic formulae: Gidou of Lalela's interpretation of *Mwasila monikiniki II*, for example, is considered a classic, but such an evaluation should not lead one to deduce – the people of Kitawa certainly do not make such a deduction – that Gidou is the author of the poetic formula. Rather, he has given an interpretation of it in accordance with the 'spirit of the text' (which is preserved also in the *nona* of the inhabitants of the island, and can be traced back within the framework of Nowau poetics).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ It cannot be denied that in the case of oral poetry memory is the basic condition of the composition and performance of a poetic formula, especially when one considers a text from the point of view of its length and complexity. It is also the condition of the preservation of the specific model which the text embodies, and of which it is an example. The set of models of a given poetic genre at a given historical period is entrusted to the memory of poet and singer; otherwise it will disappear without trace. It would be pointless to deny the crucial role of memory in this context: it preserves the record of a historical moment. Obviously this does not imply that an oral culture is endowed with a particular kind of memory, or with an exceptionally good one. See Thomas (1989:21, n.22.).

⁴⁵ I do not see why one should not use the term 'spirit of the text' for a Nowau poetic formula: the difficulties involved in identifying or tracing it would be the same as in a culture that employs writing. In the case in question, the 'spirit of the text' might be the manner of performance envisaged by the

2.5 LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE OF THE INITIATE

The linguistic competence required of an initiate-composer is gradually refined in the course of his apprenticeship. To begin with, there will be no specific ability, related to a particular form of poetics or to a particular poetic genre. Furthermore, the initiate will over the years of his apprenticeship have to undergo a 'musical' training also, since he must harmonise his essentially verbal text, which is made up of words (though these may already have been imagined aurally), with a musical text; that is, his linguistic competence is employed primarily in the area of the vocalised word, that is in relation to its phonetic elements, and he operates on the *expression plane* of the word. (It does not for the moment matter whether he is producing a new musical model, because this model is still more stable, and in general older, or at least better respected.) Initiation in the composition of poetic formulae is first and foremost an introduction to a text consisting of words which are to be transformed into sounds; this is the reason that the choice of initiate is determined by general linguistic competence, but with a particular emphasis on sensitivity to the musical element in language – a sensibility which is, however, in need of full cultivation. The relatively late age of the initiate should be seen as an external sign of his introduction to the composition of sounded, public poetic formulae – the *wosi*. This may, though, be extended by analogy to include the *megwa* (either silent or sounded but secret), in spite of the fact that the term *kabwayawa* is used explicitly to refer to initiation in composition of *wosi* alone. Such an analogy would derive support from the fact that it is in practice impossible to sustain the distinction – established by the Nowau themselves – within the genre of *megwa*, between poetic formulae used for such purposes as the enchantment of wreaths or garlands of flowers, the preparation of love potions, the placing of *lagimu* and *tabuya*, the Kula, and silent poetic formulae. The distinctions are so many and various that in the end one realises that *megwa* too have been composed on the basis of a standard procedure of initiation and apprenticeship. Excluding them from initiation, apprenticeship and composition is thus merely a way of alluding to the fact that their composition belongs in the past, that composition of this kind has now completely vanished. They are therefore archaic texts, probably connected with a different type of poetics, and surrounded by a sort of reverential fear which is characteristic of the sacred. They are the equivalent, *mutatis mutandis*, of such texts as the Old and New Testaments or the Koran; texts which are essentially unalterable – closed texts. It follows that in the case of these texts one cannot speak of initiation in composition, but only of apprenticeship in performance.

The same applies to the poetic formulae performed during the Kula ritual exchanges, where we have an initiation, and an apprenticeship in performance, of an extended kind: theoretically, all the men of a village ought to take part, given the central role which the ritual exchange plays in their life. Knowledge of this kind of poetic formulae is fairly widespread, or at least was so up to the beginning of the 1980s; so it seems to me more correct to say that the introduction to knowledge of these takes place under certain conditions, such as the condition that the initiate should be a companion of the initiator (in a relationship of elder to younger), or be connected to him by ties of clan and subclan. The *megwa* may, for example,

author; this is of course not described in any treatise or in a score, but is passed on from singer to singer. The reputation of a 'supreme' singer itself depends partly on the ability to pass on a traditional technique, complete with all the possible subtleties and variations. Herein lies the importance of both initiation and apprenticeship: they safeguard the respect for tradition, in the sense of a particular manner of performance and interpretation of a poetic formula – a manner which is handed on from master to initiate. If Gidou respects the 'spirit of the text', this means that he reasserts and interprets a manner of performance which is still considered valid.

be given by an initiator who is the brother of the initiate's mother. It is however also true that links of kinship between initiator and initiate may be wholly absent: in innumerable cases the poetic formulae for the Kula are given by father to son, so that their possession is transferred from one clan to another. It seems that the only criterion for transmission of the poetic formulae for the Kula from one man to another is their common membership of the system of ritual exchange (though in the case of the initiate, this membership belongs to the future). So what we have here is less an initiation in the *megwa* than an initiation in the ritual exchange whose *megwa* constitute a part of the initiation itself. With the poetic formulae for the Kula, then, we cannot speak of initiation in the strict sense of a truly specific introduction geared to an equally specific function; all the men are potential *tokula* – in fact, a man is considered a man only if he participates in the ritual exchange. So all the men can – and should – be initiated in knowledge of the poetic formulae for the Kula. This universality seems to me in itself a sign of the particular nature of this kind of initiation – a reflection, as it were, of the fact that everyone goes from puberty to youth in a rite of passage.

This is however not the meaning attributed to the initiation and corresponding apprenticeship in the composition and performance of poetic formulae, both *megwa* (silent and erotic) and *wosi* – nor to the initiation in the engraving of prowboards for ceremonial canoes. These two kinds of initiation are examples (and are not the only ones at Kitawa) of the choice of an elite group of individuals – a group which is formed in order to perpetuate an intellectual aristocracy. (The choice is of course highly arbitrary, and has motivations and effects of a politico-economic nature, and regarding the kinship structure – factors which I do not deny, but which are not the subject of my analysis.) This aristocracy has already been clearly marked out in the initiations to the profession of engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes (Scoditti 1990a). The performance of a poetic formula for the Kula is part of the standard cultural education of every man involved in the ritual exchange, just as the poetic formulae for the preparation of love potions are part of a body of knowledge shared by every lover; the composition of these poetic formulae, however, like that of a *wosi*, is the prerogative of an élite. In any culture, not everyone is in a position to compose the poetry which is of significance within that culture: not everyone is a Donne or a Chaucer and, at Kitawa, not everyone is an Ipaïya of Lalela. Of course, the initiation of a Chaucer is different from the initiation of an Ipaïya, and has different modalities. But the differences are chiefly dependent on differences in the metaphors (both visual and verbal) which underline the meaning of the initiation itself. Chaucer did not have to taste the betel nut in order to feel his mind 'pierced' by the revelation of the inspiring Muse who then enabled him to compose *Troilus and Cryseyde*; but doubtless he experienced some other kind of vision, or piercing.⁴⁶ Basically, the authors of any period (poets, painters, musicians, as well as singer/interpreters) make use of premonitory signs of the Muses, or of the gods or heroes, as bringers of inspiration. These function as metaphors which affirm the capacity of the author to construct 'images'. The differences in these metaphors depend on the type of culture in which they arise, and on the greater or lesser degree of secularisation of the language (both verbal and non-verbal) used to express and record them. It should be borne in mind that this secularisation of language is not a feature of a specific author, nor of a given culture – or even of a particular period. There may perhaps be a progressive tendency towards secularisation of language which is connected to the level of technological development; but sacred language – poetic, essentially metaphorical language – does not disappear. Rather, it

⁴⁶ See Kris and Kurz (1979).

becomes restricted to a particular group, such as poets and/or singers of poetic formulae.⁴⁷ So initiation as introduction, in the narrow sense, to the profession of composer of poetic formulae is, in present-day Kitawa, basically relevant to the *wosi* which are to be performed in public with the involvement of the voice (following the scheme of high, middle and low notes). It might also be relevant to poetic formulae of love, such as *Lube'gu* as performed by Togeruwa Matawadia. The fact that a composer has to fit a possible 'verbal text' (which should by now be understood to be 'verbal' in a very particular sense) to a musical design (which he receives from the tradition as a model to be both imitated and varied, with manipulations and modifications depending on his expressive ability) may be what has given rise to the confusion between 'composer' and 'performer'. The initiate receives a musical education in the course of the apprenticeship; but this is to be understood as part of the activity of composition rather than a separate activity belonging to the player of, say, the panpipes.⁴⁸ To be initiated in the construction of poetic formulae is to be initiated in the composition of a verbal text which must be unravelled in a musical manner, on the basis of a musical design, either inherited during the apprenticeship or able to be composed or constructed. From the point of view of relations of kinship between initiator and initiate, the initiation is an open one: anyone may be initiated in the profession of composer, and singer, of *wosi*, provided that he has the necessary attributes. It is not required that he belong to the same clan and subclan as the initiator, or that he be his son. For initiation as singer of silent poetic formulae, on the other hand, one must belong to the same clan – though not necessarily to the same subclan – as the initiator.

By contrast with the initiation ritual for an engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes, the initiator who introduces a future composer to the construction of the *wosi* sings no poetic formula. This absence has a metaphorical significance: the act of initiation must in fact introduce the future poet to the construction of *wosi* which he will learn to compose only in the course of the apprenticeship, and which at the time of initiation are defined as non-existent. Their absence is symbolic of an invitation to compose them. It would make no sense – at least at the metaphorical level – to introduce someone to the profession of

⁴⁷ An example of secularisation of language as a function of technological development is provided, at Kitawa itself, by the vocabulary used by engravers of prowboards for ceremonial canoes. This group employs lexemes in a mainly – though not entirely – aesthetic and technical context, even when the origin of these lexemes is a clearly sacred one. This origin is transferred onto the metaphorical level. The lexeme *mwata*, for example, which in itself refers to the mythical hero Monikiniki, has lost its original function and its sacred significance, and is now used only to suggest the harmonic structure, the schema, of the two prowboards. It is true, too, that only a select few even within the narrow circle of engravers are able to interpret the meaning of the association between *mwata* and the schema of a prowboard.

⁴⁸ At Kitawa pieces of music are composed and performed for instruments alone: drum, notched flute, panpipes, trumpet, jew's-harp. Only Redimu and Giorera of Lalela, both of whom died in a malaria epidemic in 1986, were able to play either the notched flute or the panpipes; we may therefore regard the use of these as obsolete throughout Kitawa. I have no information regarding the manner of composition of a piece of music for these instruments, although I was able to record some pieces in 1984, with both Giorera and Redimu. The latter stated that the composition of an instrumental piece required a different kind of competence from that of the composition of poetic formulae, even though both have the same problem: that of giving musical form to an idea, intuition or feeling. But the poet, especially if he has to produce a *wosi*, must operate with the sound of a word, extracting its musical qualities and putting out of his mind – and out of the minds of performer and listener – the fact that the word also has a meaning in everyday speech, a meaning that must be manipulated in such a way as to reduce it to the purely musical. The author of a piece for a wind instrument, meanwhile, probably goes directly to the *expression plane* of a particular sound from the beginning: he has no 'meaning' to manipulate, but 'sees' and 'thinks' with abstract elements – the sounds – which turn into notes on the page. But both the composer of a poetic formula and the composer of a piece for drum share the problem, and the pleasure, of working with typically 'oral' elements: music, vocalised words.

composer/singer by performing something which he will subsequently have to compose. The 'sound vacuum' in which the initiation takes place is in fact significant: it bestows value on the act of initiation.

Drawing up a scheme of the functions represented by the process of initiation in composition and performance of poetic formulae (*wosi*), as against that of initiation in the profession of engraver of prowboards, we have:

(a) initiation into the poetic word: the poetic word (whether sounded or silent) which gives metaphorical expression to creativity is posited as 'null'. It needs to be moulded and constructed, especially as a musical fabric; and the lack of this musical word at the time of the act of initiation is regarded as an invitation to its construction;

(b) initiation into the profession of engraver of prowboards: the poetic word is already in existence at the time of the introduction to the profession of engraver, and is sung by the initiator as a reference to the initiate's capacities of creativity and imagination; the latter becomes one of the elect group at the very moment of hearing this, and receives this capacity as a gift from the gods (Scoditti 1990a);

(c) initiation into the professions of engraver, of singer and composer of poetic formulae: the two kinds of initiation have in common the use of certain substances, for example, in the case of that of composer/singer (according to the account of Ipaïya), the tasting by the initiate of the pedicels that connect the leaves to the branches of the tree or shrub, *towatawa*.⁴⁹ Redimu of Lalela claims that the initiate should taste the leaves of this plant too. This tasting gives the voice a clear, crystalline quality, thus constituting a metaphor for the capacity of a composer to give musical form to a word, or to a whole text, and also for the capacity of a singer to perform the text according to the musical form created by the composer. The voice (*kaiga'la*) in this context of initiation thus expresses a very wide range of meanings, which include the musical quality, in both design and texture, of a poetic text. It refers too, though, to the voice as emission of sound, as capacity to make a word musical so as to be heard by the world outside, by the village, or by one's own beloved. Voice or sound, then, as means of expression, as vehicle of the mind/intellect (*nona*), which at the moment of initiation is located in the reverse position to that, speaking metaphorically, which it occupies in the process of initiation into the profession of engraver of prowboards.

Another substance offered to the future composer and/or singer at initiation is the red mixture, *buwa*, which is used in the initiation into the art of the engraver.⁵⁰ In this case too there is no poetic formula sung over the red mixture, by contrast with the practice in the other type of initiation. The giving of the *buwa* is accompanied by the offer to the initiate, immediately afterwards, of 'spring' water to be drunk from the initiator's hands, which he closes to form a cup. This action is also unaccompanied by any poetic formula.

We may summarise the substances offered to initiates during initiation in composition and performance of poetic formulae, as opposed to those offered to initiates in the profession of engraver of prowboards, as follows:

⁴⁹ It must be confessed that the ethnologist often commits the serious error – particularly serious when he is interested in lexicography and taxonomy – of not being competent in the transcription of scientific names of plants, flowers and animals.

⁵⁰ *Buwa* is produced by crushing and mixing together betel nut (*Areca catechu*), calcium powder (*pwakau* or *pupwakau*, obtained by cooking and pulverising a type of white coral, *nada*) and the leaf or fruit of betel pepper (*Piper methysticum* or *Piper betle*).

- (A) engraver: (a) *buwa* (enchanted by poetic formulae)
 (b) *sopi*
- (B) composer and/or singer: (a) *buwa*
 (b) *sopi*
 (c) *towatawa*

In the context of initiation in the profession of engraver, the performance of poetic formulae is a *sine qua non* of the efficacy of the ritual. The meaning of this ritual is itself that of a verbal metaphor with a whole range of implications, which are revealed and analysed later, in the course of apprenticeship. In this case the formula has a specific function as metaphorical record, or means of preservation of a set of aesthetic standards from the ravages of time. What we have is a verbal strategy for safeguarding, up to a certain point, the aesthetic values related to visual objects – such as the prowboards of ceremonial canoes. The verbal image preserves the visual. The word is entrusted with the role of transmitting an aesthetic value of a non-verbal nature – one which is expressed through (graphic/visual) means which have nothing to do with the word itself.

The other two substances (*buwa* and *sopi*) which the two kinds of initiation have in common perform the function of highlighting the expressive and constructive capacities of intellect and intuition (or of the artist defined as a harmonic synthesis of intuition and intellect). But these faculties are enhanced – and, I would argue, metaphorically produced – by the very process of tasting the *buwa* and *sopi*. It is by these two substances that intuition and intellect are sharpened and become perceptive, and ready to receive stimuli from both outside (e.g. from nature) and inside (from the workings of the *nona* and in particular one of its functions, that of memory), in order then to carry out a transformation of these stimuli into a poetic image. While the author of a poetic formula – the constructor of vocal images – is initiated through the gift of *buwa* and *sopi*, it is above all the substance *towatawa* which gives him the sharpest signal of the possibility he will have in the future of constructing vocal images in the future. The signal refers to the future text basically as a musical fabric of sounds; and it concerns the initiate in his capacity as prospective poet rather than as prospective singer. We thus have a reassertion of the distinction already remarked between *tokabitanu* and *tokataraki*, here translated into a distinction between composer, and singer, of poetic formulae. Just as the function of *tokabitanu* simultaneously involves that of *tokataraki*, but not vice versa, so the function of author of poetic formulae simultaneously involves the function of singer, but not vice versa. At the very moment of initiation, the singer is distinguished in function from the author of poetic formulae.

During the act of initiation into the construction and performance of poetic formulae, the initiate receives the *buwa*, the spring water and the leaves, or stems (*towatawa*), and senses the activation of his *nona*: the faculties that have their seat in it (perception, intuition, intellect, memory) become extremely sensitive, as though they had been pierced by someone or something. The effects of this piercing, as described by Ipaïya, are entirely similar to those seen during the initiation in the profession of engraver, as recounted by Towitara Buyoyu, Sïyakwakwa Teitei and Tonori Kiririyei.⁵¹ In his description of the piercing of the *nona* which is brought about by the three substances (here again it is worth emphasising the complete absence of the use of poetic formulae), Ipaïya used the expression term *sawa* in the phrases: *nano'ra i sawa*, and *nano'gu bo' i sawa* – ‘the mind takes in’, and ‘my mind took

⁵¹ For a description of the initiation into the profession of *tokabitanu* and *tokataraki* and its interpretation, see Scoditti (1990a:29-66; 173-198).

in', respectively. But *sawa* is linguistically related to *sau*, which encapsulates a range of images suggestive of 'going out', 'going out of one's mind', and also 'finding', 'seeking' (which also involves the function of recording), or 'finding the right place for something, or for someone'. In this last case, we can see a clear allusion to the effort, and the ability, to choose particular words for insertion in the musical fabric under construction; and to the effort to recall a series of lexemes to mind – including lexemes from other languages – so as to find one suitable for use in one's own composition; and, finally, to the effort to associate a particular lexeme with a sequence of sounds in such a way as to produce a harmonious sounded word. The term *sawa* may thus be rendered as 'a piercing of the initiate's *nona* which causes it to become receptive or inspired'.

2.6 APPRENTICESHIP

Once a youth has been introduced to the profession of composer and/or singer (though one must bear in mind the distinction now established between the two functions), through the ritual of initiation, he faces the apprenticeship phase. This period is fundamentally less well defined, in terms of both duration and type of work involved, than the apprenticeship of an initiate in the art of engraving prowboards. The lack of definition arises above all from the role played by the apprentice's own linguistic and musical abilities. An apprentice in the art of engraving *lagimu* and *tabuya* has before his eyes his master's model for the board; his chief difficulty is thus one of forming, or re-forming, the graphic signs engraved on the model. His task is the reassertion of a previously established harmony of signs. This job of assembling the various graphic signs which are to reassert and visually realise the model is by no means easy; but it is nevertheless a smaller task than that faced by the apprentice composer in the composition of a poetic formula. In the former case, the apprentice has before him – albeit not permanently – a visual model. He as it were sees a graphic text which may be of assistance in his reproduction and manipulation, and by reference to which he may establish parallels and form judgements. The model represents a fixed point not just for the mind but also for the eyes: if the visual memory is in some way damaged, the prowboard which gives visual form to the reference model comes to the rescue by recalling it. It performs the same function as that performed, for example, by a painting of the Madonna in mediaeval times,⁵² or by a writer's description of a fresco. Today it is possible for anyone to form a judgement, using both mind and eye, as to the extent to which Vasari's description of Masaccio's fresco in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence corresponds to the fresco itself. The work in question is there on the wall, and even properly restored. It is a visual representation which testifies to Vasari's description; if the fresco were no longer there, we would have to envisage and imagine it on the basis of his description alone.⁵³ The

⁵² I am referring in particular to the function attributed to mediaeval pictures, of symbolising a whole set of Christian values, which are not written but told, and which were partially conveyed by the visual style of the picture. (One thinks of the well-known type of Madonna with the blue mantle, spread open in a sort of cone which covers the saints, the faithful and often the donor at the foot of the Virgin.) Clearly orality is not in itself sufficient to preserve in the memory – except for a limited period – the whole range of values and beliefs produced by a culture. But this short timespan of memory – of any memory – is not unique to oral cultures: even in a culture which has reached a high level of technological development, information is fragmented by means of techniques and forms of 'storage' of a very sophisticated nature, which nevertheless, in terms of the mechanisms which control them, resemble some of the memorisation systems elaborated by oral cultures – such as the intricate and complex distribution of knowledge between the four clans and the various subclans that live at Kitawa.

⁵³ I am not referring to Masaccio's fresco just as a document which establishes whether or not the description by Vasari is correct, but also as a witness of the fact that it is a work actually painted in the

same applies to prowboards: they embody and transmit a whole series of compositional models, and their material existence is a particularly strong way of preserving the memory of these, especially within a culture which does not use writing to describe and/or criticise a model for the prowboard. Kurina of Lalela, for example, one of the most famous masters of the prowboard at Kitawa, initiated Tonori Kiririyei into the profession, but died before Tonori could undergo the standard apprenticeship,⁵⁴ thus leaving him free to introduce new graphic signs by contrast with his own models of *lagimu* and *tabuya*. The graphic design of the prowboards engraved by Tonori was almost immediately regarded as insufficiently canonical: a mixture of orthodox graphic signs, said by Kitawans, and especially the elder engravers, to be typical of Kurina, with 'new' graphic signs. I was not, however, able to form a clear idea of Kurina's models on the basis of the *lagimu* or *tabuya* engraved by Tonori, since none of the boards embodying the former has remained at Kitawa.⁵⁵ As there is no original, no model and no interpretation of one by Tonori, who would have memorised it canonically, I could not gain an impression of his style of graphic design nor of his importance in the history of prowboards at Kitawa, now could I establish the degree of influence of Kurina on Tonori, and the originality of the latter. Essentially, a prowboard by Tonori ought to function as a demonstrative account of what a prowboard of Kurina might have looked like, and, above all, as an equally demonstrative and proud declaration of his originality as an engraver with respect to Kurina. What was lacking was the reference model on the basis of which to form a comparison. The purpose of these observations is of course to give an example of how the lack of a visual model of the prowboard may create problems for one wishing to establish parallels between different models, when one of these models is missing and when the parallel is to be made over a long period of time. Such a parallel will be feasible for the inhabitants of Kitawa, and in particular of Lalela, at least as long as those who saw Kurina's boards are alive. It was only in 1987 that Kurina's son, Dadayoura of Lalela, admitted that he had memorised his father's models of *lagimu* and *tabuya*, and reproduced them in two coloured drawings.⁵⁶ Dadayoura's ability to draw the models of

fifteenth century by Masaccio – that it is a real work, not just a theoretical entity. If the fresco had been destroyed, and all that remained had been the text of Vasari, we should have no way of evaluating the following description by Vasari (1927, 1:268):

For this reason the chapel has always been frequented by an infinite number of designers and masters up to the present time, and it still contains some heads of such naturalness and beauty that it may be affirmed that no master approached so closely to the moderns as Masaccio. For this cause his labours deserve unstinted praise, especially as he paved the way for the good style of our own day.

The physical existence of the fresco of Masaccio is thus a document giving value to Vasari's description, which is a linguistic construct of the document/fresco. But the rock Yabuyabu, too, which 'signals' the coming-forth from the earth of the ancestor of the *Nukulabuta* clan, reinforces and bears witness to the validity of the description of it by Geredou in the version of the foundation-myth tale. Equally, it is obvious that the rock could be any rock, but it is important that through its physical objectivity it attests to the verisimilitude of the tale. See Freedberg (1989).

- 54 Kurina is related to Tonori by matrilineal descent: Tonori's mother is the daughter of Kurina's elder sister.
- 55 Iwa is known as the island of the 'winged creatures'. But its engravers and carvers are known throughout the whole Kula Ring region for their poor technical ability at engraving prowboards – theirs are regarded as among the worst – and at carving and assembling the various parts of the body of a ceremonial canoe.
- 56 It should be made clear that the canonical initiation in the profession of engraver of prowboards should take place within a single subclan, especially as regards the performance of the poetic formulae by the initiator during the initiation rite. These formulae are guarded jealously by their various proprietors within their respective subclans. According to the rules of matrilineal descent, Dadayoura could not be initiated by his father Kurina; but it is an undeniable fact that the bond of affection between father and son may lead to a bending of these rules, that is to the fact that many poetic formulae, and many

Kurina depended on his having memorised them, but more importantly on his having secretly practised the engraving of the graphic signs on smaller versions of the boards, just like those used by an apprentice. If he had not practised in this way – as he himself admitted that he had, and this is also confirmed by the reading of certain recorded conversations with Tonori and Siyakwakwa – he would not have been able to preserve Kurina's models in his memory.⁵⁷ In fact, the interpretation of these models in Dadayoura's drawings enabled me not only to identify but also to establish the differences between these and the *lagimu* and *tabuya* engraved by Tonori. The comparison confirms the latter's originality. Dadayoura's drawings in this particular case performed the same function as the fresco of Masaccio with respect to Vasari's description of it: they confirm Tonori's memory/description of the *lagimu* and *tabuya* of Kurina. They also confirm the hypothesis that it is the apprenticeship, that is, the process of learning the technique of engraving – a technique which is not purely manual, but also involves a constant input from the mind/intellect – that gives concrete form to the ability (discovered in the course of the apprenticeship) to engrave; just as it is the apprenticeship that confirms the ability of an initiate composer (or of an initiate singer) to construct and/or perform a poetic formula. The only difference is that in the latter case the model on which the apprentice bases himself is not a visual one – there exists no written text, nor a recorded text of sounds (a score) to which one's own work of composition and/or performance/interpretation can be referred. It exists only to the extent to which it has been memorised, impressed upon the mind/memory, in the *nona*, which has been previously prepared, and made particularly receptive, or sensitive, at the moment of initiation. It is in and by the *nona* that the model is metaphorically sounded out and recalled to life in the course of the apprenticeship, in a place whose fundamental characteristic is that of 'purity',⁵⁸ and in which a poetic formula is guaranteed a process of elaboration/construction free from any kind of manipulation.

Once again in this context of apprenticeship we should emphasise the difference between the profession of engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes and the profession of composer of poetic formulae. In the former case, the master's model of prowboard penetrates the mind of the initiate/apprentice who perceives it, albeit vaguely, during the initiation ritual and immediately afterwards in a vision/dream.⁵⁹ The model already exists in his *nona* even before the start of the long period of apprenticeship, and his task is to recall it with the help of both the memory and, most importantly, the master's model as embodied in

personal goods such as *mwari* and *vaiguwa*, are given by a father to his own son. Initiation in the art and initiation in the ritual exchange provide examples. These practices represent a disturbance of the rules of matrilineal descent, but do not destroy them; there are always ways of balancing the two tendencies – ways which vary according to clan, historical period and individual. One such technique, for example, is to initiate a son in the profession of engraver of prowboards (provided, obviously, that the father is an engraver), without, however, following the canonical rules. The poetic formulae are not intoned, nor are they given to him in the course of the apprenticeship. See Scoditti (1990a:29).

⁵⁷ Scoditti (1990a:207-379).

⁵⁸ I do not use the term 'pure' as though it belonged to some kind of linguistic limbo; within Nowau philosophical terminology it is synonymous with an 'object' – whether inside or outside one's own consciousness – which is not manipulated by the actions of the rational faculty, but is brought forth and asserted without any other purpose than that of producing knowledge on the basis of the models which have been received from the past, from ancestors, and which may also be altered. An inherited model is not, for example, manipulated in order to deceive, or to lead others to believe that it is one's own model, or that it is a new model. All these operations require the intervention of the rational faculty, with its seat in the *daba*; to this is attributed the function of falsifying the received model. The function of the *nona* is that of interpreting and/or altering a particular model.

⁵⁹ Scoditti (1990a:46-51).

an actual prowboard. Furthermore, the validity and correctness of this act of recall is tested and retested using small models of the board.⁶⁰ What we have is thus a 'given' model, an actual drawing, and, moreover, a means of assisting the apprentice over a period of time gradually to decipher the metaphorical values invested in the graphic signs to which allusion was made in the poetic formula sung during the initiation ritual. These values have 'declared' to him his function as creator of images; and one should not forget that the visual meanings of the model of the prowboard which the young man is learning to engrave are *on* and *in* the model that he has before him and that he is able to observe and analyse.⁶¹ In contrast with the initiate engraver's manner of learning is his manner of memorising the poetic formula sung during initiation (and we should remember that this is a case of a single performance of the poetic formula, not a repetition). The formula is heard by the initiate in an atmosphere devoid of 'magic', and is almost immediately forgotten. Tonori, in the course of one of our conversations on Nowau art, states clearly that he heard the poetic formula sung by Kurina but was unable to memorise it: he was too young. Here we have an indirect confirmation of the importance of the greater age required for initiation in the art of poetry and song. Kurina then died, without having had time to oversee the apprenticeship of Tonori, nor to repeat the poetic formula of initiation to him a number of times so as to enable Tonori to memorise it.⁶² So the performance of a poetic formula at the moment of initiation into the profession of composer does not have the same metaphorical force as that of the poetic formula sung for the initiate engraver, but is rather a 'sign of itself'. It is not a case of one thing (the poetic word), performed at the instant of the act of initiation, making allusion to another thing (as in the case of the initiation in the profession of engraver), but merely an allusion to itself; in other words, this kind of allusion has no metaphorical value. Further, the image of the prowboard displayed in the course of the initiation (when the mind of the initiate is aroused by a strong dose of *buwa*) impresses itself on his memory and takes on the function and significance of a reference model, even though this model is as yet not well defined: it will become well defined in the course of the apprenticeship. Memorisation of a poetic formula, meanwhile, has a longer temporal context: the time at which it is heard, the time at which it is memorised and the time at which it is performed. This longer time can of course not coincide with that of an act of initiation, otherwise the initiate would need the memory of a god, or of a hero. It is for this reason that the 'vision', so to speak, of the model or set of models of a particular genre of poetic formula is postponed to the apprenticeship stage, when the pupil begins to realise that even as composer and/or singer of poetic formulae his activity has to rely on the existence of a musical text (which has a certain stability over time) and of a model

⁶⁰ Scoditti (1990a).

⁶¹ This 'seeing' and 'seeing again' are also dependent on the apprentice's capacity to memorise, and also on his relationship with his master, and the latter's good will. A pupil with very sensitive, acute powers of perception may well learn his master's design in a very short time, and then proceed to concentrate on the mental effort – which is entirely his own and which takes place within – enabling him to reproduce/interpret the design with the addition of variations. Or, alternatively, to concentrate on the technique of engraving – as in the case of Gumaligisa Bela of Kumwageiya, pupil of Towitara Buyoyu, whose *lagimu* and *tabuya* have become 'classics' by virtue of the high quality of the engraving. A pupil who is slow to learn, on the other hand, will need to see his master's model several times; and for his part the master may, depending on his mood, remove his boards from the pupil's sight, thus causing him problems. This tactic is sometimes employed to get rid of a pupil who is not liked.

⁶² The poetic formula for initiation in the art is thus memorised like all the others, in other words it is recited repeatedly by the master-initiator during the pupil's apprenticeship to enable him to learn it. This gift from a master to his favoured pupil is regarded as the most precious one that he can make, not least because the pupil in his turn will be able to initiate another boy in the engraver's profession. Performance of the poetic formula is a necessary condition of the initiation being considered valid according to the canonical rules.

of essentially verbal text (which is the specific object of his activity of construction). It is during apprenticeship, then, that the basic distinction between musical text (the musical design of a genre of poetic formula) and essentially verbal text is clearly perceived, even though the two texts are heard and perceived, at the time of their performance by the master, as if they were a single text being 're-sounded'. Perceiving them as distinct is a highly complex activity which can only come about as the result of long training. Understanding that what is heard is the product of an operation of unravelling of the word, whose constituent elements are reduced to sounds in such a way as to be fused with already existing sound-elements (i.e. the musical design of the genre to which the formula belongs), is also the result of long training.⁶³ A single performance, with a single hearing, will not suffice for one to grasp the twofold nature of the language of a formula: the essentially verbal (the text composed of words unravelled musically), and the non-verbal (the musical design). Only in the course of a composer's or singer's apprenticeship can this twofold nature of the poetic formula become clear – along with the formula's significance as a model. It is only in apprenticeship that the pupil's *nona* takes the imprint of the poetic formula – the model which will guide his activity as composer and/or singer. At initiation, his *nona* only had the predisposition; it had not heard anything; it had just received the *towatawa* substance, the betel nut and the spring water, which functioned as metaphors of something which in apprenticeship will take on the role of 'model' (or of a series of models), of a poetic formula to be imitated, varied or constructed. Apprenticeship is the time when a poetic formula is first heard from the master; and this master may be a different person from the initiator (another distinction with engraving, where the initiator is always also the master). Ipäiya, for example, was initiated by the brother of his maternal grandmother, but received his apprenticeship as composer – and above all as singer – from his father, Mokuïyara. This distinction between initiator and master serves to underline the different significance of initiation and apprenticeship in composition, and in performance, of poetic formulae.

During apprenticeship, the performance of a poetic formula by the master is addressed only to the novice (this provides a point of contact with the art of engraving). The rhythm of performance of the formula is respected as canonical, as is the *modulatio* of the voice. So, from the beginning, the apprentice hears the poetic formula performed in its entirety, from the first line to the last. He hears it as a harmonic totality of sounds. He perceives a type of musical form. This is the first step, and, it seems to me, the most important and meaningful: it is the equivalent of the perception of a model of *lagimu* and *tabuya* which the initiate in the art 'sees' during his initiation. The master recites the poetic formula without paying it any special attention: this is a genuine 'performance'. The 'hearing' is an entirely normal one, though it must still be placed in quotation marks: we are still in the apprenticeship phase, and all functions and faculties which are brought together in and by the *nona* are stimulated by more than usually strong doses of *buwa* which means that everything that is heard is memorised 'strongly', without the intercession of the rational faculty. It is thus a 'spontaneous' kind of memory, which does not 'manipulate' what is heard. With the exception of certain unusual cases, the pupil memorises the poetic formula exactly as it is

⁶³ This means that every model of poetic formula belongs to one of the genres of Nowau poetry; so that the epic genre will have its own musical design (the musical text) which will distinguish it from the elegiac genre, which must obviously have a different design, and from the Kula ritual genre. What a master passes on is primarily the musical design of a genre. It does not follow that the master is competent in every genre; but he will certainly know the *megwa* for the Kula, since these are performed – albeit at different levels – by all those involved in the ritual exchange.

sung by his master.⁶⁴ The discovery of a possible error in the text – either musical or verbal – can only happen after the end of the apprenticeship, when the pupil becomes independent, as both composer and singer. Indeed, it will be helpful to distinguish between various types of poetic formulae, as discussed under (a) to (d) below, on the basis of the correction of possible errors (see also Chapter 1).

(a) In the case of the *megwa* intended for the Kula ritual exchange, an error may be corrected, not just by the giver, but also by a wide range of people. For a *megwa* belonging to this group is subject to wide circulation, so that the correction may be carried out by any man, or woman, who knows the formula. The apparent rigidity which is imposed by the secrecy surrounding both giving and performance of the poetic formula is thus mitigated in practice.⁶⁵

(b) In the case of the *wosi* poetic formulae, correction is basically ‘open’, in the sense that during their performance anyone with sufficient competence – in particular, musical competence – may intervene. These poetic formulae may be intended for a vast audience, which may hear them repeatedly, especially at their performance on public, ritual occasions, such as dances. Correction may here take place during an actual performance.⁶⁶

(c) In the case of poetic formulae which sing of erotic desire for one’s beloved, drawing attention to and correcting an error becomes a much more complex process. These formulae are generally composed by an author – male or female – for the purpose of singing about their love, and are not intended for public performance. They are heard only by their subjects, and so their circulation is much smaller than that of other secret poetic formulae. They may, of course, like all the other formulae, be given; but in that case the receiver will commit them to memory including any errors they contain, since s/he is not the author of the poetic formula given.

⁶⁴ Ipaïya has given an account of how, during his apprenticeship, his father sought to avoid introducing any variants, especially as regards rhythm. This was to enable him to listen and learn more efficiently. The master, then, makes an effort – which includes the manner of vocal *modulatio* – to respect a particular performative norm. Any variation introduced at this stage is purely accidental and unintentional.

⁶⁵ The term ‘apprenticeship’ should be taken in a very general sense: the poetic formulae for the Kula are in fact learned in the context of a relationship between giver and receiver which is entirely different from that between master and apprentice of the *wosi*. In the former case, as has already been pointed out, the *megwa* are an element in the initiation in the Kula, and so are given as a kind of introduction to ritual exchange. They are not the objects of initiation in the strict sense: they are certainly not that now, and have perhaps not been for hundreds of years. Rather, they are poems composed in the past – though there must have been a composer, and so they must have been objects of an initiation and apprenticeship in that past. In short, the correction of a poetic formula for the Kula may be carried out by any man who knows this formula. Their wide circulation does not, however, imply that everyone knows every *megwa*. Just as there are ‘paths’ (*keda*) in the Kula, so there are ‘paths’ for *megwa*: a poetic formula may follow a particular path – and therefore circulate only within the clan group and subclan groups which follow this path – while other poetic formulae will follow others. This may account for the fact of their secrecy: they verbally sanction the possession of a ‘path’ within the geography of the Kula Ring, and at the same time constitute the key by which one enters on this path and pursues it.

⁶⁶ This would seem to be one of the rare occasions on which an audience participates directly, giving its opinions of the performance of a *wosi*, and/or its accompaniment by drums. This participation provides indirect confirmation of the fact that certain poetic formulae, in particular the *wosi* for the dances (and, in spite of their secrecy, the *megwa* for ritual exchange) belong to a common heritage, both in terms of the nature of the composition – they are composed to be sounded and performed in public – and in terms of the subject matter of which they treat. Nevertheless it remains a firm principle that less importance is attached, from a critical point of view, to the opinion expressed by the public, than to the judgement of those involved in the task – the composers and singers.

(d) In the case of a silent poetic formula, which is performed musically in and by the mind alone, correction is more problematic. The magician who recites them is, at the moment of giving, vocalising them for only the second time in his life; and the error, if there is one, may well be memorised by the apprentice *bwagau*. Of course, the elder's performance may be repeated in the course of time, to assist the act of memorisation of the single pupil. Once the apprentice has learned the poetic formula – including any errors – there follows the long period of silence during which the formula exists within the mind (without the continued presence of the performed 'sound' to assist the memory), complete with the recorded error. Here correction can no longer come from outside. If there is an error, it will be difficult for it to be corrected by the new owner, even if he is in possession of sufficient musical and linguistic competence to enable him to notice it.⁶⁷

In each of the above examples, the error was posited as shared by the master of an apprentice composer and/or singer. This is a much more genuine possibility than one might imagine. Of course, it is also possible for the apprentice alone to commit an error: he might mishear, in which case it might come about, for example, that a verse appearing as the final verse of a *Watowa* is instead committed to memory as the first of the *Kavira*.⁶⁸ Essentially, the possibility of error, for both performer and listener, has two principal sources (which have been explicitly acknowledged by Towitara, Ipaïya, Siyakwakwa, Tonori, Gidou, Redimu and Giorera): a poor ability to memorise, or a particular complexity in the fabric of the text. For the performer of a poetic formula, the mistake may be caused by an unexpected failure of memory, which is then realised in a lack of control over the text (either musical or essentially verbal). This is not altogether unusual; and its significance will be different depending on the time and context of its appearance. In the context of a young man's apprenticeship, for example, this kind of error is considered serious, in that the master who commits it causes the apprentice to believe that the text he hears is the correct one. Another example of error through failure of memory is provided by the behaviour of Tolematuwa of Kodeuli (the legendary village celebrated in the myth of the flying canoe, reported by Malinowski (1922) in *Argonauts of the western Pacific*).⁶⁹ Tolematuwa is famous for having

⁶⁷ The discovery of error is made difficult by the very nature of the poetic formula. There is also the fact that the question of authorship is never explicitly posed, and that its composition (as with the *megwa* for the Kula) is transferred backwards in time to the point where one may speak of a mythical era. It was committed to memory centuries ago, and only to the memory of a handful of *bwagau*; the group of people who can check it is thus much more limited than in the case of the poetic formulae for the Kula, which may theoretically be checked by all those involved in the ritual exchange. Furthermore, the *megwa* for the Kula are sounded, so that their explicit musical design assists the process of memorisation, and error is easily detected – both because of the larger group which is able to perform a check, and because any mismatch between the word sung and the musical design can be 'heard'. The silent *megwa*, on the other hand, as they are not performed (unless for a very short period) by the voice, are perceived as a mixture of two texts, musical and essentially verbal; but there is no possibility of establishing whether one or the other has dominance – of establishing whether what has been heard, and is now recited in the mind, is pure musical form (dominance of the musical design) or an example of semantic incomprehensibility. This is the reason for the statement which one sometimes hears, that their magic consists to an extent in this very 'ambiguity', which, through its difficulty of interpretation, can give rise to feelings of disquiet and fear.

⁶⁸ There are also examples of the same line, or a variant, appearing in the *Kavira* of a *wosi* and subsequently in the *Watowa* of a different *wosi*: recurrence may be attributed to the re-use of a single line in different poetic formulae (see Parry 1971).

⁶⁹ See Malinowski (1922:311-321). The poetic formula performed by Tolematuwa has not been included in this selection, because in spite of various attempts during the time of my research at Kitawa, we – I include in the attempt not only Ipaïya but Redimu, Siyakwakwa, Rosigega and Dadayoura – did not manage to produce a correct text of it. According to Rosigega of Lalela, to whom I played the recording of the poetic formula a number of times over a period of years, the level of vocalisation in Tolematuwa's

been a much-feared magician, who had knowledge of a number of equally feared silent poetic formulae. When Tolematuwa was reciting one of these formulae for me to record, he suddenly stopped. He began again after a few minutes of mental exertion, in which he was attempting to retrace in his memory the musical design and fabric of the entire formula, in order to be able to include the forgotten passage without performing it wrongly. This type of error, which is frequently related to the advanced age of the performer, arises from increasing loss of control over the memory of a formula. But it is also of great significance, in that it shows very clearly the way in which the musical design and musical fabric of the poetic formula function as a guide, not just in the composition and performance of the formula, but also in remembering it. Tolematuwa succeeded in completing the poetic formula by muttering between his teeth the musical line on top of which he then mounted the so-called 'verbal text'. Or rather, the 'given' musical fabric, which is specific to the formula, recaptured the small verbal element still present in the formula itself, which had previously, at the moment of composition, been unravelled in a musical way. In this particular example of Tolematuwa, the error was also facilitated by the fact that it was a silent poetic formula, designed to be performed not by the voice but rather by the mind alone; it may also have been influenced by the unexpected hearing – at my request – of a text which had previously been performed vocally only in apprenticeship, at the time of the gift to him of the poetic formula.

But it is clear that such error tends to be linked to a failure of memory on the part of the performer, and also to the complexity of a formula's musical design and fabric. A long text may give rise to failure or deterioration in the memory of the sounds, both at the time of performance and at the time of hearing. We are here referring mainly to a text performed by the intoning of the 'voice/mind', even if this is a silent voice, in the sense that it exists only as the musical fabric of a silent poetic formula. A text which is too long is thus difficult to memorise, and, more particularly, difficult to perform: the aural memory suddenly gives out. When the texts have more voices, as in the case of *Da weriya*, performed by three female voices, the psychological support can play an essential role in the mnemonic process of a plurality of singers.

With the apprentice, though, whether composer or singer, error may also arise from the impossibility of memorisation within a relatively short period of time. His memory is not yet trained; he is still at the beginning of his apprenticeship; and months are needed before the aural memory can master the full range of poetic formulae. For what is at issue is the memorisation, not of one formula, but of a group of formulae. A pupil who has been initiated in poetic composition must learn the technique required by each genre. Thus an apprentice may fall into error through the failure of his memory to focus on a particular *modulatio* in the relevant manner. It is probable, according to the suggestions of Ipaia himself, that he has not yet succeeded in establishing the nature of the link between musical and essentially verbal text of the poetic formula which he is attempting to learn, a link which privileges the musical fabric. Memorising a sound which, while embodying a word, practically destroys it, or memorising a word which has been so completely unravelled that it appears to the aural memory as a purely musical form, is not an everyday task. 'Everyday' language, in fact, functions by attributing to a word a single sound, which is distinct from

performance was such as to make it impossible to make out the words attached to the musical design of the formula. Basically, the 'words' of the verbal text have been unravelled on their respective *expression planes* to such a degree that only the musical design of the *megwa* can be recognised. It is also possible that Tolematuwa adopted a kind of vocalisation, and of *modulatio*, during this recording, which is impossible to transcribe as 'tendentiously' verbal text.

the sounds of all the other words within the same system, and by associating a basically single meaning with this sound. The process of hearing a word which has been constructed in such a way as to negate its signified or content, in the performance, in favour of the signifier or expressive form, and, furthermore, of hearing this word in a context in which all the other words are also constructed in this way, may bewilder an apprentice as yet unaccustomed to this new way of using a word, biasing it in an overwhelmingly musical sense. When meaning comes again to be associated with this word, in which expressive form has taken over at the expense of content, the apprentice may find that this new meaning is not the same as the normal, everyday meaning. It is a new meaning, endowed with metaphorical significance.⁷⁰

The text of a poetic formula is performed by the master 'complete', without any alteration of tone, rhythm or *modulatio*, as though in a regular performance. The apprentice, who has listened with his active *nona*, is then made to repeat it. Except in unusual cases, this repetition will initially be defective; it will be 'stunted', or imperfect. The master, then the pupil, will repeat the text, until finally the latter attains a full correspondence of the text which he performs with that of his master. Such correspondence may depend on a range of factors, including factors that lie outside the context of the performance of the text, such as the technical abilities of the master singer and his pupil. If a pupil shows signs of having difficulty in memorising a text, his master may resort to a number of strategies, as set out below.

(a) He may slow down the pace of performance of the text, but still perform it complete, in order to assist the mental processes of the pupil in learning it.

(b) The slowed-down text may be divided into parts – the lines of the *Watowa* and then those of the *Kavira*, for example, or individual lines within these two parts. Basically, those lines which the pupil has trouble memorising are repeated. The master may adopt a number of performative tactics to aid his pupil's learning process.

(c) The slowing-down of the text may extend to the point of a division into syllables of the essentially verbal text, in cases where the pupil experiences particular difficulties in memorisation, or when the master has to explain the kinds of relation which may be established between the different elements which comprise the formula. This is a way of passing on the technique of composition. Such a 'syllabisation' usually involves omission of intonation in favour of the spoken word. This is an example of the opposite activity to that of the poet at the moment of composition, when the word is unravelled or fragmented. Once the pupil has memorised the syllabised text, he must reconvert the syllabisation of each word into a sound within the musical fabric of the poetic formula.⁷¹

⁷⁰ To transfer a word which is sung in a performance back to its more strictly verbal plane is the task not just of the ethnologist engaged in the transcription and interpretation of the poetic formula in which the word occurs, but also of the Nowau composer/singer. A poet wishes to understand, for example, the mechanism by which that particular sound of the 'word' has been constructed – how the 'word' has been unravelled – so that he may himself be able to use the same kind of unravelling. He wishes to know why, say, the 'softening vowel' -j- has been inserted in 'word' X of poetic formula A. If he can identify the reason, he may then use the same technique to construct a new 'word', in which the softening vowel will enable him to bring about a similar effect to that of the word which he is imitating. He may also find that the use of this softening vowel is possible in some contexts but not in others. Thus, to 'retranslate' a 'word' sung with a particular *modulatio* into a verbal sign (which is by no means the same as a written one) implies discovering the mechanism which enabled its construction.

⁷¹ This operation of unravelling is very similar to the operation which must be carried out by the person transcribing the formula itself, when he has to render or transform it into a written text. The ethnologist

Master assists pupil throughout the phase of apprenticeship, especially if the object of the training is the composition and/or performance of poetic formulae for the dances of Milamala.⁷² In the course of apprenticeship the pupil, whether studying composing or singing, receives a poetic formula which is regarded as the harmonic product of the complex relationship between musical and verbal text. This formula is memorised in the *nona* of the pupil, as the harmonic product of the synthesis involved in the operation of unravelling words on the basis of the musical design chosen for the formula; it is then deposited in this *nona*, to be recalled at the time of the next performance, or for use as a model for the composition of a fresh poetic formula. In fact – as has been emphasised by Ipaïya, Siyakwakwa and other singers at Kitawa – it is not just the poetic formula which is committed to memory, but also a given model, embodied within that formula; and this model is then able to function as the musical matrix for a new performance, whether private or public (depending on the genre), or for the composition of a new poetic formula. The number of models will be the same as the number of genres of poetic formula, and a particular model will still allow the silent performance – on the musical grid – of a silent poetic formula. Without a reference model a singer or composer will never be able to perform or compose a poetic formula. We are thus restating the relationship analysed in the context of the prowboards for ceremonial canoes, where the pupil – both at the moment of initiation and, more particularly, during the long period of apprenticeship – embodies in his *nona* the model of his initiator/master, the meanings and aesthetic significance of which are only gradually revealed to him in the course of his work, while the symbolic value may remain obscure to him throughout his life. The same happens with the composition and performance of a poetic formula, when the apprentice has to embody in his *nona* both its mechanism of construction and its mechanism of performance, although the aesthetic significance may be revealed to him gradually by his master during apprenticeship, and the symbolic values may perhaps remain hidden.

Apprenticeship can thus be defined as the period of memorisation and learning of the techniques of construction of a poetic formula, according to the genre to which it belongs, and also of the techniques of performance, both sounded and silent.

2.7 COMPOSITION

A parallel with the relationship that is formed between an elder engraver of prowboards and his favourite pupil, and more especially between the former's model for the board and the latter's board, may be of use in our analysis of the complex relationships which obtain

asks the singer to slow the rhythm of his performance in such a way as to enable him to transcribe the formula. The singer does this gradually, until he reaches the point of actually dividing the text into syllables; and here of course the musical form is destroyed. It is also highly probable that this separation of the *modulatio* of the formula from the essentially verbal text may lead to an error on the part of the singer, and thus of the transcriber. It is the same with the relationship between master and pupil: the master-singer who concentrates on reducing a formula to its constituent syllables in order to assist his pupil's learning process will pay more attention to the value of the individual 'words' than to their sound, or signifier. I have experienced this myself, when I have requested a reduction to its syllables of the sung word: this reduction robbed the word of its musical value, turning it into something different from the original.

72 It should be noted that the master's assistance extends also to the training of the person who has received a poetic formula as a gift during the Milamala festival. The gift is often made as part of an exchange, and the giver assists the receiver for a certain period in his practice of the formula's performance – until, in fact, he considers the performance correct.

between the master's poetic formula and that composed by his pupil on the model of it – whether the former is respected or violated – or between the master's poetic formula and a performance of it by his pupil.

In apprenticeship the formula is memorised in the *nona*, where it is left to settle, so to speak, and where it is also mulled over by the unconscious. The *nona*, in its function as 'analysing intellect', is also the place where the model for the formula gains its preliminary definition. To begin with it will be no more than a thought – an almost involuntary analysis.⁷³ Then the poetic formula is gradually brought back to the surface by the *nona*, in a performance which may be either sounded or soundless (silent *megwa*). In a case where a pupil-composer is in the process of constructing a poetic formula, the model which he brings to the surface is that of his master, and he refers his own formula to this. It is thus the master's model, rather than the poetic formula which embodies it, that is memorised; and the focus is upon the mechanism of production of this model: continual attention is paid to the content of the compositional process. So a performance of the master's poetic formula by the apprentice composer will not be a mere performance/interpretation of an oral text, but a true sounding-out of the text recalled by the memory from the *nona* – a text which is analysed in such a way as to function as guide in the composition of a new poetic formula.

The model of the master takes on a different significance if used by the composer as a guide in the construction of a new poetic formula, as opposed to just a guide in the performance/interpretation of a formula. In the latter case, the model lies primarily in the manner of performing the formula, and the composer, working as singer, is not bound to focus upon, or to discover, the mechanism of construction of the poetic formula which he is performing. He only has to recite it with an awareness of the context of his performance.⁷⁴ His attention will thus be concentrated more on the technique of performance than on the poetic text as such; and he will experience the same kind of problem as someone who interprets a score written by someone else.

Here again, then, the distinction between composer and singer (regardless of the fact that the two figures may sometimes coincide in one person) is highlighted; and it is supported,

⁷³ The function of the initiation is precisely that of 'piercing' the *nona* of the initiate in such a way as to render it especially perceptive and receptive. The apprentice is able to memorise the poetic formulae sung by his master because the initiator (who may be a different person) has made it perceptible by offering him betel nut (*buwa*), spring water (*sopi*) and the leaf, or pedicel, 'of the sound' (*towatawa*). According to Ipa'ya it is this (metaphorical) opening of the mind which enables the subsequent, almost unconscious, memorisation of the master's poetic formula. This formula/model works, as it were, on behalf of the poet and of the singer. The first labour of composition by the initiate/apprentice will therefore be one which involves the sounding-out of the structure of the master's model of poetic formula.

⁷⁴ The public must also be included in the context which demands one particular kind of performance rather than another, especially when the *wosi* is performed for the Milamala dances (we have an example of *wosi i tota*). It is in this context, in front of the whole village, that an author, and a singer, or group of singers, taste success or failure. The support of the public is of great importance: comments, and cries of joy, or of disapproval, accompany every type of performance. If one passage is especially appreciated above the rest of the composition this appreciation may be demonstrated by the throwing of flowers and betel nuts. Equally, a singer, and with him the author of the formula being sung, are particularly sensitive to the 'context' in which the performance is carried out: an inattentive or cold audience depresses him. In 1988 both the dancers and the singers of Lalela were heavily criticised during the festival of Milamala for the slovenliness of their performance (see footnote 5 above), and this led to a gradual lowering of the standard of the various performances as the days proceeded. The context of performance of a poetic formula for the Kula is of course entirely different: the performance will depend partly on the singer's state of mind, on the ritual atmosphere. The context will be more intimate, and the psychology of the singer is a 'strong' element.

too, by Nowau aesthetic terminology. For composer, singer, female composer and female singer are classified with the following terms:

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| (a) singer | = | <i>tokakaiwara, tousiwosi, towosi</i> |
| female singer | = | <i>nakakaiwara, nausiwosi, nawosi</i> |
| (b) composer | = | <i>tokagamoīya, tokagaboira</i> |
| female composer | = | <i>nakagamoīya, nakagaboira</i> |

The lexeme *tokagamoīya* (literally 'author of a musical text', or 'female author of a musical text' in the case of *nakagamoīya*) is composed of the masculine marker *to-* (Baldwin 1939a:400, 550) and of the two components *-kaga-* and *-moīya* (in the second case, we have the feminine marker *na-* in addition to these two components). Baldwin (1939a:555) records the Boyowa lexeme *tokaigbwaila* – to be interpreted as *tokaigabwaila*, which Ipaīya and Siyakwakwa themselves offer as equivalent to Nowau *tokagamoīya* – and he translates this as 'a man with a beautiful voice'. There thus appears to be a conflict between the Baldwin's interpretation and that of Ipaīya and Siyakwakwa, who make a clear distinction between singer (*tokakaiwara*) and composer of a poetic formula (*tokagamoīya*). It seems likely that Baldwin was unable to grasp this distinction. Without exception, all people classify the lexemes of a language on the basis of methodology/ideology, so that a failure to grasp a conceptual subtlety or distinction may derive from the fact that this distinction is not allowed at the methodological/ideological level.⁷⁵ To give substance to my theory, an analysis of the structure of these lexemes which refer to male and female singer, and to male and female composer, may be helpful.

In *to-/na-kaga-moīya*, the infix *-kaga-* is the contracted form of *kaiga'la* 'voice', 'sound', but also 'control over something or someone' (Baldwin 1939a:116); the suffix *-moīya*, meanwhile, (which I have transcribed with the 'softening vowel' *-i-*) is the Boyowa equivalent of *mwaiya* 'betel pepper' (*Piper methysticum*). Furthermore, in Muyuwa – whose lexemes often appear in Nowau poetic formulae – there is the lexeme *kagmánum*, translated as 'speak gently', and also *kagsówum* 'secret talk' (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:55). What we have in these lexemes is a clear reference to voice: not the voice of the singer, but a voice with much wider implications, linked to the composition and performance of poetic formulae. It is the voice as concrete musical expression of the compositional efforts of the *nona* (intuition/mind/intellect). It is the expressive form of the poet: because of the oral nature of the culture, he makes use of this music to give expression to the products of his intellect. We are here talking of the author who composes mainly poetic formulae intended for performance (whether with or without the assistance of the voice) – formulae which have to be given a well-defined expressive form. 'Voice' has a very subtle meaning in Nowau: it is the expressive ability that the poet uses to construct musical forms. So *kaiga'la* is a unique kind of voice – one which metaphorically represents an expressive form.

In this context it is interesting to consider the meaning which Lithgow and Lithgow attribute to *kagmánum*: 'speak gently', where 'gently' is the distinguishing feature of the

⁷⁵ One should not forget that Baldwin wrote the *Vocabulary* in 1939, when the prevailing atmosphere in anthropological studies was not exactly sensitive to the methodological problems of ethnolinguistics. It was, in particular, unwilling to accept, let alone elaborate, a theory of differences within a culture, which was seen as a monolithic block, an indistinct mass. There was certainly little interest in working with such categories as 'artist', 'poet' or 'singer'. In this sense Baldwin's position is not exceptional, especially considering that he was a missionary, with all the cultural baggage of a missionary of the thirties – although his linguistic sensitivity was superior, including in the purely technical sense, to that of Malinowski.

composer's speech: he speaks in a particular manner. The other Muyuwa lexeme, *kagsówum*, on the other hand, contains the concept of a 'secret' form of speech, which may be a reference to the composer's manner of construction, especially of the silent poetic formulae.⁷⁶ And the suffix *-moïya*, if my interpretation is correct, recalls one of the ingredients used in the preparation of the red mixture, *buwa*, namely the betel pepper; it may thus be interpreted as a metonymic allusion to initiation (the moment when the initiate receives the *buwa* – an appeal to the poet's faculties of perception) and also to the substance classified by Ipaïya as *towatawa*. Once again, we would have a reference to the voice as the 'musical form' of a thought or image.

In Nowau poetics, then, the terms *tokagamoïya* and *nakagamoïya* distinguish the author, male and female, of the musical text of a poetic formula, in other words the text which is regarded as the most complex one to construct. The very presence of the elements *-kaiga* and *-moïya* in the two lexemes takes on a clearer meaning if interpreted as a reference to the construction of the musical part of the formula rather than to its performance/interpretation by a particular modulation of the voice. When a poet has to compose a new musical design, he is said to 'construct the music' (*i numurara*); when he has to unravel the words musically in order to make them fit this design, the phrase used is *i utu utu*. This implies that, even within the set of authors of poetic formulae, there are those who work on the musical design (*numurara*) and those who adapt the 'words' to this design (*utu utu*). One may reasonably conclude that *to/nakagamoïya* has reference to the composer as author of the musical text of a poetic formula. How then are we to treat the assertion that the musical text is more complex to construct and/or vary than the essentially verbal text? It should be the case that we have very few composers in the full sense of the word, or at least a significantly smaller number than that of the authors of essentially verbal texts. And the latter would depend for their compositions on the former. Here again a linguistic analysis, this time of the morphemic components of *numurara* and *utu utu* may aid our understanding of the terms' meaning.

The form *numurara* denotes a sudden explosion of light, the bursting-out of something that then continues to expand like the corolla of a flower, or the passage of a shooting star at night, where a trail of light appears in the darkness and then explodes into thousands of smaller lights. On the metaphorical level, it alludes to the musicality of a poetic text, 'exploding', in harmonious terms, into myriad sparks of sound. The word may be broken down into *numu-*, which we may take as a variant of *numa*, literally 'flash, lightning', and *-rara*, the equivalent of the Boyowa *lala* 'to blossom, to open into a corolla', which may thus be used metaphorically for the blossoming of an image, the flowering of an idea, in the context of the process of poetic composition. The composition of the musical text thus appears as the example par excellence of composition; it is assimilated to the blossoming of a bud, or to a sudden explosion of light. In the former case, what is emphasised is the link between a natural object – the bud – which already contains within itself the principle of its development (the future corolla) and the development of this object. A relationship is being established of cause and effect. In the latter case the emphasis is on the constructive force of intuition, which is compared to the flash of a light. But this flash of light is sudden and unexpected, suggesting that it comes from nothing. It seems to me that there could be no more fitting metaphor to suggest the process of composition of a musical text: musical form arises directly from an intuition, perhaps on the basis of some suggestion from nature, or from one's own mind. This suggestion is then filtered, in this case by the 'musical' mind,

⁷⁶ Lithgow and Lithgow (1974).

which inspects the various modes of expression which it has used previously, and, still on the basis of these, prepares a new sound-fabric.

The form *utu utu*, on the other hand, is to be interpreted as a present continuous from the verb *utu* (literally 'to compose', but also 'to cut, to cut into pieces, to utter', Baldwin 1939a:531). These meanings of the Nowau word are by no means in contradiction with each other, for 'utter' in fact refers to the emission of voice, in the sense of something already formulated; it alludes metaphorically to 'composing/constructing with the word', and to the 'essentially verbal text' of a poetic formula. Moreover, one of its meanings helps us to clarify the mechanism by which the 'verbal' text of a poetic formula is constructed, confirming Ipaïya's account: the operation of unravelling a word to fit a musical design consists at least partially in the construction of new lexemes (e.g. by crasis), exploiting the opportunity which Nowau offers to divide a lexeme into its basic components. For Nowau is a disyllabic language, a fact which allows the construction of new words – especially on the phonetic level – through the combination of different basic elements, which may be chosen from the various vocabularies that relate to the animal and vegetable worlds, or even from the other Milne Bay languages. There exist examples of 'mixing' of morphonemic elements taken from Nowau, Boyowa, Muyuwa, Dobu. Such examples occur sporadically in all the poetic formulae of this selection. Thus, the meaning of *utu utu* as 'to cut up into little pieces' is entirely consistent with the other sense, 'to utter' and/or 'to compose', that is to construct, or compose, a term on the basis of the 'little pieces' – the morphonemic components of a word – of other terms, in such a way as to produce a new word to 'utter'. The lexeme *tokagamoïya* or *nagakamoïya*, therefore, should strictly speaking be used only to refer to the author of a *wosi*; but it is extended analogically to include the composer in the sense of the author of just the essentially 'verbal' text, which has been adapted to an already given musical design.

The use of *togakamoïya*, and its feminine equivalent, may also be seen as a classificatory ploy to distinguish 'composer' from 'performer' (*tokakaiwara* and *nakakaiwara*). It seems highly probable that *kagamoïya* should be interpreted in a very broad sense, and even though it may be associated with the author of a sounded text, nevertheless it must be taken as the Nowau lexeme which now serves to classify the person composing the 'verbal' text of a poetic formula.

Basically, the problem posed by the distinction between the author and the singer of the text of a *wosi* is the same one that relates to the distinction between initiation in the profession of singing and initiation in the profession of composing – a distinction which is in fact made clear only with the apprenticeship. Similarly, the distinction between the two modes of construction, musical text and essentially verbal text, becomes a real one with the composition of a formula, when the apprentice is made aware of the difference between the two functions. The moment of the unravelling of a word on the basis of a musical design – when the *expression plane* must be separated from the content of the word, in order to work exclusively on the former – is the time when the apprentice composer finds out whether or not he is capable of unravelling a word in sound, of separating signifier and signified. Thus the new composer's task will consist in isolating in the word (i.e. an arbitrary sign which serves to associate a signified with a signifier) its *expression plane* (the form of the expression), in other words, the sequence of sounds which it comprises, and in working on this plane in a way which accords with a previously given musical design; he will probably be able also to 'interpret' this design by the addition of variations, but without destroying it. This operation requires very specific technical/formal abilities. I would argue that the construction of the 'verbal' text, and before this of a single word within this text, involving

as it does the adaptation of the word to the musical design characteristic of the particular poetic genre, should be regarded as a genuine act of 'construction'. For the reduction of the *content plane* in a word to its corresponding *expression plane*, in a way which allows one then to work on the latter, going between the substance and the form of the expression, is an operation which demands unusual imaginative capacities and an unusually fine linguistic competence. This, then, explains why the lexeme *kagamoïya* may be used to indicate both the author of the musical text of a poetic formula and the author of the 'verbal' text associated with it. Both are involved with the musical form of the formula.⁷⁷

The meaning 'voice', then, which we have identified within the term *kagamoïya*, must also be understood in the sense of 'musicality', 'sonority' – the vital element of a word as used in a poetic formula. And if this musicality is already a 'form' ('voice' as 'form'), it will follow that a poetic formula is valid even in the absence of its performance. It exists in itself, independently of its vocalisation; it is already composed in the mind: its musicality is a different thing from its vocalisation. The former implies work on the *expression plane*, of which the phonic component is highlighted; vocalisation implies the giving of 'voice', in its material sense, to this plane. Thus, the majority of poetic formulae – as shown by Ipaïya of Lalela – have been and still are composed through the adaptation of a 'verbal' text (whose words are unravelled into sound on their respective *expression planes*) to a musical design, usually constructed by another composer/musician. It follows that a musical design may be older than the 'verbal' text associated with it: at Kitawa they claim that it is very much older. So the composer of a 'verbal' text may appear as the sole author of the formula, especially in cases where the composer of the musical design has been dead for decades.

The distinction between the two texts is of course known to the composers of Kitawa, and to the singers, and to a lesser extent to the majority of inhabitants of a village. It is a distinction which may work in favour of singers, who are frequently assimilated to composers precisely by virtue of their function in memorising and repeating poetic formulae which the latter have composed. Moreover the author of the 'verbal' text of a formula is himself a 'constructor of images', and the fact that he works on a previously composed musical design in no way diminishes the value of his work. It seems to me right, then, that the term *tokagamoïya*, or *nakagamoïya*, should now be used, in particular in everyday speech, to indicate a composer, especially since it essentially refers to one who works with abstract elements, such as the sounds of a word.

The process of composition, which, as we have seen, is divided into composition of an essentially verbal text and of a musical one, has as its aim the unravelling of the meaning of a word for use in the poetic text under construction, in such a way as to reduce it to its pure expressive form (i.e. the signifier is all that remains of the sign). This expressive form is a particular sound, a particular manner of re-vocalising the unravelled word within the musical (poetic) web that the author is weaving. In this weaving operation the author as it were runs behind the sound: he chooses a word which lends itself to being unravelled; he chooses a word in which the signifier 'sings' to his musical ear. Such words may be found in already existent poetic vocabularies, or they may be constructed. The poet undertakes the task of 'listening', not just to the 'words' used in his master's model – which is his starting point, the first operation to be carried out – but also to all the other 'words' used in the different models within a single poetic genre. If, for example, a poet is composing a formula which is

⁷⁷ The existence of this distinction cannot be denied, especially when it is clearly posited by the authors of poetic formulae themselves.

to express his passionate love, he must base himself on the model of 'love-poetry' belonging to his master; without this he will be unable to construct his own formula.⁷⁸ He will analyse not only the musical design of this model – a musical design which was impressed upon his *nona* at the time of his apprenticeship – but also the words which have given this musical design its concrete form. He analyses the unravelling which is carried out on their respective *expression planes*, and also the kinds of relationship set up between them. Once this analysis is complete, the composer is presented with another task, that of considering the full range of lexemes used on the basis of, say, models B, C, D...N, which have been constructed by the other composers within the same genre of 'love-poetry'.⁷⁹ But his ability to compose meaningful formulae also depends on his capacity to examine a number of different vocabularies – not only that of the genre of love-poetry, but also that of, for example, the genre of 'Kula ritual exchange' – especially from the point of view of the musical forms which characterise the various genres. When this task, involving the examination of a set of 'poetic words' (whose form of expression takes on an almost exclusive importance), is over, the poet must choose and/or construct 'words' which he believes (intuitively, first of all) may be harmonised with the musical design of the model which acts as his point of reference. For it should be made clear – as has been stated emphatically by Ipaïya – that it is the musical design inherited by a poet from his master, or chosen by the poet on the basis of his analysis of models other than his master's (the possibility of freelance poetic activity should not be overlooked), that informs his choice of words to be used in the formula. This design also affects the kind of unravelling which the word can undergo during composition. To what extent, for example, may the chosen word be 'extended', or 'contracted', so as to fit the musical design in which it is to be inserted? The extension or contraction of a syllable – such as the penultimate 'a' of *bwara*, which is short in the everyday use of the word, but becomes a long 'a' when the same word is used in a poetic formula – gives rise to a whole series of musical effects on the other syllables around it; it must therefore be manipulated musically in relation to these other syllables too. The composer thus makes use of the musical design which he has inherited with a given model belonging to his master (or which he has chosen from among the various models that he knows) to survey his lexicographical material. He uses the musical design as a thread enabling him to 'intuit' the kind of sound of words/syllables he is to choose and weave together with this thread. A very long poetic formula, for example, indicates a more substantial piece of lexicographical material to master musically. If the poet wishes to compose a formula of fifty lines, he must perform an operation of choosing, manipulating and adapting to the musical design of the 'words' which will be much longer than in the case of a three-line formula. So the length of a poetic formula should be seen in relation to the type of musical design chosen and/or constructed. It is not

⁷⁸ Referring to the master constitutes an appeal to the validity of his initiation and apprenticeship – especially, I believe, the latter. This does not remove the possibility that he may also refer to another model, providing a parallel with the case of Tonori Kiririyei in the context of prowboards for ceremonial canoes. In all cases, the standard practice is that of recalling the master's model.

⁷⁹ There is considerable opportunity of mastering, or coming to know, 'words', or indeed entire lines or even models, belonging to other schools of poetry; and this applies not just to the *wosi*, but also to other kinds of poetic formula, such as the *megwa* for ritual exchange – the context which guarantees perhaps the widest circulation of lexemes belonging to the vocabularies of different languages within the Kula area – and the *wosi* performed during the festival of Milamala. Furthermore, a poetic formula may be imitated with a greater likelihood of success than a prowboard, which is more accessible to visual control. If an engraver copies the model of another engraver, or of another school, the result will be visible to everyone. A poetic formula on the other hand is, in virtue of its oral nature, less easy to verify. A line lifted from the *Kavira* of a formula composed by X and inserted into the *Watowa* of a formula composed by Y might even pass unnoticed.

the difficulty of memorising that affects the length of a formula, but rather the difficulty of choosing, or constructing, a musical design which might control this length. It is no accident that the *wosi* do not go above a certain number of lines, which are organised between *Watowa* and *Kavira*, which, in their turn, represent self-contained, self-expressive structures capable of being performed independently of each other. They may also be organised in stanzas consisting of two lines, which follow on from each other in a continuous musical flow, until they reach a peak, from which the flow begins again.

The use of such means as writing may make possible a 'graphic memorisation' or 'visualisation' of the lines in the course of their composition by the poet; but it definitely does not alter, even minutely, the mechanism of composition chosen by the culture and the poetics of which the poet is a part.⁸⁰ The norms of Nowau poetics envisage, for example, that the *wosi* are to be structured in five lines within a harmonic unity, *Kavira* or *Watowa*. Every such unity may be doubled, giving us a poetic formula of ten lines. This implies that the poet is able to master, and realise, a harmonic fabric – that is musical design plus 'words' which have been unravelled musically according to that design – within the space of five lines. Between one unity and another he places an interval (*yatoi*), in which the voice is cleared and the mind put to work to compile the five lines which are to follow the unity already performed. In this case writing will have no influence on the mode of composition 'by five-line design',⁸¹ a mode which should probably be seen as the result of a choice, probably to some extent ideological, on the part of Nowau poetics. Writing can help preserve poetic formulae in the memory only once the means of transmitting them used at Kitawa, as in many other oral cultures, is destroyed. It is no accident that many poetic formulae disappeared (as texts, not as models, let alone as the actualisation of particular schemata) on the arrival of the local United Church with its cult of writing, which had the effect of suppressing them in the unconscious of the inhabitants of Kitawa, especially the young. But it certainly had no effect at all on the standard musical designs of the various genres, as is demonstrated by the example of Ipaïya.⁸²

2.8 MUSICAL DESIGN, MUSICAL FABRIC AND 'WORD'

By contrast with the 'word', denoted in Nowau by the term *biga* (meaning also 'language', 'expression', 'speech', 'saying'), the musical design constitutes the true nature of a poetic formula: it is the component which in the case of most poets is inherited. Ipaïya has been very clear on this point, and his opinion is confirmed, too, by the poetic formulae in this collection: a particular musical design underlies the poetic formulae recited, with a much greater degree of consistency than is found in the 'verbal' texts. Thus, we have a musical design specific to the poetic formulae of love, another for the poetic formulae for the ritual exchange, another for the silent poetic formulae, those which are performed mentally,

⁸⁰ It seems highly likely that a particular musical design assists the composition of a *wosi* of above-average length, such as *Da weriya*. The character of the musical design is also important for 'sustaining' the singer (and before him the composer) in the performance of the *wosi*. The style of *modulatio* in *Lube'gu* (whose musical form reminds one of *The Mousetrap* of Marina Cvetaeva) certainly sustains the singer, helping him to carry on to the end.

⁸¹ See Thomas (1989).

⁸² I refer to the compositions of Ipaïya of Lalela. It is true that this poet can neither read nor write, and so may represent a special case; but it should also be said that he is the only poet-singer in Lalela, and the analysis has to be confined to his poems. However, one may by analogy propose the hypothesis that writing cannot influence the mechanism of construction of a 'canonical' poetic formula – that is, one that has been composed orally. The use of writing might in fact give rise to different poetic formulae.

without the participation of the voice. In this last case, the musical design is revealed at the moment of the performance of the poetic formula in the context of its transmission. The musical design represents not just the grid/guide to composition, and/or performance, of a poetic formula, but also the constant element of a particular poetic genre (e.g. epic): the word which is musically modelled on this constant element absorbs it to the point where it is capable of being 'sung', rather than 'said'.

The construction of a given musical design is the job of the 'real' composer – the one who constructs the set of 'musical' models of a particular, historical poetic genre. He is the equivalent of the constructor of a model for prowboards of a ceremonial canoe, the *tokabitamu bougwa* (Scoditti 1990a): the 'real' *tokagamoïya*, or the 'real' *nakagamoïya*. When Ipaïya says, for example, that a composer constructs a poetic formula according to a 'model', he is in fact referring to the musical model of the poetic genre to which the formula under construction belongs. This is the model on the basis of which the composer measures his abilities as 'manipulator' of the word, in such a way that in performance it gives the impression of being pure sound. It is the basis, too, for the formation of possible variants: Ipaïya had this ability, and was able to modify his master's model, to the point of constructing a completely original musical fabric. It is not important to establish whether the musical design which a poet inherits is actually the original model, or a variant of this; in order to learn this design the apprentice must listen to it, and this listening may have been conditioned by the interpretive style of his master, and/or the listening style of the apprentice himself. The crucial point is that without a reference model a composer cannot construct a poetic formula, either by respecting the musical design which he takes over or by introducing variants. The original musical design may be established in the same way as one may establish the authenticity of a poetic formula built upon this design. The design would be deduced from a comparison of all the poetic formulae available at the moment of composition of the new formula, which belongs to the same genre as they do. The new composer's task lies precisely in reciting to himself the poetic formulae, not just of his own master, but also of the other master composers/singers, so as to form a comparison of the various musical fabrics of the formulae. The primary field in which such comparisons may be established is that of poetic formulae of the same genre – for example, Kula epic. And the comparison may give rise to a new musical fabric, in which the 'words' of the poetic formula under construction may then be mounted. I use the term 'mounted', because the process of manipulation, on the *expression plane*, of a 'word' used in the poetic formula must shatter any semantic connotation of the word itself, which gradually acquires a musical value already heard in relation to the musical values of the other words chosen, or constructed, for the same text.

It might be asked at this point why a poet needs the 'word' – and a succession of words – at all in order to realise a musical design, if it is true that the latter constitutes the 'essence' of a poetic formula. This would be like asking why Giuseppe Verdi required a text – the libretto – in order to compose *Un ballo in maschera*. The most pertinent example is perhaps that of the performance of one of Schubert's *Lieder*, or the recitation of a piece of Greek poetry to the accompaniment of the aulos. But I believe that this is a captious question. The kind of musical form achieved by working on the *expression plane* of the word is different from the musical form of a percussion or wind instrument. The musicality of the word, particularly the poetic word (which is by definition distinct from the word used in everyday language), is connected, not with its vocalisation (it may, as shown by the silent poetic formulae, be independent of this), but with its powerful metaphorical allusiveness – its capacity to refer to

myriad ‘meanings’ or ‘images’ through its phonic components, which are abstract entities with little relation to the reality which is posited as external to the poet. The ‘word’ which is unravelled into sound becomes something musical, or sonorous; it employs the voice purely as a means of expressing this allusive potential externally. The transformation into sound gives us a word which is uttered, given rhythm, scanned, spoken, murmured, sung. We have a poetic formula which is either monodic or polyphonic. Voice in a Nowau poetic formula functions purely as a means of expression, and has nothing to do with the musical nature of the formula itself. This musical nature is also found in a silent poetic formula, in which voice is used only at the moment when the formula is passed on. The musical nature is ‘in the mind’ – even though it is difficult to represent to oneself the musicality of a word which is not performed vocally, and is not heard by the ear, but only by the mind. This operation is difficult, that is, for anyone outside the context of the silent formulae; it is not difficult for a magician, who has the ability to hear the musicality of a silent poetic formula because it is based on a musical design that has been internalised *in* and *by* the *nona*. It has been internalised in just the same way as the musical design of any other Nowau poetic formula. And it is in the *nona* that a composer constructs the musical form of a ‘word’ by working on its *expression plane*, and especially on the ‘form’ and ‘substance’ of the expression. If we take the words of line 1a of the *Kavira* of *Dorai I*, composed and sung by Ipaïya:

1a *Re vagumi’ gu tauïya wakasa* “Gently woken by the conch-shell voices”

and place them alongside line 1 of the *Watowa*:

1 *Re vagumi’ gu tauïya* “Gently woken by the conch-shell voice”

we find that in line 1 of the *Watowa* Ipaïya uses the singular ‘voice’, while in line 1a of the *Kavira* he uses ‘voices’; to indicate this he employs the form *wakasa*, which on its own means ‘coming one after the other in a line’, as in the case of people preparing for the dances. Yet Ipaïya’s vocal manipulation on the *expression plane* of the two Nowau forms, at the time of both composition and performance, is such that the hearer notices a lengthening of the first form (which already has the advantage of the ‘softening vowel’ -i-) in the second, so that it is heard as a prolongation of this form. This musical and vocal realisation is perceived because it has been put there by Ipaïya, who has exploited the sound-associations aroused by the musical form of *tauïya* (the trumpet, which alludes to a sound) and *wakasa* (which suggests an image following another image), combining them in the phrase “conch-shell voices”. When Ipaïya sings the two Nowau forms *tauïya wakasa*, they are unravelled *in* and *by* the voice in a prolonged sound beginning with *tauïya* and continuing with *wakasa*. The hearer perceives the smooth, continuous flow of sounds by contrast with the single sound of *tauïya*. But why should *wakasa* invest the sound of *tauïya* with the value of plurality, if in itself it indicates a purely spatial dimension, in particular the relationship of standing one behind another, while the sounds are consecutive in time? If we adhere to the literal meaning of *wakasa* and remain on the *content plane*, we will at best have the image of a queue of dancers, occupying a particular space, not a time. This image cannot on its own suggest one’s hearing, in time, of the sounds of the trumpet; rather, this is given by *tauïya*, which Ipaïya has placed musically before *wakasa*. This musical form is made clear at the moment of a performance of the poetic formula: as Ipaïya sings *Dorai I* the single sound of the shell is heard at line 1 and a continuum of sounds at line 1a. But in reading the orthographic transcription of these same lines, the musical subtlety which Ipaïya has suggested is much less obvious, and can be only hinted at by the translation ‘the voice’/‘the

voices' of the trumpet, that is, by working on the *content plane* of *wakasa* and *tauiya*, and using a singular and a plural. This is unavoidable since there are only two possibilities: listening to a live performance or reading a transcription of Ipaïya's poetic formula. The only alternative would be to replace the orthographic transcription of Ipaïya's poetic formula with one in musical notation, in other words a musical score of the formula. This would enable anyone capable of reading it to attempt a reconstruction of the original musical form, and to perceive the sliding of *tauiya* into *wakasa*, in the process hearing 'voices' rather than 'a voice' as in line 1. But this whole musical dimension, this difference between 'sound' and 'sounds', disappears in the orthographic transcription of the formula. Only the sound memory of one who has heard it can restore the original musical form; and this will happen in an immediate, almost intuitive manner. Transcription is not relevant to Nowau culture, let alone to its composers and singers. It belongs to our 'written' culture, to those unused to orality.

Here we have confirmation for the view that every poetic formula must be referred back to a type of musical design on the basis of which the 'words' are chosen which have to be fitted to this design. The poet chooses only those words which lend themselves to unravelling in accordance with the musical design, and which admit of manipulation at the *expression plane*. There will, for example, be words in Nowau which have a very strong meaning, which is too closely characterised and connected to a specific context, particularly a phonetic context, to be suitable for use in a poetic context where the *expression plane* must predominate. Basically, there are words which lack the polysemic nature which the poet needs in order to manipulate them in the construction of a poetic formula. It is not an accident that certain words appear in the concordances and frequency lists, while others never, or almost never, do.⁸³

Granted that the process of composition of a *wosi* consists primarily in the adaptation of the fabric of words (chosen on the basis of sound) to a given musical design, it may happen that in the course of this process errors are committed. But these errors will be different from those arising at the time of memorisation of the master's model, and different from the errors which may occur in performance. What we have here is the kind of error that comes about through an imperfect correspondence of a particular word to the musical design. It is thus the error typical of composition: a word which seemed to fit the musical structure of a line may turn out to be incorrect once the line is measured against the other lines. A complete command of the musical design of a model of poetic formula is not in itself sufficient to ensure the adaptation to it of each individual 'word': the search for the right word for the model may produce inadequate results. Too long an extension, or too strong a contraction, of the syllables (on the *expression plane*) which make up the chosen word may produce an

⁸³ A systematic study along these lines would require a very considerable collection of data; one could not base oneself purely on the materials recorded by technically sophisticated means. But it would not be impossible if one limited oneself to the material recorded within a given period of time. Even a glance at the list of frequencies and the concordances (see Appendices 1 and 2) of the lexemes used in the poetic formulae of this selection, enables one to formulate theories regarding their use by composers, as contrasted with the use of the same lexemes in everyday language. A particular lexeme is used more frequently in poetic formulae because it possesses a sound of its own which renders it particularly 'musical' in the poetic context of a particular genre, and it thus comes to form part of the poetic language. Alternatively, a lexeme which is used in poetic formulae but not in everyday language may have been constructed ad hoc by the composer. Again, the frequency of a lexeme, or of an entire line, within a single poem, or in different poems, does not necessarily correspond to the usage of a 'formula' (as defined by Milman Parry 1971:239), but may rather be a sign of the particular musicality of this lexeme – possibly the reason for the high frequency.

effect of non-correspondence with the musical design; and this again confirms its character as the primary and fundamental element in the process of composition of a poetic formula. The mastership of the musical design, or designs, on the part of the composer in a genre (or in several genres) of poetic formulae should be the result of the apprenticeship, so that at the moment of composition it is taken for granted. Error is to a certain degree expected: what is involved is an attempt which may lead to error. We must not forget that the subject of our discussion is a composition that takes place within an oral culture: harmonising the *expression plane* of a word with the musical design of the genre to which the poetic formula under construction belongs implies 'hearing' this word on and within this design. The 'word' is not written, and the final musical result cannot be checked visually by the eye/mind, but can only be 'heard' during the process of construction of the formula. A 'word' should in itself be heard as a musical form. The task of the Nowau poet is to master the musical design and the 'words' superimposed upon it by means of the *nona*, without any form of graphic assistance. The organising function that results from the use of writing, in the instance of composing a poem, is here carried out by the musical design, which has the aim of solidifying the 'words' which are unravelled in accordance with the musical form (including silent musical form) set up by the design itself in the gradual course of the composition. Thus, error may arise as a result of this mode of operation: the process of trial and error is inevitably present during the composition of a Nowau poetic formula. Ipaïya, for example, before arriving at the final text of *Dorai I*, before performing the first line of the *Watowa*, first to himself and then in public, made a number of attempts which included mistakes. He tested whether the line "Gently woken by the conch-shell voices" could be better rendered by other words in place of *tauïya wakasa*, and made sure that the sound resulting from the image obtained by these words was in keeping with the musical design. But before arriving at this result he carried out a series of trials and errors. Error, then, is part of the normal composition process.⁸⁴ The difference is that in the case of composition by entirely oral mechanisms it is not recorded in written form, unless it remains as part of the formula itself.

But the concept of error in composition exists no less than it does in the processes of learning and performing the formula. The absence of a written record is not evidence that it did not take place (see Chapter 1). Traces of an error can sometimes be identified during a performance by the author himself: he may perform the line in a different manner from that in which he 'heard' it at the time of construction of the formula. The musical design now appears to him dissociated from the line, and this dissociation may in fact be the result of an error which was previously underestimated or not noticed. It may also be a sign of some rethinking on the part of the author, who at the moment of public performance is suddenly struck by the possibility of a different sort of adaptation.

The mechanism of composition for *wosi* and *megwa* should be similar: we have the same transitions within the *nona*, and the relations between a master and his pupil are comparable. One must, however, distinguish between silent *megwa* and *megwa* intended for the Kula ritual exchange, or for ritual occasions such as the insertion of one of the two prowboards, the *tabuya*, in its niche in the canoe, or upon a pregnant woman's cover of coconut matting. (The latter are referred to as *Kara yobu sekeula*.) In the latter the poetic formulae are performed by the voice and heard by a number of people. The poetic formulae for the setting in place of the *tabuya*, in particular, are sung in front of all the men in the village. So the

84 Gombrich (1960, 1982).

distinction relates to the hearing of the poetic formulae, not to their composition. But there is no doubt that this hearing may itself play a vital part in the composition: the author must decide whether a poetic formula is to be performed with mind alone, or vocally. He must take account also of the context in which the *megwa* is to be performed: if it is intended for silent performance – without use of the voice, in utter solitude and without the accompaniment of even the most minute movement of body or lips – the performance will not have the same degree of power that it might if it were intended for a larger audience. This remains the case even though it is always the moment of internal performance that is crucial to the composition of any formula – the moment in which the poet ‘sings’ a verse which he is trying out in the silence of his *nona*. As author, indeed, he has no need to sound a formula in order to test whether or not it works. An external performance – one realised in sound – will help him to form a judgement on the probable effects that the formula will produce on an audience, even if it is made up entirely of singers.

But composition, in the sense of the mechanism which a poet must employ in the construction of a poetic formula, is the same for any type of formula, including the *megwa*. What the poet varies is not the mechanism of construction but the vocabulary and design, which depend on the genre of the poetic formula. For each genre has its own particular vocabulary and musical design; and these also vary in accordance with the various models within a single genre. Ipaïya has emphasised the way in which the musical design has a different character for, say, the *megwa* intended for public performance (e.g. for the putting in place of a *tabuya*) and the *megwa* which celebrate the deeds of the mythical hero Monikiniki. But the musical design of the *megwa* is different again from that of the *wosi*, even if it is true that there may be some similarity between the two types. The adoption by the voice of a particular *modulatio* is thus determined by the type of musical design of the *megwa*: in the case of a silent *megwa* we will have a silent, entirely ‘mental’, *modulatio*. But this *modulatio* will be revealed when the *megwa* is given to another magician. The difference between *wosi* and *megwa* (and, within the latter category, between silent, secret *megwa* and sounded ones) consists in the various kinds of musical design; the musical design is the *sine qua non* for achieving the unravelling of a ‘word’.⁸⁵ The *megwa* are further distinguished from the *wosi* by the fact that the latter can be uttered in an ‘introduction’, *Watowa* or *Watou* (which fulfils the function of an overture, with its own autonomy of expression, even with respect to other *Watowa*), and in one or more *Kavira* (approximately equivalent to ‘development’). The *Kavira* is always independent, from the point of view of expression, from the *Watowa*, but must always come after it.

At the moment of construction of a *wosi*, the poet must at once decide whether it is to be articulated in one or more *Watowa* and/or in one or more *Kavira*. Every *Watowa* and every *Kavira* is then subdivided into lines, which according to canonical Nowau poetics should be five in number. The formalisation of these lines was established with the help of Ipaïya, Siyakwakwa and Towitara in 1974, and Redimu of Lalela in 1987.⁸⁶ A line is termed *kasa*

⁸⁵ The voice too may determine the pitch (high, medium or low) of the performance of a poetic formula. (This pitch will have been planned at the time of composition.) But pitch is subject to variation, especially when the formula is performed in front of a large audience.

⁸⁶ This may be an example of something that leads to the belief that the singer of a *megwa* is the same as its author. Since the author of a *megwa* is not always recorded, and since a composition is attributed to a distant past, it follows naturally that it may be associated with the name of its performer. The proprietor, in his turn, defends the *megwa* from any attempt at imitation, just as though he were the author. It should not be forgotten that the possession of a *megwa* gives one all the privileges of copyright over it.

(literally 'line' – see Baldwin, 1939a:174; the term is also used with reference to the image of something, or someone, 'standing in line'.) We thus have:

line 1	<i>kasatarā</i>
line 2	<i>kasayu</i>
line 3	<i>kasatonu</i>
line 4	<i>kasavasi</i>
line 5	<i>kasarima</i>

After the composition of the first five lines, the rules of Nowau poetics allow for the possibility of their repetition within the same *Watowa* and/or *Kavira*; the tenth line is termed *kasaruwatara*. We thus see that the composition, and performance, of a *wosi* are in five lines. After these the poetic fabric arrives at the *yatoi*, a kind of vocal 'revision', in which the outline of the song is repeated without words, in a pure intonation of greatly reduced volume. The *yatoi* leads into the repetition of the *Watowa* and/or the next part, the *Kavira*. The singer is free to repeat a single *Watowa*, or a single *Kavira*, several times, in accordance with his own particular interpretative and expressive powers: he has the opportunity to introduce variations into the musical fabric/structure established by the author of the formula.

Although the maximum length of a *Watowa* or *Kavira* is determined by the limitation to five lines, the poet may also adopt a different kind of articulation, for example that of the *Lube'gu*. It is true, too, that the quality of a poet of the *wosi* consists in his ability to achieve the greatest possible musical significance with the smallest number of lines. Consider the example of *Ipaia* in *Dorai I*.

This organisation in five lines is not, however, considered valid for the *megwa*, especially those for the Kula, where the structure is basically one of stanzas with two couplets. The caveat should be made that this may not be the only possible kind of articulation, although it is the one on which *Ipaia*, *Siyakwakwa*, *Giorera*, *Rosigega* and *Krobai* agree. The impossibility of establishing the exact structure of the *megwa* is partly due to the fact that no one has ever claimed their construction for him/herself: it is always attributed to a distant past. Sometimes the name of an author may be preserved in, say, a *megwa* for ritual exchange, although the singer habitually substitutes his own name for it. It is perhaps the very archaic character of a *megwa* which permits confusion between the name of the singer and that of the author; on the other hand a very clear distinction is made at *Kitawa* between the 'author' in the particular sense of the person who 'possesses' a *megwa* which has been given to him, and the author proper, the person who actually constructed the *megwa*. This does not mean that the possibility of someone constructing a *megwa* is ruled out; but it is not taken for granted as it is with the *wosi*. *Megwa* are associated with the past, with ancestors; one might even say that they are the oral representation of this past. They are genuinely sacred texts, which are to be revered and cannot – or should not – be altered, at least intentionally. Like the Bible or the Koran, they are examples of closed texts, subject only to exegesis. The fact that the *megwa* are not written does not alter the fundamental point: at *Kitawa* the aim is to give a 'canonical' performance, not just of the musical fabric of a *megwa*, but also of its 'essentially verbal text'. Thus, the *megwa* for use in ritual exchange, or sung silently in the magicians' mind to invoke someone's death, or to consecrate the ceremonial canoe, are valid to the extent that they have been established in their correct philological form. I would argue, in fact, that this applies to any kind of poetic formula. To establish the correct philological form, within an oral culture, is not impossible for an ethnologist provided that he abandons the criteria of analysis which essentially belong to his

written culture. Such an attempt to establish the correctness of an oral text may be based on a range of factors, such as:

(a) classification and quantification of the probable variants introduced into a single poetic formula – variants which may come into being when the *megwa* is given by one owner to another. This kind of comparison may be undertaken in the case of the *megwa* for the Kula, which have a very wide area of circulation, adding to the likelihood that a singer will come to know a number of ‘variants’ of the same poetic formula;

(b) the control exercised by a master/initiator over his pupil when he gives him a poetic formula. This control is aimed at preventing any manipulation of the text, at least during the initiator’s lifetime and the period of apprenticeship. This is an example of supervision of the ability to memorise and perform a *megwa* during apprenticeship;

(c) the observation that, though there exists an inclination to accept the text of a *megwa* as though it were the authentic text, this text may nevertheless be called into question, especially if it contains reference to historical and/or mythical events which have been recorded by other visual means, such as sacred stones, rocks or crevices where the deeds of some hero celebrated in the *megwa* took place. The authenticity of these allusions may be tested by an attempt to establish a correlation between the descriptions of such mythic or sacred places in the text, and the places themselves. Such a method is very close to that employed in classical scholarship, where the attempt is made to find archaeological confirmation of the descriptions given in texts.⁸⁷

At Kitawa both *megwa* for the Kula and silent *megwa* are regarded as essentially fixed – composed in the past, either in an archaic language, or constructed with words taken from the various vocabularies used within the Kula Ring, or both. They may be compared with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, although the name of their author or authors is frequently not passed down. Unless, that is – and this seems to me a fascinating hypothesis which should not be ruled out – the Homer of the Kula Ring is to be identified with Monikiniki, the mythical winged hero, the demi-god, who is invoked and mentioned in many poetic formulae for ritual exchange. He is also represented, using an extremely refined method of stylistic abstraction, on the prowboards, the *lagimu* and *tabuya*, which show Monikiniki as the first poet and singer.

But leaving aside the possibility of demonstrating the truth of this hypothesis, the text performed by a man involved in the Kula remains the text of an author, and as such is respected philologically. This respect is highlighted by the fact that a *megwa* for the Kula is performed in solitude, where it is (scarcely) murmured to oneself alone. No one must hear it, and therefore there is no possibility of interference from an audience. The singer is able to concentrate on the text, and has the best possible conditions in which to perform it in accordance with the received version (which is taken as canonical), and with the musical design in his memory. There is no external factor causing him to modify the text itself, and the singer has no interest in introducing variants which might show off his own talents. Only the presence of an audience would give rise to that kind of approach.

⁸⁷ I believe that this is a path that should be followed by the ethnologist, especially as regards the comparisons to be made between a tale which is classified as ‘mythic’ and certain archaeological finds which exist at Kitawa, and on other islands of the Kula Ring – of objects which are frequently named in the tale itself.

2.9 PERFORMANCE/RECITATION

It has been established that the performance of a poetic formula does not coincide with its composition, on the basis not just of theoretical considerations, but of ethnographic data, interpreted partly with the help of the poet Ipaïya and the singers of Kitawa. It therefore remains to describe the mechanism of performance.

When a poetic formula is to be performed (in accordance with the *modulatio* required by the genre to which it belongs, and independently of its vocalisation) the singer (male or female) works in the opposite way to that used in the process of memorisation. In this case too the *nona* is involved, having the function of recalling the poetic formula which has been memorised. The singer brings to the surface, *from* and *by* the *nona*, the poetic formula which he learned during his years of apprenticeship, or, if he is also the author, after having composed it. Once again, memory and intellect/mind are involved, and if the formula is to be sounded, the voice is employed too. The singer has to remember the entire musical design (which constitutes and sustains the fabric of the formula), which has been memorised as a 'base' on which to mount the various lines: this design will guide him through the performance, whether silent or with voice. The memory is also involved in the performance, but basically, it seems to me, at the level of 'sound memory', and the variations which may be introduced are mainly related to the volume of the *modulatio*. A formula may for example be performed at high volume (*kaiga-veka*, the corresponding verb for this kind of volume being *kagwa*), medium volume (*kaiga-werai*, corresponding verb *taeri*), or low volume (*kaiga-kekita*, verb *gima*). All poetic formulae for use in ritual exchange can only be performed at low volume (*kaiga-kekita*) murmured softly to oneself. The silent poetic formulae may, on the other hand, acquire a different volume on the occasion of their reception by a pupil magician from his master.

The *modulatio* of a poetic formula may be independent of its vocalisation, but it takes on a more precise meaning in relation to the use of the voice; and this can be seen from an analysis of the morphological structure of *kagwa*, *taeri* and *werai*. The first term is roughly translatable as 'resound' (this is how Baldwin, 1939a:112, renders *kagwau*), and is composed of the prefix *ka-*, here with causative force, and *-gwa*, which is related to *bougwa*, of which it is a contraction. This carries the significance of something already decided, something which has happened – a completed action, or one which it has been decided to complete; we also know, however, that it is connected with the idea of the sacred, the festive, the prohibited. The verbal form as a whole contains a clear allusion to something, or someone, with 'strong' internal resonance. The term *taeri* is made up of *ta-* and *-eri/-eli*, where the prefix *ta-* adds to a root verb the sense of 'making' or 'becoming' (Baldwin 1939a:516), and the root verb refers to an action performed by a woman. So we have the sense of *taeri* as 'medium *modulatio* of the female voice'. It seems to refer to the kind of *modulatio* which is characteristic of the female, or feminine, voice.

The term *werai* recalls Muyuwa *walaláyis*, literally 'at dawn' (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:159, connecting it with *laláyis*). Baldwin (1939a:637) reports the form *weila*, which he translates as 'shrunken': this is the low *modulatio* with which the poetic formulae for the Kula, for example, should be performed.

We may draw up a table which puts together the terms referring to the three types of *modulatio* with which a poetic formula may be performed, and relates them also to the vocalisation represented by the three lexemes which we have examined beginning with the prefix *kaiga-*.

VERB	MEANING	SUBSTANTIVE
<i>kagwa</i>	high	<i>kaigaveka</i>
<i>taeri</i>	medium	<i>kaigawerai</i>
<i>gima</i>	low	<i>kaigakekita</i>

The third verb actually has the sense of 'whispering', 'emitting a suppressed sound'. Baldwin (1939a:76) reports a similar form, *gela*, which he translates as 'warble' and associates with *gilagala* (p.80). A similar term is found in Muyuwa, where we have *gilgil* 'thin thread' (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:45) and *gimágin* 'clear', 'clean'.

A correct performance thus depends partly on the right *modulatio* of the voice performing the sounded formula. This also holds for cases where the relationship between voices must be balanced: too high a *modulatio* on the part of one or more voices, in comparison with a medium *modulatio* from the others, would clash in a way that would be criticised by the audience. Here again it is quite clear that the 'correct' *modulatio* is established in the basis of a particular model which predates the individual performance, and is memorised during apprenticeship. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that we are dealing with 'sound', and that even the performance of, say, a song written out in musical notation always leaves some margin of freedom to the interpreter. Such a margin is a feature of any musical interpretation. A Kitawan singer is free – within limits which are defined by the poetic formula and by the type of musical design – to 'interpret' a formula, especially in the case of a *wosi* aimed at public performance.

Such interpretation comes to be one of the characteristic traits which distinguish one singer from another (or, in the case of polyphonic formulae, a group of singers), when they take part in a singing competition (*uvaluku*), which was much more frequent in the past, and in which people were tested in the performance of feats of genuine bravura. The *uvaluku* also took place between composers. The term is in itself a general one, referring to any kind of competition (Baldwin, 1939a:593, for example, uses it only in the context of competition between canoes).

Male and female singers are classified as follows in Nowau:

MALE SINGER	FEMALE SINGER
<i>towosi</i>	<i>nawosi</i>
<i>tokakaiwara</i>	<i>nakakaiwara</i>
<i>tousiwosi</i>	<i>nausiwosi</i>
<i>tomuduwosi</i>	<i>namuduwosi</i>
<i>tomitaleka</i>	<i>namitaleka</i>

The usual terms for male and female singer at Kitawa are *tokakaiwara* and *nakakaiwara* respectively. One who excels in singing is *tomuduwosi* or *namuduwosi*; a mediocre singer is *tokagaisa*, or *tokaganai*, and *nakagaisa* or *nakaganai*. Ipaíya used two other terms for 'singer': *tokagabwarila* and *tonanitaleka*; the latter with the meaning 'supreme singer'. The lexeme *kakaiwara* (without either the masculine marker *to-* or the feminine *na-*) is made up of *kakai-* and *-wara*; the former is related to *kakali* (cf. Baldwin 1939a:136, who reports *kakaliwosila*, literally 'spell for the dance') or *kali-*, which as a prefix (but also as a root form) means 'put through', 'put in' (here with reference to the voice). I do not exclude the possibility of some association with *kala* in the sense of 'rise' (p.139), with reference to the sun: we have a 'voice rising like the light of the sun'. The suffix *-wara*, meanwhile, has the

meaning 'only', 'solely'. Literally, then, the allusion is to a man or woman whose only function is to 'let forth their own voice'; but this voice is comparable to the rising of the sun at dawn.

Muduwosi, meanwhile, independently of the two markers, is composed of *mudu-* and *-wosi*, where *mudu-* is a synonym, or a poetic variant, of *bougwa*: thus we have one who has attained the maximum degree of his ability to express himself in song. The particle *mudu* recalls the expression *tokabitamou bougwa*, one who excels in the art of engraving prowboards for the ceremonial canoe, the 'Master of the Art' (Scoditti 1990a). As I mentioned previously, Ipaiya used the expression *nanitaleka nano'ra* for a 'supreme singer'; the first lexeme is composed from *nani-* and *-taleka*, where *nani-* presumably corresponds to Boyowa *nani-* (literally 'be quick') and, since it is followed by *nano'ra*, may refer to the ability to perform a poetic formula with extreme facility in one's use of the voice: the bringing into play of the *nona* is a reference to a remarkable capacity of memory on the part of the 'supreme singer'. This singer is thus defined as the one who succeeds in remembering, not just the musical design of the poetic formulae which he must perform, but also the 'correct mode', the right *modulatio*, as established in the canonical model. This canonical model, of course, admits of possible variation; the 'supreme' singer is thus the one who performs with the right *modulatio*, respecting the text and the musical design of this text, but who is also able to introduce variations which are in harmony with the model.

With the poetic formulae for ritual exchange – the verb denoting the performance of these is *megei* – it is much more difficult to ascertain the competence of a singer. It is understood from the outset that these texts, which are much more canonical, and draw on mythic material which is known to a majority of the inhabitants of the Kula Ring, are not to be heard. The formulae are murmured in a scarcely audible, low *modulatio* (referred to as *gimwa* and *kaigakekita*); this means that any judgement regarding their performance tends to be purely subjective. The only force in such judgements probably derives from the extent to which the singer himself believes in the effectiveness of the correct performance. If the formulae are endowed with sacred significance – they are often addressed to the mythical hero Monikiniki, the winged red serpent – the singer will be very careful to perform them with respect for both the essentially verbal text and the musical design.

The poetic formulae for ritual exchange could be said to represent a case of 'closed text' within Nowau culture, in that 'musical text' and 'tendentiously verbal text' may not be altered, and therefore remain fixed. Moreover the 'non-construction' of these formulae in the present is a crucial factor affecting the manner of performance: their composition belongs to the past. And this is the reason that the suspicion arises that they are epic, heroic poems, or fragments of such poems, which relate to the culture of the Kula Ring as a whole. They might also be random fragments of a single poem, or of expressively autonomous parts of a single poem, which for mnemonic purposes was divided up between the various clans and subclans which inhabit the Kula region. To assist memorisation, each fragment was structured in such a way as to be complete on its own, which would avoid difficulties in preserving it in the memory – complete, that is, both from the point of view of musical design and from that of 'verbal' fabric. By comparison with the other poetic formulae, furthermore, the *megwa* for the Kula show greater respect for the 'tendentiously verbal' text. It is a text which preserves the deeds of the mythical hero, who is represented, by turns, as a black millipede, as a particularly well-loved companion in the ritual exchange, or as a powerful element in nature: lightning, thunder. It must therefore not be subject to variation, except of an entirely involuntary nature. It is a text involving the heroic and the sacred, and,

as it were, the philosophical essence of Milne Bay culture, and that of the Kula in particular. This means that no one wishes to manipulate it in the way that may occur with the tales of foundation myth of a clan, where politico-economic considerations may play an important role in the manipulation of facts, and therefore of the text which is related. In this latter case, performer and listener alike know in advance that the text may be manipulated; and this leads to a greater interest in telling, and hearing, a beautiful tale rather than a true one. More attention will be paid to the 'manner' of performance than to the authenticity of the text. But with the poetic formulae for the Kula, both 'manner' (here, *modulatio*) and 'text' (i.e. the combination of a musical design with an essentially verbal fabric constructed upon and by means of this design) must be established in a harmonic way, and on the realisation of this harmony will depend the effectiveness of the poetic formula. So the performance of a poetic formula for the Kula gives pre-eminence to respect for the text; and this text is defined as a total harmony between the word which has been musically unravelled (with the *expression plane* dominant) and the musical design that has conditioned this unravelling. The *megwa* have this process in common with the other Nowau poetic genres; but in the case of the *megwa* for the Kula it is more rigid in character, and constitutes an example of 'closed text'.

The case of silent poetic formulae is different. Their musical form exists by virtue of being based on the semantic unravelling of the word, though this unravelling is not rendered by the voice but remains within the mind of the performer. It is as though it had been discovered that even a phonetic entity can be divided into content and expression; one is as it were saying that the signified of the phonetic entity – its material element, which is realised through the voice – is not represented in a way which privileges the signifier/form of expression. These formulae are in their nature not liable to being controlled (except in the apprenticeship stage, when they are given by a magician to his pupil). But once the pupil is in possession of them, the only check is that which he carries out himself: the poetic formula becomes silent again, and as the years pass the magician performs it only in his mind (*i namunamu megwa*), in a context (referred to as *kipara*) which negates the sound. With the passage of time the sound, the voice of the master, becomes ever more distant, until finally it disappears. It is replaced by performance in the mind. The musical design which sustains the text will be heard again when the new magician, in old age, may (if he wishes) give the same *megwa* to his pupil. But the performance – his own true and unique vocal performance – takes place after years of silent, internalised performance. This is the explanation for the fact that when one listens to a silent poetic formula one may have the impression that one is listening to nonsense, albeit nonsense of a highly expressive nature from the aural point of view. One seems to be listening to the power of the voice. Transcription and writing will never succeed in rendering this vocal power – nor will an attempt at translation. Even the assistance which may be provided by a magician who performs the formula for the ethnologist's 'pleasure' (as happened in the case of Rosigega, Krobai and myself) must always remain no more than an approximation – an attempt to render in purely verbal terms something which has been thought and constructed within the framework of a much more complex language.

CHAPTER 3

NOWAU POETIC FORMULAE

3.1 NOTES ON THE CRITERIA ADOPTED IN SELECTING AND EDITING THE POETIC FORMULAE

The poetic formulae sung by Towitara Buyoyu, Krobai Tonuwabu, Rosigega Mokapiu and Togenywa of Okabulula were not recorded on tape. They were first performed according to the canonical *modulatio* of the various genres and, later, as the performance was slowed down sufficiently to permit transcription of the text of the respective formulae. Once the text had been transcribed, it was corrected following suggestions made by the singers themselves (with Towitara this work continued until 1974, with Krobai until 1976, and with Rosigega until 1988). I had a certain difficulty in establishing the texts of the silent *megwa*, where sound is, by definition, absent: the magician-singer has had, in fact, to reconstruct in sound a text destined to be performed only in the mind. This rendering in sound has caused a degree of uncertainty over the definition of the words to be associated with the sounds sung.

All the other poetic formulae, in contrast, were recorded on tape and transcribed, at an initial stage, with the phonetic symbols of the IPA. Once transcribed, the texts were performed at a slower speed, to the point of almost spelling the words out for each line. Every term associated with a sound was discussed with the singer who had performed the poetic formula as well as with other singers, and always with Towitara Buyoyu, until 1974, and then with Siyakwakwa Teitei and Ipaïya Mokuïyara. Work with the latter was particularly intense as he is an author of poetic formulae, examining the texts at length and in depth.

The transcribed texts of the poetic formulae were then computerised (both at the Literary and Linguistic Computing Centre of the University of Cambridge and at the Centro Interdipartimentale per il Calcolo Scientifico of the La Sapienza University of Rome) so as to establish the frequency lists and the concordances of the lexemes used in the formulae themselves (see Appendices). The computerisation of the texts enabled me to establish a homogeneous orthographical transcription for each lexeme which had initially been transcribed with different symbols. However, in this process of homogenisation I attempted to respect those variations which could reflect, in some way, in the orthographical transcription of a lexeme, the different sound value attributed to it by the singer (and in Ipaïya's case, by the author): as in the case, for example, of *bweta* and *bwita*, or of *Bweyowa* and *Bweiyowa*. These variations do not, in any case, influence the meaning of the lexeme.

The meanings, above all metaphorical ones, of each term used in a poetic formula have been identified by discussing them with the singers themselves in the various stages of the research. Obviously, the responsibility for interpreting them in English is entirely mine.

The poetic formulae have been grouped according to the genre they belong to and, excluding the group composed and performed by Ipaïya, have been given with the name of the singer.

3.2 NOWAU POETIC FORMULAE: TEXT WITH TRANSLATION, INTERLINEAR GLOSS AND COMMENTARY

The 104 separate formulae which follow are arranged by composer/singer/performer and the occasion on which they are performed. They are fully listed, in their order of appearance in the text, before the general index towards the end of the work.

For an appreciation of the richness of individual Nowau poetic terms, which cannot be adequately conveyed in the confines of grammatical glosses, the reader is referred also to the lexicon at the end of the book and to the commentary which follows each of the poetic formulae.

3.2.1 POETIC FORMULAE CHANTED ON A VARIETY OF OCCASIONS

3.2.1.1 IPAÏYA MOKUÏYARAGA, COMPOSER AND SINGER

(1) *Dorai I*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Re vagumi'gu tauiya</i> | Gently woken by the conch-shell voice |
| 2 | <i>bougwa nêi yeru nano'gu</i> | my thought flows, like a stream's hidden current, |
| 3 | <i>kasi veyara unata</i> | towards their round baskets, man of many loves. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1a | <i>Re vagumi'gu tauiya wakasa</i> | Gently woken by the conch-shell voices |
| 2a | <i>bougwa nêi yeru nano'gu</i> | my thought flows, like a stream's hidden current, |
| 3a | <i>kasi veyara i gwana.</i> | towards their round baskets, man of shining face! |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>R-e vagumi' gu tauiya</i>
PAST-I woken my conch-shell |
| 2 | <i>bougwa n-ê-i yeru nano' gu</i>
already PAST-LW-it stream thought my |
| 3 | <i>kasi veyara unata</i>
their round.basket man.of.many.loves |

Kavira

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1a | <i>R-e vagumi' gu tauiya wakasa</i>
PAST-I woken my conch-shell get.in.line |
| 2a | <i>bougwa n-ê-i yeru nano' gu</i>
already PAST-LW-it stream thought my |
| 3a | <i>kasi veyara i gwana.</i>
their round.basket he shine |

Commentary

Line 1. *Re vagumi' gu tauiya*: this alludes to the reawakening of the singer, represented by the first person singular possessive pronoun *gu* (which indicates a close form of possession, something or someone which cannot be alienated, such as one's own hand or a member of one's own clan or subclan) which follows the verb form *vagumi* (cf. *vaguli*, Baldwin 1939a:597; *vaguri*, Malinowski 1935, vol.I:141-143; vol.II:163; Senft 1986:400). According to the interpretation given by Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa, here we have a gentle reawakening, like that of someone who is disturbed lightly in their sleep by a muffled sound: the light touch of a sound which awakens not only the body but also, and I would say above all, the soul, thought. The lightness of the touch is expressed by Ipaïya with the sound of the conch-shell, *tauïya* (*tauya*, Baldwin 1939a:543; *ta'uya*, Malinowski 1922:449; 1929:96; *tauyo*, Malinowski 1935 vol.I:179, 214, 215, 233, 235, 307; *ta'uya*, Malinowski 1967:313; *tauya*, Senft 1986:383) underlining the rarefied and abstract atmosphere of the scene in which the singer awakes, reflected in the thought which flows smoothly like a stream of water.

The image of the conch-shell could allude to awakening on the beach where men have passed the night, having disembarked from a ceremonial canoe, before going on to meet their companions for the exchange of ritual gifts.

Line 2. *bougwa nêi yeru nano' gu*: the light, rarefied atmosphere of the sound of the conch-shell is stressed by the image of the stream which runs quietly, given by the verbal form *nêi yeru*, where *-ê-* represents the link vowel (Scoditti 1990a).

yeru (*yelu* in Baldwin 1939a:652 and Senft 1986:424): this term is used by Ipaïya to suggest the barely perceptible flow of a current below the calm, almost static, surface of a stream: only a sensitive eye could note this movement, which in Ipaïya's case becomes an eye that is mind and soul. He in fact uses *nano' gu* (*nano-la*, *nona*, Baldwin, p.408; *nano*, Senft, pp.335, 336) which means 'mind' or 'intellect' literally, and should be interpreted as the faculty of intuition, of perception. In an extremely short space (only three lines), Ipaïya manipulates a whole situation pregnant with desire (the barely perceptible wait for the women to be loved) sung in a rarefied, almost only imaginary, scene (the gentle flow of one's own desire on the surface of the mind/soul). This rarefaction is obtained by using the images of the sound of the conch and the hardly perceptible flow of the current below the immobile surface of a stream. But *yeru*, or *yelu*, also recalls something fresh, a spray as pure as spring water. This image of purity (also to be interpreted as a metaphor of creativity) occurs in the poetic formulae sung during the initiation of an engraver of prowboards for ceremonial canoes (Scoditti 1990a).

Line 3. *veyara*: the first term indicates the small, circular basket (made by weaving strings of pandanus leaves – of the Pandanaceae family – bleached in the sun) used by the women as a container for *buwa* (areca nuts, *Areca catechu*), *lobida* (the leaves or fruit of betel pepper, *Piper methisticum*) and *pwakau* or *pupwakau* (calcium powder).

Veyara is used by Ipaïya as a visual metaphor which alludes to the woman who owns the basket: the small round basket probably stands for her small round breasts. It should not be forgotten in fact that the small basket is considered a very personal object, a visual replacement for his or her owner. It is also loaded with erotic, amorous undertones and it is this last meaning which is attributed by Ipaïya, although he prefers to maintain a soft, light

tone, typical of all poetic formulae: it is his enamoured mind which flows over, only brushing against, the object of his love represented by the interplay of amorous thoughts.

unata: translated as 'man of many loves', this literally means 'amorous youth', 'young man who likes to have fun with many women' (cf. *ulatila*, Baldwin 1939a:585). Siyakwakwa has seen in this term the meaning of 'young man without his own woman', in the sense of 'bachelor', and thus as the male equivalent of the female *kapugura* (cf. *kapugula*, Baldwin, p.168) which he translates as 'young woman, young girl in budding stage' and refers to *na-kapugula*, translated as 'girl at puberty, budding girl'. But here I want more to underline the image of a young man whose body is 'budding' together with first loves and desires. This last interpretation is already contained and anticipated in the verbal form *vagumi' gu* (see line 1) used to indicate the budding of a plant, the harmonious reawakening of a seed or a bud (cf. *kayvaguri-na sobula*, which Malinowski, 1935, vol.II:163, translates as 'the act of wakening the sprout').

Line 1a. *taiiya wakasa*: this literally means 'sounds of the conch-shell' in which the plural form 'sounds' is given by *waka-sa* (cf. *waiki* or *waki* in Baldwin 1939a:634, 635) used on Kitawa to indicate 'getting into line one after the other' by dancers. In Ipaïya's case we have the use of another metaphorical image: the sounds – or thoughts – line up in and exit from, one after the other, the mind-soul-sound shell-like dancers who stand one behind the other to perform dance steps.

Line 3a. *i gwana*: both Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa have given the expression *boina sinegaiya*, or *boina seina gaiya*, as a conceptual equivalent, translatable as 'shining, to become as bright as the light' and should therefore be translated as 'becomes bright', 'shines'.

(2) Dorai II

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Dobiyaruwa dabe'gu</i> | The silent sightless skirts of women, my thoughts |
| 2 | <i>yobwekasema unata</i> | take their place, man of many loves, processing |
| 3 | <i>re vadudu'gu wa keda</i> | along the silent path |
| 4 | <i>wa rirorida waga'na.</i> | moving urged by music towards the festive canoe. |

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Dobi yaruwa dabe'gu</i> | skirt dead.people head my |
| 2 | <i>yobwekasema unata</i> | take.place man.of.love |
| 3 | <i>r-e vadudu'gu wa keda</i> | PAST-I silent my on path |
| 4 | <i>wa rirorida waga' na.</i> | on move.by.sounds festive.canoe SFX |

Commentary

Line 1. *Dobi*: this is a poetical variation on *doba*, a general term indicating the short skirt worn by women, made by overlapping a number of layers of thread produced by stripping

coconut palm leaves bleached in the sun. The various layers of thread are held together at the waist by a sophisticated braid (*kudu'ra doba*) with two laces at the ends (*utabulu*) used to fasten the skirt at the hips. There are various types of skirt, according to the woman's age and role. For example, among the most admired and difficult to make are the short skirts (*wakaya*) for dances, usually coloured a purple-red and decorated at the waist with white fringes (*ponaki*), made from banana leaves, and yellow ones (*tokurakora*). Men also wear fibre skirts for Milamala dances, but these are longer (Malinowski 1929; Munn 1986). In the region of Lalela the latter are always white and completed with an overgarment, of an even brighter white, made from banana leaves. Men fasten their skirt at the front, while women fasten them on the right.

Ipaïya uses the generic term *doba* to underline the rarefied atmosphere (and thus abstract and general, just as the term *doba* is general and non-specific) in which his poetic scene is set: we have here the *doba* of souls which move with light, dance steps, marked by the sound of the flute (*rirorida*) towards a ceremonial canoe, which is another sacred, ritual element. Ipaïya is masterly in creating assonances between one image and another within the poetic formula: once again, his thoughts (*dabe' gu*), 'walk' one behind the other in the silent dreamy space of his mind, just as the space where souls move is silent. The term *yaruwa* (literally 'the short skirt of the dead' or 'of the souls who live on Tuma', the island to the north-west of Kitawa where the deceased go to rest) should not be interpreted literally but more as a metaphor of silence, of the silence of the mind. This last interpretation is suggested by *dabe' gu* (literally 'my mind'). Ipaïya plays on the assonance of *dobi* and *dabe' gu* (an assonance which becomes stronger if one thinks of the ambiguous flow of the oral *modulatio* which could be manifested in a *dobe...dobe' gu* rather than *dobi...dabe' gu*) which suggests to the listener an image of short skirts swaying with the gentle movement of the steps, hardly perceptible visually, and I would say almost imagined, which accompanies the ethereal flow of thought: the short, light skirt is the light, airy thought of the singer.

Line 2. *yobwekasema*: Ipaïya turns to another term from the vocabulary of ritual dances: this verbal form is in fact used to indicate, as with *wakasa* (cf. *Dorai I*, line 1a) dancers getting into line. Even if here Ipaïya wants to underline more the ritual, sacred aspect of 'getting in line', skilfully exploiting the disyllabic structure of Nowau (Scoditti 1990a), we find that *yobwekasema* is made up of *yo-bwe-kase-ma*, where the prefix *yo-* (which should be considered a variation on *ya-*) means 'with', while the infix *-bwe-* (a variation on *-bwa-* or *-bwo-*) is used to indicate a festive, sacred, ritual state (but also suggesting the idea of something prohibited, forbidden) and the base component *-kase/a* (as in *wa-kasa* in *Dorai I*) suggests the image of a row, of lining up, of order, and is completed by the suffix *-ma* to indicate a continuing action, one that is being performed. Compared to *wakasa*, the form *yobwekasema* reminds the listener of lining up, of putting in order abstract elements such as the dream-images, the souls with closed eyes and the hyperborean world of the dead.

Line 3. *re vadudu' gu*: this verbal form, in the past (*r- = n-*) and first person singular (*-e = -a*) refers to the singer. It has been translated by 'along the silent path', transferring the sense of 'to move', 'to walk' (already contained in *vadudu*) onto *wa rirorida*. The form *vadudu* (*dududu*, Baldwin 1939a:67; *dudu*, Senft 1986:218) is composed of the prefix *va-* (which in this specific case indicates the action of walking, and thus an action which involves the whole body) and the base component *-dudu*, which in itself indicates the action of making a sound, a rumble typical of thunder but also a hiss. It thus seems appropriate to interpret it here as the ethereal movement of abstract elements in an almost unreal space. Ipaïya, in fact,

wants to suggest a movement understood more from listening to a low hiss in his own imagination rather something than really heard.

Line 4. *wa rirorida waga' na*: the assonance of these sounds reminds an inhabitant of Lalela of the verbal form *roura* (cf. *lolo* and *lilolo*, Baldwin 1939a:315, 322). Therefore *rirori-da* (a poetical variation of the more literary *riroro*) suggests an action which is still happening and accompanied by a sound. And it is for this reason that Ipa'ia constructs the poetic form *rirori-da* which, when sung, produces the whistling of imaginary light steps, almost as if accompanied by the sound of the flute: *rirorida* or *lilolida* (cf. *lilolila*, Baldwin 1939a:315) in Nowau indicates the panpipes, with five bamboo canes, used during the period which precedes the yam harvest. It is, therefore, an instrument played during agricultural festivals.

(3) *Dorai sobala I*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Re vaponu re vadudu</i> | Sea swell, gentle wind, |
| 2 | <i>ra kasani o Bweyowa</i> | I am softly urged towards the winged island, |
| 3 | <i>re muyeî' gu kagu robu.</i> | and the wind caresses the jewels on my breast. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Veyuma ina' gu</i> | My mother comes and goes: |
| 2a | <i>vadudu <a>gu kauïya</i> | like a string of soft breezes, in my basket, |
| 3a | <i>kasana boporu.</i> | lie the jewels of the voiceless souls. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>R-e vaponu r-e vadudu</i>
PAST-I sea.swell PAST-I soft.wind |
| 2 | <i>r-a kasani o Bweyowa</i>
PAST-I urge.softly towards winged.island |
| 3 | <i>r-e muye-î' gu kagu robu.</i>
PAST-I caress-LW my my jewel |

Kavira

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1a | <i>Veyuma ina' gu</i>
come.and.go mother my |
| 2a | <i>vadudu <a>gu kauïya</i>
breeze my basket |
| 3a | <i>kasana boporu.</i>
voiceless.soul jewel |

Commentary

Line 1. *Re vaponu*: this is another example of a verb form in the past (indicated by *re-*, a poetical variation on *na*, composed of *n-* and the first person singular *-a*) a tense which recurs in *re vadudu*, *ra kasani* and *re muyeî' gu*. The same poetical variation *re* or *ra-* according to the need for vowel harmonies – is also used by Ipa'ia in *Dorai I*, *Dorai II* and returns, for example, in *Wosi weïmuya III*. The use of the past should not be interpreted as if

the action, or a feeling, had occurred or was perceived to have occurred in the past but, on the contrary, as if it was occurring or being perceived when the poetic formula is sung. This interpretation seems correct to me, as it is found within an oral expression whose characteristic is that of recounting in song again and again a fact or a feeling which has 'occurred' but without specifying *when* and *if* it has occurred: it makes the two temporal projections into the past and the future coincide in a single time dimension that encompasses both (which for convenience's sake we can call the present).

With *vaponu*, Ipaïya wants to underline the image of a harmonious whole which is driven by a single principle such as, here, the subtle movement of small waves which follow one after the other, creating continuity in an apparent, and visually imperceptible, harmonious discontinuity.

The image of a single form, of a single principle which suggests slight movement, characterises the whole of Ipaïya's poem and is underlined (but as in a mirror-effect in which it is senseless to establish which is the principal image) by other images suggested, for example, by *re vadudu*, *ra kasani*, or in its variation *kasana* (see line 3a).

The form *vadudu* is used by Ipaïya to suggest a collection of elements – the blowing of a light sea breeze, the same breeze which ripples the surface of the sea with continuous waves – reinforcing the previous image and preparing the image represented on a metaphorical plane by *ra kasani* and *re muyeî' gu*.

Line 2. *ra kasani*: this form is used to describe the positioning one behind the other to form a spiral of dancers which will then open up to form the various figures in ritual dances. This verb suggests a slow, continuous movement made up of several elements linked together and driven by a single cause (the harmony of the spiral). In this case, Ipaïya uses *kasani* to allude to the slow movement of the men's line, symbolised by the singer, who having arrived on the beach after perfuming themselves with ointment (*sayaku*) and adorned with garlands, head towards the village for the ritual exchange.

Line 3. *re muyeî' gu*: this verbal form is composed of *re-* (*r-e = n-a*) *muye-î' gu*, where the basic component is given by *muya* (for reasons of vowel harmony the vowel 'a' becomes 'e') followed by the suffix *-î*, which has the function of link vowel. The first person singular possessive pronoun (*gu*), which indicates close possession, attributes reflexive value to the verb form which reappears, in the future, in *Nadubeori I*, line 1a with the same meaning of representing an impalpable, abstract atmosphere. Impalpability and abstraction introduce the second part, *Kavira*, of the poem, in which an image of the world inhabited by "voiceless souls" is depicted.

robu: this is a term which, apart from in *Ruwegwau VII*, line 1, also occurs in *Wosi weïmuya Ia*, line 7a; *Bôï tayobu IV*, line 2a and *Wosi weïmuya Ila*, line 4 as well as in several versions of the account of the foundation of the four clans which live in Kitawa. It indicates all ornaments such as, for example, *mwari*, *vaiguwa*, *diginagoma* (a pendant worn around the neck by dancers, made of a boar tusk and decorated with glass beads and flakes of mother of pearl) worn on ritual and festive occasions such the Kula ritual exchange.

Line 2a. *kauïya*: translated as "basket", this item literally indicates the bag made by weaving strings produced from coconut palm leaves, which men carry under their left armpit. It is used for carrying areca nuts, betel pepper leaves or fruit, calcium powder – the ingredients for *buwa* – but also the black wad of tobacco which, when reduced to small pieces, is rolled up in a dry leaf or in a rectangle of newspaper, to make a cigarette. In *kauïya* we also find a

small ebony mortar, *kaimili*, a pestle, *kaipita*, and a spatula, *kena*, used in the preparation of the red *buwa*. A *kauīya* is often contained in another larger one so as to form a false bottom in which betel nuts or tobacco wads are hidden: this is a metaphorical trick – an example of a visual metaphor – devised to symbolise a refusal. For example, if one meets a man and asks for an areca nut and he opens his *kauīya* and through the opening one can see the second *kauīya* then the gesture is interpreted as a refusal, an implicit no. There are various types of *kauīya* according to the type of weave and the function: there are *kauīya* to contain *mwari* and *vaiḡuwa*, and circular *kauīya* used exclusively by women, who carry them on their heads or rest them lightly on their right hip with a hand. For example, Ipaīya uses *veyara* in *Dorai I*, line 3 to allude to women’s “round baskets” although he attributes the term to the vocabulary of the dead. The *kauīya* plays an essential role in the symbolism of Kula ritual exchanges and we find it in many poems sung on these occasions.

Line 3a. *boporu*: I have interpreted this term with “the jewels of the voiceless souls”, giving, on Ipaīya’s suggestion, the more literal sense of ‘betel nut’, that of the vocabulary used by the “voiceless souls”, a term which occurs often in poetry.

(4) *Dorai sobala II*

Watowa

1	<i>Na orima vivina</i>	Charmed by spells I desire you, woman,
2	<i>ba nei keda Bweyowa</i>	I'll seek for you along the path of the winged island,
3	<i>ikatudou waga'na.</i>	while the sound of the festive canoe echoes in the air.
1	<i>N-a orima vivina</i> PAST-I desire woman	
2	<i>b-a nei keda Bweyowa</i> FUT-I seek path winged.island	
3	<i>i katudou waga' na.</i> it sound festive.canoe SFX	

Commentary

Line 1. *Na orima*: Ipaīya alludes to the falling in love caused by the use of a potion of herbs “charmed” with magic spells, and there is therefore something artificial in this love. The meanings attributed to falling in love because of enchantment are many: there is a forced falling in love, in the sense that the desire for a woman, or for a man, is felt by only one person, who resorts to magic to induce the other to fall for him/her. Thus, in addition to beautifying the body – which is perfumed with ointments and adorned with garlands and wreaths of flowers – one resorts to the manipulation of various types of herbs enchanted with spells. These spells are kept secret and should be interpreted as metaphors whose main meaning consists in the expression of a desire or a hope with poetic imagery.

There is another meaning when love already exists and the resort to beautification and spells becomes just a pretext or a means of emphasising, of remembering – and delighting in the memory: inebriation is an essential element characteristic of falling in love. A potion of enchanted herbs, or one’s own body perfumed with ointments and adorned with garlands and wreaths of flowers, are visual metaphors to express a state of amorous ecstasy in which one may lose oneself. Compare *onela*, *wanela* in Baldwin (1939a:428, 636).

Line 2. *ba nei*: the verb form *nei* expresses the action of 'looking for' and is often used in a metaphorical sense in everyday language to indicate looking for a pretext for a pleasant conversation. For example, the expression *i nenei buwa*, literally 'looking for betel nuts' is one of the ways of saying that someone is sauntering around the village looking for company and a chat, even if the chat will inevitably be accompanied by the chewing of betel nuts. The *buwa* in this specific case becomes the reflection of pleasant conversation which, in turn, can be interpreted as the reflection of enjoying the red mixture. Thus, when Ipaïya uses *ba nei keda* he adopts an expression which, apart from belonging to everyday metaphorical language, also comes from the metaphorical language of Kula ritual exchanges. In a very short semantic space he brings to mind a whole series of images which place his composition in the typical scene of a ritual exchange: the wait and the excitement for the meeting of companions, the landing of the ceremonial canoe on the beach, the purification of the body in the seawater and, then, in spring water, the perfuming with ointments (*sayaku*), the garlanding of their carefully combed hair, the painting of the lips with red betel nut and the excitement of the body as it is agitated by the approach of the ritual meeting. Ipaïya's refined lexical elegance plays with the metaphorical images of Kula, which slip through barely perceptible semantic passages into more abstract images of falling in love, the wait for a meeting and excitement: the desire for the loved woman through "the path of the winged island" goes onto the scenario of a ritual path where the name of the loved woman/canoe resounds in a long sound, repeated by the echo. The mixture of the excitement/passion typical of a ritual exchange with the excitement/love for a woman are united in the last line in which the "festive canoe" (the large ceremonial canoe in *tadobu* or *nagega* style, used for Kula, see Scoditti 1990a) becomes a metaphor for 'woman', as *vivina* does in the first line ('woman', literally) and is in turn a metaphor for 'ceremonial canoe'. On the female nature of the canoe see Scoditti (1982, 1983, 1990a).

Line 3. *katudou*: this item is composed of *katu-dou*, where the verb prefix *katu-* is a causative, or could suggest an idea of completeness, of vigour (Baldwin 1939a:184). But here it is used to specify a concept already contained in *dou*: Ipaïya refers to the accentuation of the final syllable of a word (as, for example, in the name of a canoe or of a person) which is prolonged almost endlessly. This is another semantic stratagem thought up by Ipaïya to suggest something ethereal, which vanishes into the air, in the imagery.

(5) *Nadubeori I*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Ba siki varu Iwa</i> | Crouched in the festive canoe, from the island of birds, |
| 2 | <i>venu raragau</i> | to the village veiled in mist, |
| 3 | <i>kutuva bakimawei.</i> | the sea-path in my mind will fade. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Nuvidu bi muye'i'gu</i> | A south-easterly wind will blow against my breast, |
| 2a | <i>veva ba kabïya</i> | I'll pull the sealskin rigging taut |
| 3a | <i>tataba gumu waga.</i> | and my festive canoe will catch the wind and go. |

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>B-a siki varu Iwa</i> | |
| | | FUT-I crouch village island.of.birds |

- 2 *venu raragau*
village mist
- 3 *kutuva b-a kimawei*
sea-path FUT-I fade
- Kavira*
- 1a *Nuvidu b-i muye-ŋ' gu*
south-east.wind FUT-it blow-LW my
- 2a *veva b-a kabiya*
rigging.taut FUT-I catch
- 3a *tataba gumu waga.*
go.fast my festive.canoe

Commentary

Line 1. *Basiki*: Ipaïya himself interprets this as an equivalent of *sira* (cf. *sila, sili* in Baldwin, 1939a:489, 491), which expresses the image of being seated in a particular place, of crouching, to sit on one's heels, referring both to men's typical resting position (equivalent of squatting) and to the position assumed in the canoe with the left leg against the outside side and bent under the thigh. It is this polysemy of the verb which can produce a certain poetical ambiguity when the song is recited, also given the completely indeterminate, I would say deliberately hazy, semantic context in which the verb is used: we have, in fact, *Ba siki varu Iwa* followed by the line *venu raragau*, in which the lack of a preposition of place and specification of the place in which the singer is crouched leaves the listener free to imagine the scene set either in a ceremonial canoe or in the village. The fact, then, that the village (*venu*) is enshrouded in a "mist" (*raragau*) increases the semantic ambiguity of the place, an ambiguity intended by Ipaïya: the fog in this case suggests vagueness, melancholy, a state of waiting while at the same time preparing a possible solution. This solution will come with the "south-easterly wind" which, caressing the body of the singer, will awaken his memory and thus make him recall the path. The mention of the eastern wind (*nuvidu*, the poetic equivalent of *bwalimila*) reintroduces the vagueness of the first line: taking into account the geographical position of Iwa, in fact, to the east of Kitawa, the eastern wind means that the canoe is headed from the east (south-east) towards the west, towards the Trobriands. This mention of the geographical location could mean either that the singer is crouched in a canoe, maybe in a calm, typical when there is mist, or on the beach, or in a village on Iwa waiting for the eastern wind to get up to sail to Kitawa. I have preferred to interpret the line as if the singer were already in Iwa, to underline precisely the counterposition between a state of uncertainty-motionlessness and certainty-movement which seem to me better expressed by the dual metaphor of land and sea.

Iwa: this is the name of the first island to the east of Kitawa and included in the Kula Ring, on the route followed by the ceremonial canoes for Gawa, Kwaïwata, Yanaba and Muyuwa. This island is famous among the inhabitants of Kitawa above all for the great number of cocks and hens (*rekoreko*) – often used as propitiatory gifts in the Kula ritual exchange – so much so that it is a synonym of 'island of the cocks' and for this reason I have preferred to translate the placename with the more poetic "island of birds". But Iwa is known above all for its ability to swallow up a great quantity of yams both when the vegetable is a propitiatory gift in the ritual exchange, and when requested during the frequent famines that hit Iwa,

which because of its limited area and geographical features has a very low level of production. But in Kitawa it is held that the laziness of the inhabitants of Iwa is one of the main causes of the poor harvests, which drive them, even with the sea and winds against them, towards the west to exploit the Kula relations in their search for yams.

Line 3. *kutuva*: literally, this means setting the route and implies the concept of measurement (establishing, for example, the distance between one point and another on the route of the ceremonial canoe). Conceptually, it corresponds to 'setting the route by compass', although in all the years passed in Kitawa I have never seen any type of compass used during the Kula expeditions. This does not mean that some kind of compass may not have been used in the past, a use that could be confirmed, if only indirectly, by the profound and complex technical understanding of systems of navigation by sea still practised by the older inhabitants.

Line 1a. *bi muyei*: see *Dorai sobala I*, line 3.

Line 2a. *veva*: noted also by Baldwin (1939a:618), this is the tie fastened to the lower mast (which is a trapezoid, made by overlaying two layers of pandanus leaves, whose longer sides are bordered by two masts, while the shorter side is left free to follow the direction of the wind) and has the function of a guy-rope with which the sail is controlled so as to give the boat the speed desired.

ba kabiya: this is a verb form composed of the prefix *kabi-* (Baldwin 1939a:100) which embodies the meaning of to grasp, to hug, to embrace, and by *-ya* which as a suffix functions as equivalent to 'with', although it can indicate a state of place. As a prefix it also classifies leaves and fibre objects.

Line 3a. *tataba*: Ipaïya has attributed the meaning of 'speed' given in Baldwin (1939a:516) by *tabai* and translated as 'to move', 'to set out'. Moreover, the prefix *ta-* is used to introduce or to strengthen the idea in a verb of something that acts, the idea of action, of movement, such as when a canoe moves because the sail, when set with the tie (*veva*), becomes taut in the wind.

(6) *Nadubeori II*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Baroki Nadubeori</i> | I go with longing to Nadubeori, |
| 2 | <i>seina navalamu.</i> | she who sighs for the pleasures of love. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Baroki gioveka</i> | I shall meet the Great Chief: |
| 2a | <i>ku meïya uni boporu</i> | come and give me the intoxicating red fruit, |
| 3a | <i>ni meïya navalamu.</i> | she is here, the woman who sighs for love! |

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|------------------|
| 1 | <i>B-a roki</i> | <i>Nadubeori</i> |
| | FUT-I go.with.longing | Nadubeori |
| 2 | <i>seina na-valamu.</i> | |
| | very CLA-sigh/cry | |

Kavira

- 1a *B-a roki gioveka*
FUT-I meet great.chief
- 2a *ku me-î-ya uni boporu*
you come/give-LW-here me betel.nut
- 3a *n-i me-î-ya na-valamu.*
PAST-she come/give-LW-here CLA-sigh

Commentary

Line 1. *Ba roki*: Ipaïya has found a Nowau verb which embodies the sound of footsteps, of walking, I would say almost someone advancing anxiously, full of expectation, towards someone desired. In line 1 it is the woman Nadubeori (a name composed of *Na-*, which classifies all that is connected to or done by a woman – and here used as a prefix of a female name – and *-dubeori*, probably the equivalent of *dubilela*, which means ‘spicy, tangy, like hot red pepper’, and thus the name could be understood as ‘an exciting woman’ or ‘a fascinating woman’) who attracts the singer, heavy with desire, expressed in his way of walking, while in line 1a of *Kavira* it is the “Great Chief” who attracts the happy, festive step of the same singer (*Nadubeori IV*, line 1). See Baldwin (1939a:322).

Line 2. *navalamu*: this also means ‘the weeper’ where the feminine gender is given by the classifier *na-*. However, the term includes a wide range of meanings, such as a situation of unease, of displeasure, sadness or melancholy, but also one of capriciousness and indignation. It can also allude to someone sulking. Here *navalamu*, as it is preceded by the name *Nadubeori*, means a woman who sighs while waiting for her lover, or a woman who sighs in order to display her desire for someone or something. The use of *seïna* (literally ‘much, many’, but here used to intensify the sense) functions as a signal of the meaning attributed by Ipaïya to *Nadubeori*: a woman who enjoys the art of love.

Line 1a. *gioveka*: this is one of the names reserved for a high-ranking chief and is equivalent to a mythical hero or a male god. It is, therefore, a man of a higher rank than a *guyau*. *Giovila* classifies the first wife of the *gioveka*, a form composed of *gio-* (to be interpreted as a variation on the first person singular possessive pronoun *gu*), and *-veka*, literally ‘great’. Thus we have ‘I who belong to myself’, or ‘I who make myself great’. However, on Kitawa, *gioveka* is often used (and I would say almost exclusively, given that *guyau* is felt to be a borrowing from Boyowa) to indicate someone ‘out of their head’ in the sense that it refers to someone who is a superior being and can behave how they like, without taking into consideration the rules which the other inhabitants have to live by. Thus a ‘madman’ is placed on the same plane as a hero or a god. Compare *giyoveaka* in Baldwin (1939a:84).

Line 2a. *ku meïya*: I have translated this as “give me” (where the second person singular in the present is given by *ku*) but it could also be interpreted as ‘come here’ or ‘come and stop over here’ (cf. *ni meïya* in line 3a). The verb form is composed of *me-î-ya*, in which *me-* is a variation on *ma-* (literally ‘to come’), *-î-* is a link vowel, while *-ya* indicates movement to a place, or a state of place, which specifies more precisely the meaning of *me-*. This is a colloquial verb form. The plural appears in *Kaibubura*, line 9 and in *Bôï tayobu II*, line 3.

uni: this is a poetic variation on *ura, ula*, first person singular possessive pronoun.

(7) *Nadubeori III**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Kauīya kauīya dou</i> | Basket, small basket, carry from far |
| 2 | <i>nunuwa o Bweyowa.</i> | the good news to the winged island! |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Kauīya kauīya dou</i>
basket basket carry.from |
| 2 | <i>nunuwa o Bweyowa.</i>
news to winged.island |

Commentary

Line 1. *dou*: this is connected to the act of blowing or whistling, the exhalation of air in a tone similar to that of thunder. Thus, we have a stifled sound, which comes from afar and approaches gradually, announcing a storm. It is associated with the announcement of news. In choosing this verb form alongside *kauīya*, Ipaīya has impressed a sound rhythm on the whole of the short poetic formula: as if in a dream, the listener perceives the arrival of a piece of news brought by the sound fragments of thunder (Baldwin 1939a:65).

(8) *Nadubeori IV**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Ba roki Nabwaikasa</i> | I'll meet Nabwaikasa: |
| 2 | <i>i kawa (i)guterei.</i> | in her hand a fragrant branch. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>B-a roki Nabwaikasa</i>
FUT-I meet Nabwaikasa |
| 2 | <i>i kawa (i) guterei.</i>
she hold (she) fragrant.branch |

Commentary

Line 1. *Nabwaikasa*: this is the name of a poetess, and the presence of her name in the poetic formula recalls the usage of handing down the name of a famous poet or poetess within one's own poem. Many songs sung at dances are composed by women.

During the work of checking the transcription of the poems and in the successive stage of identifying the meaning of the words used, some of these were attributed by both Ipaīya and Siyakwakwa to the Muyuwa vocabulary, thus emphasising one of the features of the Kula: the continuous and extensive linguistic exchange between the various vocabularies of the languages spoken within the area of the ritual exchange. One consequence of this exchange is the presence of Muyuwa words, for example, in a Nowau poem and vice versa, just as a man from Kitawa knows poems from Muyuwa or Boyowa.

Line 2. *i kawa*: it seemed right to me to translate this "in her hand" even if the verb form (third person singular future) literally means 'to grasp', 'to hold', but it also embodies the

meanings of 'to manipulate' and 'to manipulate with words'. This last meaning is also given by Baldwin (1939a:212).

(i) *guterei*: I have given the vowel (*i*) as uncertain because during the various stages of checking the transcription, Ipaïya did not always accept the presence of this vowel. If it is accepted, then it should be interpreted as third person singular and verbalises the noun *guterei*, which should be translated as 'an entwined, fragrant, branch'. If, however, we do not accept this version of *i guterei*, then we have 'a fragrant branch', and this is the version which I have preferred and which Ipaïya himself suggested in the end.

The noun *guterei* was associated by Ipaïya with a tree with strongly scented leaves which grows on the seashore. The thinnest branches are entwined with the tree leaves to form wreaths, but in this formula the author alludes to a silvan sceptre, probably to be interpreted as a visual metaphor for poet, poetess.

(9) *Nadubeori V*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Bakariyadeori</i> | I place a wreath of flowers on my head, |
| 2 | <i>ba yobu rurugonu.</i> | half-dreaming, a fresh blossom in my hand. |

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>B-a kari yadeori</i> | |
| | FUT-I wreath garland | |
| 2 | <i>b-a yobu rurugonu.</i> | |
| | FUT-I half.dream pluck.a.flower | |

Commentary

Line 1. *Ba kari*: literally this means the act of placing a garland of flowers in one's hair, or that of fixing feathers to decorate one's hair in the shape of a sunburst, a characteristic of dancers during the festival of Milamala. It is therefore a verb form connected to adorning one's body which should, however, be interpreted in a sacred, ritual sense. A similar meaning is given by Baldwin (1939a:139, 142) for *kalai*, translated as 'to put or to thread feathers in one's hair'.

yadeori: this was used only by Ipaïya and only in this formula. It is a type of garland of flowers (*vana*) but the spectrum of meanings is much wider and includes, for example, any bunch of flowers or aromatic herbs. The same term also indicates the small bunch of perfumed flowers and aromatic herbs slipped under the armband (called *kwasi*) which is worn on both the right or left arm by men and women, above all during the Milamala dances. The armband is made by weaving fine threads obtained by stripping coconut palm leaves and then colouring them a smoky black and perfuming them with *sayaku* ointment (made from pinaster resin).

Line 2. *ba yobu*: this is the movement of rocking, cradling, the act of giving an undulating movement. Ipaïya has used it as a metaphor to allude to a state of sweet abandonment in a typically idyllic scene. Very likely this is a word constructed by Ipaïya by crasis: it is created from *yosi* (to hold in hand, to take by the hand) and *-bu*, a variation on *-bo* which encapsulates both the meaning of sacred, festive, joyful, prohibited, ritual and the sense of a

completed action or of a decision already taken (and in this last case is the contracted form of *bougwa*).

rurugonu: I have interpreted this with “a fresh blossom in my hand” rather than the shorter and more literal ‘to pick from a branch’, because the term is made up of *ruru-gonu*, where the second component is, in turn, derived from *goruma* or *goluma*, while the first corresponds to the Boyowa *lulu* (‘to blossom, to come out of a preceding phase’).

(10) *Nadubeori VI*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Ba kivi bwe<ta> i kivisi</i> | I'll strip the leaves of young plants to make a wreath; |
| 2 | <i>bi geda kagu vana</i> | the perfume of its crushed leaves |
| 3 | <i>puyumi namuro Gawa.</i> | will enfold for me the woman of Gawa. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1a | <i>Ba suiya bwe<ta> i masawa</i> | I'll thread the petals into a pleasure wreath |
| 2a | <i>tabari o kunu' gu</i> | to wear in my curled hair; |
| 3a | <i>bayaviyamwagana</i> | I'll unfold the soft mat |
| 4a | <i>bi kenu vina</i> | where she will lie, heavy with love, |
| 5a | <i>bi yobu kagu vana.</i> | captured by my beautiful garland. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>B-a kivi bwe(ta) i kivi-si</i>
FUT-I strip wreath/leaf they strip-PLU |
| 2 | <i>b-i geda kagu vana</i>
FUT-it scent my crushed.leaf |
| 3 | <i>puyumi namuro Gawa</i>
enfold woman.of Gawa |

Kavira

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1a | <i>B-a suiya bwe(ta) i masawa</i>
FUT-I thread wreath it pleasure |
| 2a | <i>tabari o kunu' gu</i>
wear in hair my |
| 3a | <i>b-a yavi yamwagana</i>
FUT-I unfold soft.mat |
| 4a | <i>b-i kenu vina</i>
FUT-she lie woman |
| 5a | <i>b-i yobu kagu vana.</i>
FUT-she capture my garland |

Commentary

Line 1. *Ba kivi*: to describe a type of wreath of flowers, Ipaïya uses the verb form (occurring twice in the same line, in the first case in the singular and in the second in the plural, *i kivi*-

si), which is usually used to indicate the act of stripping a string of pandanus or a coconut palm leaf. But here the poet alludes to real shoots which are already perfumed, which belong to a plant or a tree, are heavy with essences and release their perfume when stripped. A wreath is often made by weaving only the threads of these stripped shoots and this type of decoration can be worn not only on festive, ritual occasions but also on any working day. The use of wreaths and garlands is widespread as is the use of the language – it is almost part of the biological make-up of an inhabitant of Kitawa and the Kula area.

The verb form *kivi* literally means ‘to divide, to separate’ and is noted as such by Baldwin (1939a:242).

bwe<ta>: in the transcription I have noted the extended form of the word which is sung by Ipaïya as *bwe*’.

Line 2. *bi geda*: in using the third person singular future, Ipaïya alludes not only to the release of the perfume from the wreath of flowers but also to his amorous relationship with the “woman of Gawa”. In Baldwin (1939a) we find the same concept, expressed by Ipaïya in the verb form, associated with *gadi* (p.70), *geda* (p.75) and *gani* (p.72) even though he interprets it as ‘to crush’, ‘to squash’, ‘to squeeze’, thus limiting its polysemy to the stage of crushing or rubbing of the shoot. When a wreath is being prepared, in fact, the thread is slightly crushed or rubbed in order to soften it and make it release its perfume. *Geda* should thus be understood in the two senses of ‘to rub’ and ‘to strip’.

kagu: this is the first person singular possessive pronoun, with which possession is classified as inalienable. In itself it indicates the possession of food so much so as to be able to interpret it as ‘my food’, ‘my own food’. For example, if I say *kagu buwa* I have to interpret the phrase as ‘my areca nut which I am eating’, while if I use *ura buwa* I mean simply ‘the areca nut which is mine, which belongs to me’. By singing *kagu vana*, Ipaïya wants to emphasise the intimate relationship between himself, the wreath of flowers and the woman from Gawa, as if they were a single entity or, better, as if the woman and the wreath were part of the body of the singer.

Line 3. *puyumi*: this refers to the act of imbuing someone or something with a perfumed essence, or it can be used to suggest the image of a person enveloped by a perfume. The metaphorical value of the term is very strong: the poet identifies himself with the perfume which envelops, wraps, the loved woman, thus the perfume is an allusion to the act of love. In Baldwin (1939a:452) a similar term is noted, *puya*, which translates as ‘soft, neat, velvety’, which could be considered as synonyms of ‘perfumed essence, perfume’.

namuro: a morphological component of the word *namu-* appears in the term *Namulova* in *Wosi weimuya III*, line 1a and in the term *namuyuwa* in *Daweriya*, line 1c meaning, respectively, ‘the woman of the past’ and ‘the woman of Muyuwa’. The term used by Ipaïya and which he himself has interpreted as “the woman of Gawa” is a poetic form of *vivila* (and so we have a composite form from the prefix *na-*, the infinitive *-mu-* to interpret as a variation on *-mo-*) and the suffix *-ro*. Unless the term were to be interpreted as being made up of *na-muro*, literally ‘village inhabitant’ referred to a woman. The morphological component *muro* is noted by Baldwin (1939a:387) but without a translation.

Gawa: this island lies to the north-east of Kitawa, just beyond Iwa and, like the latter, included in the Kula Ring. It is one of the islands in which the *nagega* model of ceremonial canoe is still used, very similar to the *goragora* model once built in Kitawa. If the information given by Lamberto Loria, who during his travels in the Archipelago d’Entrecasteaux

collected a number of prowboards for ceremonial canoes, is correct, the *goragora* model must have been built on Kitawa (classified by Loria with the term Jurien) not later than the second half of the nineteenth century. In fact, many small models of prowboards collected by Loria are already in *tadobu* style, even if with more archaic stylistic features than those carved today. Loria's documentation considerably shifts back the date of the adoption of the *tadobu* model by Kitawa engravers, compared to the date which I had put forward in my writings (Scoditti 1982, 1990a).

Line 1a. *Ba suiya*: this is a verbal form in the future (*b-a*) which indicates the stringing of petals and flowers onto a very fine thread (made by stripping certain green bushes) to make garlands and wreaths. The preparation of garlands and wreaths is an activity which accompanies any everyday task, pleasantly marking the passing of time. It is a common sight in a village, above all at sunset, to see groups of young children sitting in a circle around a basket full of petals and flowers, usually frangipani flowers (*Plumiera*), all intent on stringing long, green threads to weave necklaces and garlands. This activity intensifies especially on festive occasions such as, for example, the period which precedes the yam harvest. The same term, and with the same meaning, occurs in *Da weriya*, line 1b although I have preferred to translate it with 'weave' in that case.

The form *suya* is found in Baldwin (1939a:515), although in the more restricted sense of 'string' or 'thread'.

i masawa: I have interpreted this third person singular present with "a pleasure wreath", when literally it should be translated as 'enjoys oneself' or 'enjoys', 'gives pleasure'. Ipaïya in fact alludes to the joyous, amorous atmosphere – already prepared and described in the introduction and summarised, metaphorised, by the preparation of the garlands and wreaths of flowers – in which the singer gets ready to make love to his woman. In this case, both the flowers and the intense perfume which they give off prepare the climax of the act of love. Usually *masawa*, both as a verb and as noun, is used to identify enjoyment, the excitement which runs through men when they are involved in the ritual exchange, and thus also expresses the subtle pleasure (expressed in many poems for Kula) which runs through the body of a man at the idea of meeting his companion for the gift of a *mwari* or of a *vaiguwa*.

Line 2a. *tabari*: this has a very general meaning, usually referring to the act of putting any type of decoration on or in one's hair. Baldwin (1939a:12) records both the same basic verb *bali* or *bala* (the prefix *ta-* in this case functions as an auxiliary verb, suggesting doing or making) and the composite form *bili-bali*, which he translates as 'to place across'. Given the poetic context in which it appears, I have preferred to translate it with "to wear".

Line 3a. *ba yavi yamwagana*: again here I have given a free interpretation of the verb, rendering it as "I'll unfold" but respecting the future tense (*b-a*). The verb indicates the action of unrolling a mat which, according to the various types, may be either rolled up or folded. The mats which are rolled up, less highly valued, are made by weaving thin strips of pandanus leaves (bleached in the sun beforehand, on fire-warmed stones) and are laid out on the floor of the huts. Folded mats, on the other hand, are made by sewing double layers of the large pandanus or *wadira* or *vadira* leaves, and are considered the most precious. The latter are kept together with earthenware pans, the paddles and the sail for the ceremonial canoe on the shelf by the fireplace in the kitchen corner of a hut.

In the song, Ipaïya talks of a *yamwagana* mat, recalling the term *gwaigwaiya*, recorded by Baldwin (1939a:91) and translated as 'mash leaves'.

Line 4a. *bi kenu vina*: I have translated this as “where she will lie”, where the meaning of ‘lay down gently’ is given by *kenu* (noted by Baldwin 1939a:224) and alludes to a relaxed, soft, smooth movement, typical of a body sinking onto a mat. Ipaïya alludes to a whole series of gestures, and movements typical of a state of languor, the behaviour of a lover.

Line 5a. *yobu*: see *Nadubeori V*, line 2.

(11) *Nadubeori VII*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Tabu'gu mukwa tugonu</i> | My ancestor opened for me the intoxicating red fruit: |
| 2 | <i>ku miya bi tanoi'gu</i> | come to me with your whispered farewell, |
| 3 | <i>puroruNakeisaba.</i> | you, Nakeisaba, full of regret. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>Tabu' gu mukwa tugonu</i>
ancestor my open intoxicating.red.fruit |
| 2 | <i>ku miya b-i tanoi' gu</i>
you come FUT-it whisper my |
| 3 | <i>puroru Nakeisaba.</i>
full.of.regret Nakeisaba |

Commentary

Line 1. *Tabu' gu*: in the terminology of the Nowau family structure, this classifies both the mother and father of one's own mother or father. Alongside this 'close' classification can be added the brothers and sisters of the respective maternal grandparents: for example, Tonori Kiririyei in *Conversation A* (Scoditti 1990a) calls the brother of his maternal grandmother *tabu'gu*. But the term has a more profound meaning, connected to Nowau (and other) mythology and symbolism: *tabu* (*tabu/ra* or *tabu/la*) is the name of the woman who initiated the matrilinear descent of each of the four clans, and various subclans. Everything is referred or related back to her, the cause of herself. It is recounted that she came out of the earth (and the point is marked by rock venerated as sacred) 'by/of herself' and that after this she fertilises herself, giving birth to a daughter who in turn self-fertilises and gives birth to children (a son and a daughter) and so on, down to the present.

But the morphological structure of *tabu* synthesises in a word all the attributes and characteristics of holiness, divinity and heroism (Leach 1958; Scoditti 1990a; Weiner 1976 and 1988) even if this does not lead to a clear-cut division, as in the Hebrew-Christian tradition, between the first born (to be revered) and a descendant (who reveres). This last characteristic explains why Ipaïya uses it in a short song, loaded with love, even if with a light vein of melancholy (“come to me with your whispered farewell”) and invokes her in the act of preparing “the intoxicating red fruit” which alludes to the erotic aspect of the relationship between the poet-singer and Nakeisaba. The red fruit of intoxication thus becomes a sacred attribute, of being as holy as the ‘builder’ of life, as a metaphor for ‘reproduction’.

mukwa tugonu: according to Ipaïya (confirmed again here by Siyakwakwa who was always present, both during recording of the poetic formulae and at the transcription and

identification of the various meanings of a lexeme) this term refers to the moment of the preparation of the *buwa* and, more pertinently, to that when the areca nut is taken out of its shell. The verb particle *mukwa* (which does not appear in other poems in this collection) should be interpreted as a variant of *bougwa*, indicating something already decided, about which there is no doubt. In Baldwin (1939a:385) the form *mugwa* is noted, with the single variation of the consonant 'g'. It is probable that *mukwa* belongs only to the Nowau vocabulary, or that it should be interpreted as a poetical variation. Baldwin (1939a:554) records the form *toguna*, translated as 'stuffed', 'stuffed up', thus referring it to one of the typical acts of preparing the *buwa*, when the areca nut, the fruit, or the leaf of betel pepper and calcium powder are crushed with the small pestle in the ebony mortar and mixed.

Line 2. *bi tanoi'gu*: this translates literally as 'you will say goodbye to me', equivalent to the Boyowa *kayoni* (Baldwin 1939a:219).

Line 3. *puroru*: this occurs again, with the same meaning, in *Da weriya*, line 3c. I have preferred to interpret it with "full of regret" to respect the veil of melancholy which Ipaiya has drawn over his whole composition, dedicated to the woman loved, *Nakeisaba*, who is about to leave. The bond between "my ancestor" and the woman loved, thus of two female figures who represent the mythical past and the fleeting present, is given by the "intoxicating red fruit". It is this fruit, as a metaphor of life (in its meaning of amorous excitement) which links the past (the ancestor) to the present (*Nakeisaba*, a name composed of *na-* and *-keisaba*, literally 'sinuous/curvaceous woman').

(12) *Nadubeori VIII*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Bi kasa duduori</i> | He will rightly take his place in the line of dancers, |
| 2 | <i>migi'ra gunu mwana.</i> | my man, shining-faced! |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>B-i kasa duduori</i>
FUT-he be.in.line one sound after the other |
| 2 | <i>migi'ra gunu mwana.</i>
face his my man |

Commentary

Line 1. *bi kasa*: this alludes to preparation for the dances, when the dancers get in line to form a spiral (see *Dorai sobala I*, lines 2, 3a). But getting in line is loaded with meanings connected to the sphere of beauty and love: getting in line means presenting oneself according to precise aesthetic canons, which go from the beauty of the body (the tallest and most imposing dancer stands at the head of the spiral, followed by the others who must answer to the same criteria, if at a lower level) to technical skills (the first dancer must also be the best technically). What we have is a getting ready for the show, on which the spectator will pass judgement. And in putting oneself on show the erotic appeal is implicit, and for this reason it seemed right to transfer all of the attributes of beauty, sensuality and technical ability, but also those of ritual and sacrality which belong to the dance, to the 'sinuous

line': it is precisely this preparation for taking one's place among the dancers which highlights, in the loved woman's eyes, her man's beauty, subtle as a breath.

duduori: this is used by Ipaïya as a synonym of beauty, but, here, this is a light beauty, indicated by the morphological component *dudu-* or *dudou-*, connected to one's breath when speaking, in the act of blowing. I cannot rule out that *duduori* may have been constructed by Ipaïya, or that it belongs to archaic Nowau and has been resuscitated by the poet. But it is certain that from the phonetic point of view, on the level of sound, it is almost a continuation of *bi kasa*: on hearing the sound, or sounds, one has an almost clear vision of the harmonious succession of elements which go from a sound image to a continuum of sounds (Baldwin 1939a:63).

Line 2. *migi'ra*: here, Ipaïya refers to the face, which we already know to be a beautiful face, even if he plays on the other meaning of the word: to desire, to be desired (*magi'gu*, for example, means literally 'I desire, want' but also 'my desire'). We have, therefore, a face that is desired because of its beauty. And it is in a man's face, in the eyes especially, that beauty is encapsulated, in the broadest sense, according to the aesthetic philosophy of the inhabitants of Kitawa. To synthesise this philosophy I could perhaps use the expression 'the eyes as a window to the soul'.

gunu: this is the first person singular possessive pronoun. It should be interpreted as a poetical variant of *agu*. It comes up again as *guma*, *guna* and *gumu*. See, for example, *Wosi weimuya Ia*, *Nadubeori I* and *Wosi sobala IIa*. See Baldwin (1939a:88).

3.2.1.2 IPAÏYA MOKUÏYARAGA, SINGER

(1) *Weponu I*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Mwemuyara agu kaiïya</i> | My basket wreathed with fragrant grasses, |
| 2 | <i>ba sivina Budibudi</i> | I shall go about on the island of myths, |
| 3 | <i>(sivine)'gu o Boyowa</i> | turning with desire to the winged island, |
| 4 | <i>kaimwatunubo'gu.</i> | to meet and speak awesome words with you, my
companion. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Na bwaïdeima gudikesa</i> | With adolescent boys, left without response, |
| 2a | <i>na weitupa o Boyowa</i> | I must wait on the winged island |
| 3a | <i>kaveyuma tama'gu.</i> | for the desired return of my father. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Mwemuyara agu kaiïya</i>
give.off.scent my basket |
| 2 | <i>b-a sivina Budibudi</i>
FUT-I go.about island.of.myths |
| 3 | <i>(sivine)'gu o Boyowa</i>
(desire) my to winged.island |

- 4 *kaimwatu* *nubo'* *gu.*
 speak.awesome/speak.gently companion my
- Kavira*
- 1a *N-a* *bwaideima* *gudikesa*
 PAST-I meet.together adolescent.boy
- 2a *n -a* *weitupa* *o* *Boyowa*
 PAST-I desire.be.back at winged.island
- 3a *kaveyuma* *tama'* *gu.*
 desire.the.return.of father my

Commentary

This poetic formula is an example of how the same text with different names and performed by the same singer at different times (in this case, very close together, in fact Ipäiya sang *Weponu I* on 25 June 1987 and *Wosi sobala II* the following day) can be varied, above all when neither words nor music were composed by the singer himself. On analysing the two formulae (in establishing not only the correctness of the text – ‘correct’ in this case according to how Ipäiya had memorised it and then performed it to his audience – but also the meanings attributed to the individual words), Ipäiya considered them as if they were each independent of the other and valid in their own right. It is likely that the similar, if not identical features, of the two texts are immediately noted by the ethnologist only when they are written and there is the chance to check the frequency of a word and the concordances between the lines of the two poetic formulae. As a consequence, even the various meanings attributed to the same word which occurs in the two texts take on different nuances, thus confirming, apart from the obvious polysemy of a word, also the influence which a given poetical-linguistic context, whether phonetic or semantic, exercises on the meanings of the word itself (Jakobson 1981:7-52; 98-135).

Line 1. *Mwemuyara agu kaiiya*: there is no difference in the first line in the two texts, neither phonetically (the formula was performed by Ipäiya without introducing any variation in the phonetics or musicality of a word) nor semantically (the meaning of each word is the same). Curiously, Ipäiya had interpreted the meaning of *mwemuyara* differently: in *Weponu I* he proffered ‘to give’, ‘to make someone give’, thus affirming the synonymy of *mwemuyara*, *ma* and *miya* (respectively ‘to come’ and ‘to give’, ‘to have someone give something’, ‘to come right here’); while in *Wosi sobala II* he chose ‘to perfume’, ‘to release a perfume’, ‘to desire something or someone under the effect of a perfume’, a meaning which returns in Untitled III, line 3. I also accepted this second meaning for *Weponu I* which, above all, seems more in harmony with the whole poem. *Mwemuyara* recalls the Boyowa – and not only the Boyowa, as the same term is found in Nowau – *maina* or *mayina* (literally, ‘perfume’, ‘spell’, ‘to perfume’) like *mwena*, *mwana* which encapsulates the concept of beautifying oneself, making oneself attractive (Baldwin 1939a:346-394). The author wants to suggest (as in *Wosi sobala II*) the image of a man who has decorated his *kaiiya* with flowers and aromatic herbs, thus making it one of the symbols of the Kula ritual exchange, in the context of which this poem should also be included. The small bouquets of flowers and aromatic herbs are inserted into the two upper ends of the *kaiiya*, also alluding to the excitement, the joy, which characterises the meeting between two men involved in the ritual exchange. We have here another example of visual metaphor.

Line 2. *ba sivina*: this also occurs in the same form in *Wosi Sobala II*, line 2 and with the same meaning. Baldwin (1939a:503) notes the form *sivila* (in which *l* is an allophone of *n*) and proposes as a conceptual equivalent the verbal form 'seated about'. The verb form would therefore be composed of *siva-* (a classifier for any word which carries a reference to time) and *-la*, literally 'to go'. We thus have the basic verb *sivila* in which the second consonant *-a*, for reasons of vowel harmony, has become *-i-*. The meaning given by Baldwin and those given by Ipaïya are not that dissimilar to each other, and imply the image of someone committed to doing something 'in time'. See *Weponu II*, line 2a. (Baldwin's dictionary, it should be remembered, was written in 1939, in an ethnographic context insensitive to the poetical aspect of a 'primitive' language, whose interest in learning it was almost exclusively for 'communicating' Western concepts and presuppositions, and based on linguistic data from the geographical area to the south of Losuia, on the central-western coast of Kiriwina, and therefore on a limited experience of the language, in a certain zone whose links with the Nowau of Kitawa were, and are, very fragile from the point of view of vocabulary.)

Budibudi: this is one of the names (the others are *Budadau*, *Budelum*, *Budibud*, *Nada*, *Naal*, and *Nadili*) with which the group of islands at the extreme end of Milne Bay Province are known and which on contemporary maps is given under the name of Laughlan Islands in the Solomon Sea (Leach & Leach 1983).

Budibudi recurs in many poems, above all for the Kula, and is a name full of mythical allusions and symbolic meanings. Mythical allusions because *Budibudi* is one of the places privileged by the acts of the mythical hero Monikiniki or Mwata; symbolic meanings because *Budibudi* is one of the points of arrival and departure for an ideal, canonical ritual exchange. It represents the Land of Imagination, where everything can be true or false, where anything can happen. The origin of a word is given as *Budibudi* especially when one wants to express an unusual, secret meaning, or when it is constructed by the poet: a word becomes mysterious in a poem if it originates in *Budibudi*.

Line 3. (*sivine*)'gu: this is a very ambiguous form, difficult to interpret. It also occurs in *Wosi sobala II*, line 3. In both poetic formulae, Ipaïya has interpreted it as 'to want', 'to desire for oneself', but its structure from a morphological standpoint is too similar to *sivina*, compared to which the only variant is *e* (for reasons of vowel harmony). Baldwin (1939a:503) records the form *sivilei* – which follows *sivila*, translated as 'turn away from, keep aloof', in which the concept of 'desire' could perhaps express 'keep'. But Ipaïya has specified that this verb form is taken from the Muyuwa vocabulary, obviously modified, where we find *sivinan* translated as 'want', 'desire', 'need' (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:131) but also *sivin*, 'change its position'. I have accepted Ipaïya's version, taking into account the fact that in a poetic context there are words obtained by crasis between their constituent parts, in addition to vocabulary from other languages – but always from the same linguistic group or subgroup of Nowau.

Line 4. *kaimwatu*: this appears as *ka(r)imwatu* in *Wosi sobala II*, line 4, but Ipaïya has attributed the same meaning: 'to talk pleasantly', 'to talk affectionately'. The verbal form *rimwatu* is also present with the same meaning in *Wosi sobala I*, lines 1 and 2, *Ruwegwau IV*, line 2a and Untitled IV, line 3. In Baldwin (1939a:125) we find *kaimwana* translated as 'leisure, holiday time' in which the meaning of 'pleasure', which should be connected to the sacred, is given by the base morpheme *-mwana*, while the prefix *kai-* (here interpreted as a variant of *kwai-*, given by Baldwin on page 280) classifies the action connected to sound, of speaking, emitting sounds. Furthermore, in the basic morpheme we also have the particle

-mwa- which recalls all the attributes linked to the mythical hero Monikiniki or Mwata; of these attributes we should cite the beauty, the ability to perform joyous songs, but also the capacity to instil holy terror.

Line 1a. *Na bwaïdeima*: this is sung in *Wosi sobala II*, line 1a as *Na bwedema*, where the vowel *-ï-* is infixed in the verbal form, declined in the first person singular in the past tense, represents a ‘sound’ softener, whose function is to attribute, in this case, the singer’s taste, and as such recorded and accepted. Moreover, the ‘softening vowel’ leads to the modification of the vowel *-e-* to *-a-* so as to achieve the vowel harmony of the verbal form which, otherwise, would not exist with *-ei-* (we would have *bweïdeima*). Ipaïya has attributed this verbal form to the Muyuwa vocabulary where it is recorded, however, as *bod* (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:31). *Bwadi* (as a synonym of *boda*) is noted by Baldwin (p.44) who translates it as ‘to meet, to meet together, to close, to suit, to match’. It seems to me that the Boyowa term is much closer to the form chosen by the singer than to the Muyuwa *bod*. It is likely, however, that again here the author has built a poetic form out of a traditional Nowau morphological component.

gudikesa: the two texts show no variation concerning this word. It is derived from the Muyuwa, where the form *gudégoud* is recorded (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:47), translated as ‘half-ripe, half-cooked’, as the form *gudwóuvaw* is interpreted as ‘new generation’. On page 66 of the same *Muyuwa dictionary* we also have *kasén*, translated as ‘identical, the same’, while Baldwin (1939a:86) records both *gudivau*, ‘a new child’, and *guduovau*, given as ‘youth’. All of these forms have in common the basic morpheme *gudi-*, *gude-*, *gudu*, which attributes the meaning ‘new, young, developing, at the growing stage’ to them. The allusion is, therefore, to a young person, an adolescent. The affix *-kesa-*, both in the Boyowa variants *kasi*, ‘to heap one on top of the other’, and *kasa* ‘line, to line up’, and in the Muyuwa *kasén*, ‘the same, identical’ (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:66) – suggest the image of a group of young people together, meeting.

Line 2a. *na weïtupa*: in *Wosi sobala II* we have the version *wetupa*, without the softener vowel *-ï-*. Ipaïya gave as a conceptual equivalent ‘rejected by, pushed by, reject someone who wishes to come’. The verb is composed of two verbal forms: *we-ï-tupa/tupi* (Baldwin 1939a:579) which mean, respectively, ‘to go away’ and ‘to push, to reject’. The meaning intended by the author of the song is, then, ‘rejected’ but also implies the concept of ‘to push back someone or something who/which wishes to return’. It could also allude to the return of an echo.

Line 3a. *kaveyuma*: this is another variation on the version *a veyuma* accepted in *Wosi sobala II*, line 3a. In any case, Ipaïya has suggested different meanings for the two verbal forms: for *kaveyuma* ‘to come, to be about to come’, while for *a veyuma* ‘to wish that someone who wants to leave stays’, thus attributing a much more subtle nuance to the meaning.

In this poetic formula, the verbal form is composed of *kaveyuma* (or, according to Baldwin, *ka-ve/a-yuma*) where *ka-* functions as causative. Baldwin (1939a:616) records *vayumila* which he translates as ‘go back’, and therefore with a meaning similar to that given by the author of the poem. Perhaps in *Wosi sobala II*, line 3a Ipaïya was able to explain better, or more accurately, the meaning to give to *veyuma*, which seems to me more coherent with the text as a whole.

(2) *Weponu II**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Wosina bayaruwa</i> | To the song I'll give soul: |
| 2 | <i>nêi kasisa (o) boboyeta</i> | drawn into a circle of thin sounds |
| 3 | <i>nêi wori'gu kagu vana</i> | it will charm my garland of flowers |
| 4 | <i>nêi vaponusa Budibudi.</i> | and send it riding on the waves to the island of myths. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1a | <i>Yorinuya yokigeda dukuduku</i> | Enthralled and troubled by the voices |
| 2a | <i>inena Weirara bisivina</i> | the woman of Weirara will turn: |
| 3a | <i>nêi kasisa banoma boboyeta</i> | drawn into a thought circle of thin sounds |
| 4a | <i>nêi wori'gu kagu vana</i> | the song will charm my garland of flowers |
| 5a | <i>nêi vaponusa Budibudi.</i> | and send it riding on the waves to the island of myths. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>Wosina b-a yaruwa</i>
song FUT-I give.soul |
| 2 | <i>n-ê-i kasi-sa (o) boboyeta</i>
PAST-LW-they be.in.line-PLU (in) crown |
| 3 | <i>n-ê-i wori'gu kagu vana</i>
PAST-LW-it charm my my garland |
| 4 | <i>n-ê-i vaponu-sa Budibudi.</i>
PAST-LW-they wave-PLU island.of.myths |

Kavira

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1a | <i>Yorinuya yokigeda dukuduku</i>
enthral trouble be.on.the.point.of.death |
| 2a | <i>inena Weirara b-i sivina</i>
woman Weirara FUT-she turn |
| 3a | <i>n-ê-i kasi-sa banoma boboyeta</i>
PAST-LW-they be.in.line-PLU soul crown |
| 4a | <i>n-ê-i wori'gu kagu vana</i>
PAST-LW-it charm my my garland |
| 5a | <i>n-ê-i vaponu-sa Budibudi.</i>
PAST-LW-they wave-PLU island.of.myths |

Commentary

Line 1. *Wosina ba yaruwa*: the term *yaruwa* is noted by Baldwin (1939a:648) as *yaluwa* and is given as a synonym of *baloma*, 'soul'. But Baldwin also records *toyalue* (p.570) which he translates as 'bard', 'poet or singer'. The connection between poet, spirit and the world of Ade, seems extremely fruitful to me. For example, *baloma*, or *yaluwa*, is the spiritual element of man and is found at the centre of the human body, where the *nona* (literally, the mind/intellect/intuition) is located, while the rational faculty is found in the *daba*, literally, 'head'. Here, it could allude to the intuition which characterises the bard, his intuitive

capacity which enables him to penetrate the enigmas of nature and to construct poetic images. It also represents the bard's ability to communicate with the other world, in the sense that the soul is not conditioned by earthly elements and has the opportunity to 'fly' in the reign of perfection (which could be the island of Tuma itself, the home of the souls) where the poet draws his inspiration. Not by chance the bard uses words from the world of the souls: when a term sounds unusual to the listener, above all compared to everyday vocabulary, then the bard says that it is a word from the kingdom of the dead: it belongs to the language of Tuma. By doing this, he underlines both the privileged, exclusive bond between the bard and the inhabitants of the eternal world, and the bard's ability, unique among mortals, to construct words, sound images, just as the engraver of polychrome boards for ceremonial canoes has the ability to construct graphic images (Scoditti 1990a). The bard, together with the engraver, is similar to a demigod, a mythical hero, and part of the semidivine and heroic nature of the creatures which have lost the 'heavy', 'bodily' element of their individuality, the body, but which have kept their soul, their spirit. So, *ba yaruwa* (which also appears in *Watowa I of Ba yaruwa*) expresses the poet or the bard's ability to construct words, as a demigod or a hero might 'create' them.

Line 2. *nêi kasisa*: in Baldwin (1939a:174) we have *kasa* literally, 'line, to get in line, to line up one after the other' – in this specific case we have the third person plural in the past, *n-ê-i kasi-sa*). But the poet has attributed a much wider meaning to it: it alludes not only to an image of several elements which stand alongside each other (which would be sufficient to recall the action of stripping) but also the image of sound particles which follow one after the other, become frayed and are lost in the air. Particles which echo each other like the continual breaking of waves: the poet alludes to the sound made by a singer when going from the *Watowa* to the *Kavira*, lowers the last syllable of the former in a long hiss which rises in a crescendo at the beginning of the latter. This particular sound of the voice, a type of *modulatio*, is known as *yatoi*. See Chapter 2.

boboyeta: in *Ruwegwau VI*, line 1a, *boboeta* is sung but always refers to a garland, or to a wreath, of flowers. Ipaiya has specified that it is a particular kind of *vana* composed of buds. It could also allude to a type of bracelet of intertwined shoots, or of freshly picked buds. The term encapsulates the image of something round, and this image could be referred to either the 'form' (in this case it could easily be a bracelet, a wreath or a garland) or to the 'substance' of the form. Given the very polysemic nature of the term, I have preferred to translate it with "a circle of thin sounds".

Line 3. *nêi wori'gu*: Ipaiya, as a singer, has introduced a variant (or what appears to be a variant) compared to the sound of the same verb form in *Ba yaruwa*, line 3, even though in the latter we have the third person plural in the future rather than the third person singular future, followed by the first person singular possessive pronoun. The meaning attributed to *wori* is to express the arousal of a desire stimulated by the use of aromatic herbs and spellbound by poetic formulae, or by the offer of garlands or wreaths of flowers. In Baldwin (1939a:641) we find the form *wori* as a synonym of *woli*, translated as 'dab on, rub off', which could be interpreted as verb forms which refer to the action of 'rubbing' flower buds, or any other perfumed or aromatic plant, with 'words of magic': we have, therefore, a true enchantment which produces the effect of inebriating, exciting and making fall in love the person who receives the gift of the garland or flowers.

Line 4. *nêi vaponusa*: this alludes to the action of 'riding the waves', represented as soft and light, frothy. The verbal form encapsulates both the action of 'going' and that of 'walking lightly'. As it is declined in the third person plural (*n-ê-i vaponu-sa*) I have preferred to interpret it as referring to the flowers: it is the garlands or the wreaths of 'enchanted' flowers which are carried by the waves to Budibudi.

Line 1a. *Yorinuya yokigeda dukuduku*: according to Ipaïya, *yorinuya* is excitement, a truly euphoric state, produced by the wreath or garland of flowers, charmed by the recital of poems. He gave as a synonym *kaiwori*, which in Boyowa corresponds probably to *kaiwoli* 'dropsy' and which is connected by Baldwin (1939a:134, 135) to *kaivatukula* 'general swelling'. Both terms would confirm the image of someone or something in an unusual state: possibly a physical or psychic state which can also produce sweating. The author has made use of a medical metaphor to suggest almost a syndrome of excitement which also leads to insomnia. This last image is suggested by both *yokigeda* and *dukuduku*, which should be interpreted as a present continuous: *duku-duku*. Baldwin (p.67) records the form *duku*, translated as 'to leave oneself without' thus suggesting the image of a continuing, unended action. The scene represents a man or a woman, who, through the effect of the charmed garland of flowers, feels his/her senses weakened and abandons him/herself with pleasure to the long wait marked by words of love: here we have the description of one's loss of self control when one falls in love, the emotion and the description of its effects.

Line 2a. *inena Weïrara*: the first term is a synonym of *vivila, vivira*, literally 'woman'. According to Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa, the term derives by crasis from the Muyuwa *inén* which, however, is translated by Lithgow and Lithgow as 'his mothers' while in the same dictionary *inan* is given as 'his mother' (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:50). I have accepted Ipaïya's version, taking into account the fact that we are in a poetic context in which every term is manipulated and often diverted from its usual, traditional meaning. *Weïrara* is one of the villages on the island of the dead, Tuma.

bi sivina: Ipaïya has suggested 'to turn oneself around, to turn round, turn round on the spot' and which in *Weponu I*, line 2 was translated as "I shall go about on the island of myths". But the two meanings do not necessarily exclude each other, and the choice of the more appropriate meaning depends on the poetic context: here we have a real 'turning around', also chosen in relation to the sense of the *Kavira* where the shadow of a woman (and therefore a spirit) is imagined, who, disturbed by the perfume of a garland of flowers charmed by spells/poems, looks towards her lover, throwing a sad, melancholic look. Her glance skims across the waves like a garland of perfumed flowers.

(3) *Wosi weimuya I*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Kagu weimuya nubo' gu</i> | Excited I move towards you my friend, |
| 2 | <i>kagu weïmapu waponu</i> | I offer myself as a gift at the water's edge |
| 3 | <i>wa rirorida kaika' gu.</i> | trembling, my voice thin as a reed. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>Kagu weimuya nubo' gu</i>
my move.excited friend my |
|---|---|

- 2 *kagu weïmapu waponu*
 my offer.oneself water's.edge
- 3 *wa rirorida kaika' gu.*
 with trembling voice my

Commentary

Line 1. *Kagu weïmuya*: this is a noun form composed of *wei-muya*, where the first component encapsulates the concepts of 'to go, to move sinuously, to move one's body excitedly'; while the second component is a poetic variant of *meya*, composed of *me/ma-ya* (Baldwin 1939a:342, 643), literally 'to come with, to bring with'. It suggests the image of a person who is moving excitedly and sinuously like a millipede, and who is bringing a gift to someone. In addition, the first person singular possessive pronoun *kagu* is used, which usually refers to the possession of food (and also means the food itself; see Baldwin p.112). The meaning of *kagu* can be interpreted only a metaphorical sense.

Line 2. *weïmapu*: given its morphological structure, this should be seen as closely related to *weïmuya*. It is composed of *wei-mapu*, where the second component literally means 'to reply, to give value, to attribute value, gift, to donate, to meet because asked to do so'. From the merger of these two components (more precisely, of verb particle prefix and the basic verb) one deduces that the most appropriate meaning is given by 'to offer oneself, to offer oneself as a gift'. Underlying this act of donation is the acceptance of lying with one's lover, and the prefix *wei-* encapsulates a very strong feeling loaded with amorous sensuality: the sinuousness of the movement is a visual metaphor for erotic desire.

waponu: this means literally 'close to the sea spray'. It should be interpreted as underlining the lightness which the author wants to give the song, in the sense of suggesting a gentle atmosphere, pervaded by a sense of tranquillity, determined by the announcement of the amorous encounter, when the two bodies come together to unite as a single element. This last image is suggested by *weïmapu*.

Line 3. *wa rirorida*: Ipäiya considers this expression as a conceptual equivalent to *kaiga kekita*, literally 'light, soft voice', thrilled because of the announced amorous encounter.

(4) *Wosi weïmuya II*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|--|------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Bo<ugwa> kwagonu'gu ruwai</i> | I have picked these flowers in bud |
| 2 | <i>ba suyaboda gunaugwa</i> | to thread into a wreath |
| 3 | <i>yamitagana kunu'gu.</i> | to caress my hair. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1a | <i>Bo<ugwa> kwagonu'gu bwe'i rara</i> | I have picked these half open blooms |
| 2a | <i>yaunuwenu nêimesa</i> | and will prepare threads |
| 3a | <i>bo<ugwa> komapusa ruwai.</i> | to weave my buds into wreaths. |

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|---|----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Bo<ugwa> kwagonu' gu ruwai</i> | already pick.up my bud.of.flower |
|---|---|----------------------------------|

- 2 *b-a suyaboda gunaugwa*
 FUT-I thread flowers.for.a.wreath
- 3 *yamitagana kunu' gu.*
 caress hair my
- Kavira*
- 1a *Bo<ugwa> kwagonu' gu bwe' i rara*
 already pick.up my CLA it blossom
- 2a *yaunuwenu n-ê-i me-sa*
 thread PAST-LW-they make-PLU.
- 3a *bo<ugwa> komapu-sa ruwai.*
 already weave-PLU bud.of.flower.

Commentary

Line 1. *Bo<ugwa> kwagonu'gu ruwai*: this was sung by Ipaïya as *bo'kwagonu'gu*, abbreviating the verb particle *bougwa* to *bo'*. Literally this means 'to pick, to grasp with one's hands' and refers here to picking flowers from a tree to prepare a garland. A bucolic scene is suggested in which young people wander around the villages and through the forest in search of perfumed flowers and, beating the branches of the trees with long sticks, knock down the flowers and collect them in baskets.

The verbal form is composed of *kwa-gonu* (Baldwin, 1939a:85, records *goluma*, to which he attributes the meaning of 'pluck'), where the prefix *kwa-*, an abbreviation of *kwai-*, can be interpreted as referring to something round or circular, alluding to the shape of the flowers or buds. Or it could mean the action of picking flowers from the trees, thus alluding to the abstract nature of the action itself. The presence of *bougwa* indicates that the action has been accomplished, or decided, while the first person singular possessive pronoun *gu* characterises the verb as reflexive: 'picked for me', although in the translation I have transferred 'possession' onto the garland of "flowers in bud", where the last concept is given by *ruwai* (a lexeme attributed by Ipaïya to Muyuwa where together with *luw*, the most similar to the form used in the song, one finds the equivalent 'root in the ground'; see Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:101). But according to Ipaïya, *ruwai* also exists in Nowau as the equivalent to the Boyowa *luwai*, literally a 'newly blossomed flower, bud'. Baldwin (p.339) translates *luwai* as 'bud'.

Line 2. *suyaboda*: this has been transcribed, on the suggestion of both Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa, as a single verb form, even though it is made up of *suya-boda*, where the prefix conveys onto the basic component the meaning of 'to thread through, to form a string, to string'. While *-boda* means literally 'to compact, to merge many elements into one, to form a single body', here it is used to suggest the act of threading petals or flower buds onto a string to form a garland.

gunaugwa: this is a poetical variation on *garaugwa*. It classifies a tree which grows near to the beach and from which flowers are picked to make garlands and wreaths.

Line 3. *yamitagana kunu'gu*: this has been translated as "to caress my hair" where the verb 'caress' is interpreted as a metaphorical synthesis of a number of gestures and actions whose aim is to create 'beauty'. The verbal form *yamitagana* is composed of *yami-ta-gana*, where the first component (given by Baldwin, 1939a:648, in the form *yama*) functions as a prefix

and indicates anything that can be manipulated with the hands. While the component *ta-gana* (in which *ta-* should be considered as an auxiliary verb which encapsulates the concept of ‘to cut, to do/make’) indicates the action of ‘dividing in two’. In Baldwin, who records both *gana* and *gani* (p.72) we find an interpretation which is extremely significant in enabling us to grasp the metaphorical richness associated with the whole verb form. We have, in fact, ‘beach washed by the waves’ which is a metaphorical representation of the act of gently caressing hair, just as the sea gently ‘caresses’ the shore. Here is the scene: the black locks of an inhabitant of Kitawa are shaped to obtain the desired effect, which varies according to the occasion (a ritual exchange, a dance, or an amorous encounter), the hands then pass gently over the curly hair, moving it to give it more body and complete the hairdressing with a touch. Perfumed ointment is then sprayed on to the dark hair; the head is ready to receive the garland of “flowers in bud”.

Line 1a. *bwe’i rara*: a similar form from a morphological point of view occurs in *Bôï tayobou II*, lines 2 and 5a. The prefix *bwe-*, a variant of *bo-* or *bwa-* (Baldwin 1939a:27) indicates in this case a state of festivity underlined by the wreaths and garlands of buds and flowers. But the same classifier indicates that this state of festivity is also sacred: so the bud that is about to open (*rara*, while in Boyowa we have *lala* – Baldwin p.302) alludes to a holy happiness and recalls an ancestral past. This last allusion is again contained in *bwe-*, *bo-*, *bwa-* (Baldwin p.27).

Line 2a. *yaunuwenu nêi mesa*: the first form has been attributed by both Ipaïya and Sïyakwakwa to Muyuwa although Lithgow and Lithgow (1974) do not list it in their dictionary. It is likely that it is a form composed of *yauna-wenu*, where the first component (given by Baldwin, 1939a:649, as *yaula*) encapsulates the action of giving, but on its own means ‘gift’. It could also be a variant of *yauli*, ‘to obtain strings’, ‘to prepare threads’ (Baldwin p.649). While *-wenu* is the Nowau equivalent of the Boyowa *welu* or *wali* (Baldwin p.635), with which a very thin, strong type of liana is classified, it alludes here, in a very general sense, to any thin shrub which can be used as thread for preparing wreaths or garlands. The verb form *nêi mesa* (*n-ê-i me-sa*), third person plural, past, even if it literally means ‘they have come’, should be interpreted as ‘to prepare, to come to prepare’: the author alludes to the preparation of garlands, or wreaths, of flowers and buds.

Line 3a. *bo<ugwa> komapusa*: here we have another example of an action which has been decided, and where this intention is conveyed by the particle *bougwa* (sung in the abbreviated form); although the subject of the verb form is not explicit it can be deduced from the first line (*bo<ugwa> bwe’i rara*), and in harmony with this I have translated it as “to weave”.

(5) *Wosi weimuya III*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Ra gisi nêi ma kada’gu</i> | I saw my mother’s brother coming: |
| 2 | <i>rûku vapana vivina</i> | you came lightly towards me, woman, |
| 3 | <i>rogiyamef’gu waponu.</i> | lapping over me like waves. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---|
| 1a | <i>Nûku vadudu Namulova</i> | You go, Namulova, breath of the wind, |
| 2a | <i>kulaivikweita leiyava</i> | the gleaming fruit blows, |
| 3a | <i>rûku tovina wa gana.</i> | as you look toward the water’s edge, kissed by waves. |

Watowa

- 1 *R-a gisi n-ê-i ma kada' gu*
 PAST-I see PAST-LW-he come uncle my
- 2 *r-û-ku vapana vivina*
 PAST-LW-you come.lightly woman
- 3 *rogiyame-î' gu waponu.*
 lap-LW my water's.edge

Kavira

- 1a *N-û-ku vadudu Namulova*
 PAST-LW-you go.as.wind Namulova
- 2a *ku laivi kweita leiyava*
 you blow one gleaming.fruit
- 3a *r-û-ku tovina wa gana*
 PAST-LW-you look.toward at water's.edge

Commentary

Line 1. *Ra gisi*: this comes from Boyowa and its Nowau equivalent is *kina*, 'to see, to perceive through the eyes'. I have translated this as "I saw": in fact we have the first person singular past (*ra/r-a* is a variation on *na/n-a*). See Baldwin (1939a:83).

nêi ma: here we have another verb in the past (*n-ê-i ma*), the interpretation of which presents considerable difficulties. If it were not for the indication of the past, *r-* as a variation on *n-*, which it shares with the forms *rûku* (line 2) and *ku* (line 2a) it could be interpreted as a form perhaps not in harmony with the other lines of the song. The initial hint at "my mother's brother" may seem obscure, given that the term *kada* can also mean 'grandchild'. We have, then 'my grandson'. According to Baldwin, *kada* indicates the type of relationship, within matrilinear descent, which is established between a man and the child of a sister to which the former guarantees legality as belonging to the same *dala* or house. As far as line 1 is concerned, I have no doubts that the singer is a man, because the term *vivina*, 'woman', is present in line 2 and the song is dedicated to her. The line introduces the following image: we are on the beach of an island which is part of the Kula Ring and a young man is getting ready to sail in the ceremonial canoe and, on the announcement of the arrival of his mother's brother – to be interpreted as captain (*toriwaga*) of the crew – with a glance invites the woman with whom he has passed the night, to the last act of love. Seen in this, quite probable, context, the verb form, and indeed the whole of the line, takes on a harmonious meaning.

Line 2. *rûku vapana*: this is another example of a verb declined in the past (*r-û-ku*), a variant of *n-û-ku*. The verb *vapana*, which when sung merges with *waponu* (line 3) through the voiced mediation of *vivina* (line 2) – thus determining a play on the assonance of the consonants 'v' and 'w' – has been interpreted by Ipaïya as 'to go, wander around'. In Baldwin, the form *vapala* is recorded, translated as 'go round' (Baldwin 1939a:609); it is composed, as is *vapana*, of the verb prefix *va-*, which suggests an action done with the legs (thus, in this case, it refers to the action of walking, of wandering around) plus the basic verb *-pana*, literally 'to stand, to stand up'. But here the author alludes to a light step, and the play between the consonants 'v' and 'w', present in *vapana*, *vivina* and *waponu*, reproduces

a sound and a reflected image of someone walking lightly, just as the movement of the water washing the shore is light and gentle (*waponu*).

Line 3. *rogiyamei'gu waponu*: this indicates the slow, repetitive, rolling movement of the waves washing the shore. The image serves the poet as a metaphor to represent the real, imaginary or desired movement of the body of the loved woman on the lover's body: a slow, repetitive movement in the framework of a bucolic scenario. But there is a subtlety in the use of *waponu* (Baldwin, 1939a:445, 610, records the form *vaponu*) which can be deduced from the term itself, both in *Wosi weimuya I*, line 2 and in *Wosi weimuya IV*, line 2a: it recalls the image of 'riding the waves' found, for example, in many descriptions of classical Greek mythology, as is the erotic element present in this undulating movement, this movement up and down of the lovers' bodies. However, this last meaning is blunted, almost hidden – and the beauty of the metaphor is in precisely this masking – in the image of the slow movement of the wave which dies as it reaches the shore.

In the verb form *rogiyamei'gu*, *rogĩ-* should be considered the equivalent of the Boyowa *loki* (Baldwin p.321) which encapsulates the meaning of 'to go, to approach', while *yame-i* indicates an action repeated daily. The presence of the first person singular possessive pronoun specifies that the movement is made by the person who performs the song. See Baldwin (1939a:610, 648).

Line 1a. *Nũku vadudu Namulova*: the first form appears as *rũku* in line 2 of *Watowa*, while the verb *vadudu* is used with the same meaning in *Dorai sobala I*, lines 1 and 2a; *Wosi sobala IIIa*, line 1; *Ruwegwau IV*, line 1a and *Dorai II*, line 3: it suggests the image of a light, soft step, like the whisper of a breeze. It also alludes to the emission of a sound, a sound that can barely be heard. In the choice of *vadudu*, therefore, we see the author's desire to depict a bucolic image of the meeting between the woman *Namulova* and her young lover.

Line 2a. *ku laivi kweita leiyava*: the verb form corresponds to the Boyowa *lavi* (translated by Baldwin, 1939a:307, as 'to throw, to expel'). *Kweita* is a poetic variation on *kweitara*, *kwaitara/kwaitala*, and is composed of the classifier *kwai-* which refers to all that is abstract, sonorous, and *-tara/-tala*, 'one' (Baldwin p.284). It is thus a numeric adjective and refers to *leiyava*, the ginger plant (*Zingiber officinale*).

(6) *Wosi weimuya IV*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Sawenu kaiiya ba dou</i> | I'll call the basket of voiceless souls, |
| 2 | <i>kirara vanavivina</i> | your garland, woman, will bloom: |
| 3 | <i>ku weiyadoba weimapu.</i> | you smooth your skirt of colours against your body. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---|
| 1a | <i>Toderi vina wa gana</i> | Like lines of waves, softly, the girls go, |
| 2a | <i>tokasa wosi waponu</i> | like waves edged with foam they move to the dance, |
| 3a | <i>ku gisi doba weimapu.</i> | and you gaze at the coloured strands of your skirt. |

Watowa

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 1 | <i>Sawenu</i> | <i>kaiiya b-a</i> | <i>dou</i> |
| | basket.of.the.dead | basket | FUT-I call |

- 2 *kirara vana vivina*
bloom garland woman
- 3 *ku weiya doba weimapu.*
you smooth skirt precious
- Kavira*
- 1a *Toderi vana wa gana*
fall.into.line girl at water's.edge
- 2a *to-kasa wosi waponu*
PFX-be.in.line dance water's.edge
- 3a *ku gisi doba weimapu.*
you gaze skirt precious

Commentary

Line 1. *Sawenu*: a lexeme interpreted as “the basket of voiceless souls”, as suggested by Ipaïya himself; he also suggested that the form is used to classify the small basket of the dead, thus attributing a sacred value to it. We have, then, another example of a term which metaphorises the bridging of the gap (typical of Christian belief) between the world of the dead and that of the living, which in Nowau culture is presented as a single one. This notion of a single world is represented by the circle (the round basket) which, in turn, implies the notion of the continuity of time. Often to represent the same image of the continuity between the living and the dead, resort is made to the metaphor of the spiral which starts from a certain point and whose curves move progressively further away, but without separation from the initial point, indeed enlarging it in geometric progression. One can also see this from the opposite direction: one can begin from the last helix to return to the starting point as, for example, in the creative work of a composer of poetic formulae when he has to look for models of reference for a composition, above all in terms of vocabulary. See Baldwin (1939a:472).

Line 2. *kirara vana vivina*: the poet alludes to a garland of flowers not yet opened, which are not yet entirely ‘flowers’ but more than ‘buds’. The presence of the verb form *kirara* (composed of the prefix *ki-* which encapsulates the concept of manipulation, of a change in state, and by the basic verb *-rara*, literally ‘to flower, to bud, to open a garland’ and which corresponds to the Boyowa *lala*; Baldwin 1939a:302), alludes also to the ‘budding’ of a young woman; we have thus a young woman, just out of puberty. It also alludes to the perfume released when the petals open and, again, can be interpreted as a sign of willingness, an openness, and it is also an appeal to eroticism. This last meaning is strengthened by line 3, “you smooth your skirt of colours against your body”, where the gesture of straightening the multitude of threads recalls the idea of a garland of flowers opening (the threads being lifted very lightly) to show the most intimate and precious part: an image which reflects that of the flower’s petals opening.

Line 3. *ku weiya*: conceptually, this suggests precisely this gesture of holding down the threads of the short skirt which have just been raised by a gust of wind. It is a typically feminine gesture. Even if the verb form means, more generically, the act of ‘holding still, in position’, given the context, the most appropriate meaning is ‘to smooth’. The gesture has been grasped and depicted by the poet with immediacy, with a familiar, intimate, tender tone:

the verb form is the result of a glance at an everyday gesture which immediately makes the image and the tone in which the gesture is framed intimate.

Line 3. *weimapu*: literally, this means 'to give', thus the short dress 'has been given', a meaning which I have suppressed in my interpretation in favour of "skirt of colours against your body", implied in *weimapu*. This last verb form refers to the custom of preparing skirts in banana leaf fibre, coloured with bright dyes, which are given to a dancer at the festival of Milamala, or to a woman during a *sagali* (Weiner 1976:123). The donation is made, usually, by a woman from the same *dala* as the girl who receives the gift of the skirt. The *doba* in this case is considered very precious, both for the quantity of work it requires and for the quality of the material used. It can also be considered as a visual metaphor of the values linked to a subclan.

Line 1a. *wa gana*: literally, this is a beach washed by waves but it also encapsulates the image of a continuous, harmonious movement, such as that of a dance.

Line 3a. *ku gisi*: I have preferred to translate this with "you gaze", rather than with the more literal 'looks', which would be less appropriate to the poetic context.

(7) *Wosi sobala I*

Watowa

1	<i>Vinarimwatu</i>	Woman of sacred words,
2	<i>bweina darimwatu</i>	our conversation is beautiful,
3	<i>kaigayobubanoma</i>	precious, like the word of souls
4	<i>kayoŋ'ra nona wa gana.</i>	loved by the mind, like waves that break on the sea-shore.

Watowa

1	<i>Vina rimwatu</i> woman sacred.word/talk
2	<i>bweina da rimwatu</i> beautiful our conversation
3	<i>kaiga-yobu banoma</i> voice-SFX soul
4	<i>kayo-ŋ' ra nona wa gana.</i> love-LW her mind at seashore

Commentary

Line 1. *rimwatu*: for this verb form Ipaïya has suggested 'to speak', tracing it in the vocabulary of the souls. It also occurs in *Ruwegwau IV*, line 2a, *Wosi sobala II*, line 4 *Untitled IV*, line 3 and *Wosi sobala Ila*, line 2. The infix attributes to it the value of expressing a state of joy, but in relation to the sacred; we have, then, a sort of ritual speaking and/or typical of a superior being or, possibly, a spirit. The information, from both Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa, that this verb form is typical of the world of the souls can be attributed precisely to the presence of the particle *-mwa-*. The interpretation as "Woman of sacred words" seems the most pertinent.

Line 2. *bweina da rimwatu*: I have preferred to interpret *bweina* literally (in Boyowa *bwaina*, Baldwin 1939a:48) with “beautiful” even though the range of its meaning is much wider. In everyday Nowau speech we have *boina*, while *da* is the first person dual possessive adjective ‘our’, ‘of us two’.

Line 3. *kaigayobu*: this form is composed of *kaiga-*, literally ‘voice’ (Baldwin, 1939a:116, records *kaiga’la*) and the suffix *-yobu* which suggests the act of expelling something (Baldwin p.653 has *yoba*). The image of a precious, almost rare, voice can best be traced in the fact that it emerges from a silent shadow, embodying the character of sacredness. The preciousness of the voice can thus be traced on two planes: on a more general level, it is the preciousness of the voice as a means for expressing oneself, which attributes a vocal form to a concept; on a second more specific level, it is the preciousness of a non-human being, a shadow.

Line 4: *kayo’ra nona wa gana*: the most similar lexeme to *kayo’ra* from a morphological point of view is *kayo’la*, given by Baldwin (1939a:218) and connected to *lopola*, the inside of the body, where the intellectual, intuitive and perceptive faculties are located. This last term is sufficiently broad to enable a poet to fill the sound-shell with a series of meanings which do not apparently leak out from the shell. But the fact that Baldwin gives *lopola* as connected to *kayo’la* offers the chance to attribute the most appropriate meaning to the second term; in fact, *lopo’la*, or *nopou’ra* in Nowau, is the place, as I have noted in Chapter 2, where the point of origin of any ‘pure’ image is located. The mind-intellect is also placed in the same part of the body.

(8) *Wosi sobala II*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Mwemuyara kagu kaudiya</i> | My basket wreathed with fragrant grasses, |
| 2 | <i>ba sivina Budibudi</i> | I shall go about on the island of myths, |
| 3 | <i>(sivine)’gu o Bweyowa</i> | turning with desire to the winged island, |
| 4 | <i>ka(r)imwatu nubo’gu.</i> | to meet and speak awesome words with you, my
companion. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Na bwedema gudikesa</i> | With adolescent boys, left without response, |
| 2a | <i>na wetupa o Bweyowa</i> | I must wait on the winged island, |
| 3a | <i>a veyuma tama’gu</i> | for the desired return of my father: |
| 4a | <i>na keponu keponuna da wanugwa.</i> | and I thought of our village. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Mwemuyara kagu kaudiya</i>
be.fragrant my basket |
| 2 | <i>b-a sivina Budibudi</i>
FUT-I go.about island.of.myths |
| 3 | <i>(sivine)’gu o Bweyowa</i>
desire my to winged.island |

- 4 *ka(r)imwatu nubo' gu.*
 speak.awesome companion my
 Kavira
- 1a *N-a bwedema gudikesa*
 PAST-I meet.together adolescent.boy
- 2a *n-a wetupa o Bweyowa*
 PAST-I wait at winged.island
- 3a *a veyuma tama' gu*
 I desire.to.be.back father my
- 4a *n-a keponu keponu-na da wanu- gwa.*
 PAST-I thought thought-SFX our village-already

Commentary

With very few, almost exclusively phonetic-musical, variations, and the addition of just line 4 in the *Kavira*, this poetic formula was sung by Ipaïya himself (as if it were another composition) under the name *Weponu I*. Another example of the same poem performed under different names, and always with predominantly phonetic-musical variations, is *Osiyawei'gu*, sung once by Towitara Buyoyu and a second time by Kasiotagina Matawala, from the same village as the first, with the title of *Wosi yawena*. In this collection there are other identical, or similar, poems which were sung as though they were distinct, or thought to be such. These are almost always songs for the Kula ritual exchanges (as in the case of the two compositions performed by Towitara and Kasiotagina) which represent the most archaic examples of Nowau poetry, the most classical texts and the least open to manipulation: we could have a version sung with variations in sound, but it is unlikely that the musical harmony or the 'lyrics' would be touched. The execution of the same piece, which belongs to the Kula genre, by singers who believe they are singing completely different formulae (one should remember the secret nature of the recital, which does not favour a control over the form performed) is standard behaviour: the Kula cultural substratum, on which the construction and performance of a poem is based, is a collective heritage, with a much more general value than that which underlies the construction of, for example, a love song. In this last case it is the language which represents a common, collective value while the technique used is more subjective. Therefore, when one finds a number of versions of the same song one has to ask oneself, firstly, what type it belongs to in order to examine the problems connected to the presence of variants (phonetic/musical, semantic). The fact that the same formula can be known under different names (but it should be remembered that Nowau poets prefer to give a name to a 'group' of formulae, for example *Sinata*, rather than to a single composition within the group) could mean, for example, that the name is a form of appropriation, of subjectivisation of the formula itself, a way of making it more one's own. This does not detract from the fact that different names for a single formula could also be a sign of unauthorised appropriation, in the sense that the formula belongs or belonged to another subclan from which it has been 'stolen' (see Chapter 2). Or that the poem belonged to a subclan which gave it to another. This sort of behaviour must be considered completely acceptable, particularly for poetic formulae for the Kula, in which the passage from one man to another, who lives on another island (often miles and miles away) constitutes one of their characteristic features. It might, however, be interesting to analyse the type of sound and semantic version of a poem when it is sung: I allude to the significant variants which the

same 'word' can undergo within the poetic context. For the commentary on the text see *Weponu I* up to line 3a.

Line 4a. *na keponu*: this form, declined in the past (*n-a*), alludes to the activity of the mind when it produces thoughts, and has been attributed by Ipāi'ya to the vocabulary of the souls. It also encapsulates the concept of 'lightness' of 'something soft', thus in this case suggests quiet speech, whispering, as one might imagine the language of a spirit.

The verbal form is composed of the prefix *ke-*, a variant of *ki-* (in turn a shortening of *kabi* given by Baldwin, 1939a:1226) which suggests the change from one state to another, a transformation. In this case it refers to the workings of the mind, to its ability to manipulate concepts, images, intuitions. The prefix is followed by the base component *-ponu*, already analysed. See Baldwin (pp.226 and 445).

keponuna: see *keponu*

da wanugwa: according to Ipāi'ya, this expresses the same meaning as the Muyuwa *wanúwan*, translated as 'inside it' and which the Lithgows connect to *núwan*, 'his belly' (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:116, 159). However, in the same *Muyuwa dictionary* (p.159) we find the form *wanuwéin*, 'at the centre'. If Ipāi'ya's information is correct, then we have another example of linguistic contamination between Muyuwa and Nowau. I do not exclude, in any case, that it could also be a variation on *vanu-gwa*, in which the first term can be interpreted as 'village', while the second is the contracted form of *bougwa*, and it is given by Baldwin (1939a:90) literally as 'the village already ours'.

(9) *Untitled I*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Kai'ya ku degi</i> | Hide in your small basket, |
| 2 | <i>(remuyega) nuwa' gu</i> | as thoughts are hidden in the mind, |
| 3 | <i>sikeigwai Muyuwa.</i> | the gifts of your companions from the far island. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---|
| 1a | <i>Kai'ya veka ku degi</i> | Hide in your large basket |
| 2a | <i>bagidouna vitevata</i> | the many red necklaces, |
| 3a | <i>uyauyauna kunu' gu</i> | and place on my hair the mother of pearl moon |
| 4a | <i>namakiki vivina.</i> | that has adorned a woman. |

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Kai'ya ku degi</i> | basket you hide |
| 2 | <i>(remuyega) nuwa' gu</i> | mind think my |
| 3 | <i>sikeigwai Muyuwa.</i> | gift.for.a.companion far.island |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1a | <i>Kai'ya veka ku degi</i> | basket large you hide |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------|

- 2a *bagidouna vitevata*
 red.necklace many
- 3a *uyauyauna kunu' gu*
 mother.of.pearl.moon hair my
- 4a *namakiki vivina.*
 adorn woman/girl

Commentary

Line 1. *Kaiiya ku degi*: this is translated as “Hide in your small basket”, where ‘hide’ is given in the Nowau text by *degi*. This is another example of the adaptation of a term which, presumably, belongs to a different vocabulary to that of the author of the formula: in this specific case, it derives from the Muyuwa *deg*, translated as ‘put into container or canoe’ (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:38). It is also very likely that *degi* should simply be considered the transcription of the phonetic articulation in Nowau of the Muyuwa term: in fact, as in the case of Muyuwa and not Muiuw, as it is spoken on Woodlark Island, in Nowau all words finish in a vowel. I feel that it is more correct to translate *degi* with ‘hide’, also in view of the meaning expressed in line 2 in which a thought hidden in the mind is represented, to suggest both the value and the secrecy of a thought which is kept in the mind, seen as a treasure chest. The image becomes clearer if one thinks of the value and the various meanings associated with the gifts of the Kula ritual exchanges: I allude to the *vaiguwa* and *mwari*, the two visual symbols of the ritual exchange in which the meanings associated with the Kula culture are synthesised. They are rare objects/symbols (their number is, tendentially, canonic) and are jealously treasured: when they are not circulating in the Kula expeditions, they are hidden in the innermost, darkest area of the hut, away from prying eyes. They are exhibited only during the ritual exchange and dances for the festival of Milamala. During the ritual exchanges they are hidden in the “small basket” until they are delivered at the end of a long, extenuating ceremonial conversation to a companion.

Line 2. (*remuyega*) *nuwa'gu*: the second word was attributed by Ipaïya to Muyuwa where, however, only the form *nigwánan*, translated as ‘shelter’ (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:114), is recorded. We thus have a Muyuwa meaning which recalls the image of a shell which has the function of protecting: the author of the poem must have thought that it worked well as a metaphor for the mind, a ‘shell’ which protects a ‘thought’. Thus, again we have the mind as a small basket: both ‘contain’ something. *Nuwa'gu* could be connected to the Muyuwa *nuw* or *núway*, translated as ‘think, remember’ (Lithgow & Lithgow p.116). But the assonance with another Muyuwa term cannot be excluded: *nánoug(w)*, translated as ‘my mind, thoughts, intention’ (Lithgow & Lithgow p.112).

Line 3. *sikeigwai*: another term attributed to Muyuwa, where the item *sigwéy* (*sigwéyas*) is recorded, translated as ‘my companions’ (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:26), which could correspond conceptually to *so'ra*, and thus to one’s own companions in the Kula ritual exchange, even if in Muyuwa we find *son*, literally ‘companion’, and *soug(w)*, literally ‘my companion’ (Lithgow & Lithgow pp.132 and 133). Both Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa have interpreted *sikeigwai* with a long explanation: ‘to intervene in favour of a man so that he be given a *mwari* or a *vaiguwa*’, and which I have rendered in the text with “the gifts of your companions”.

Muyuwa: or Woodlark Island. It is located to the north-east of Kitawa, and is considered one of the points of origin and manufacture of *mwari*. It measures 20 by 80 kilometres and is

covered by forests which are exploited for the production of timber. The relations between Kitawa and Muyuwa in the Kula are limited to the region of Okabulula which occupies all of the north of Kitawa and some villages on Muyuwa. For the inhabitants of Kitawa, the island of Muyuwa represents “the far island”, where many legends and poems originate. It is also one of the places where the most dangerous flying witches (*siwasiwa* or *diu*) live. But in Kiriwina, for example, it is believed that the most dangerous flying witches live on Kitawa: I would say that the east is the place in geographical terms, but also in the imagination, preferred for magic, the unknown, the mysterious, everything that is not directly controllable according to one’s own cultural categories.

Line 2a. *bagidouna*: this indicates generically a *vaiguwa*, but in Baldwin (1939a:9) alongside this meaning we find also ‘small necklace’. *Bagiriku* means ‘large necklace’ and *bagidudu* a ‘very long necklace’. Baldwin translates this last term as ‘the biggest’. And again it is Baldwin (p.9) who sees *bagidou* (the equivalent of *bagidouna* in the text) as the same as *soulava*. For the classification of *mwari* and *vaiguwa*, see Leach and Leach (1983).

vitevata: Ipaiya has interpreted this as equivalent to *magamaga*, literally ‘many, so many’.

Line 3a. *uyauyauna kunu’gu*: the first lexeme indicates the half-moon shaped mother-of-pearl pendant, decorated with banana seeds and glass beads, at one of the two ends of the string of red spondilus discs which make up the true *vaiguwa*. This is a decorative item which adds no value to the string of spondilus, although it contributes to its aesthetic value. And it is from the aesthetic point of view that the singer’s mention of *uyauyauna* should be assessed, a viewpoint which becomes more clear-cut if one takes into account the context in which the term is used. In singing “and place on my hair the mother of pearl moon”, the singer alludes, probably, to the possibility of using the *vaiguwa* as a diadem so that the *uyauyauna* comes to be seen in a visually advantageous position. The line remains poetically ambiguous, however, an ambiguity which is increased by the hint that the *vaiguwa* “has adorned a woman” (and, in fact, the *vaiguwa* is worn by women during the dances for the Milamala festival) and so in this case we could understand that the diadem is worn by a man. See Baldwin (1939a:594).

Line 4a. *namakiki*: I have translated this with “that has adorned”, while literally it means ‘to use, to adopt for oneself’ and can be found in the *Muyuwa dictionary* on page 112 under the form *námis(nmís)* which is translated by Lithgow and Lithgow as ‘rely on’. The use which the author has made of it here recalls the image of something, in this case the mother-of-pearl, which ‘is above something else’.

(10) *Untitled II*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Kamidimidi <a>gu waga</i> | Garlanded, my festive canoe |
| 2 | <i>nêi tokasa bwenita</i> | waits in line for the race to begin |
| 3 | <i>kwawenu’gu vivina.</i> | but my woman is angered. |

Watowa

- | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|----|---------------|
| 1 | <i>Kamidimidi <a>gu waga</i> | | |
| | garland | my | festive canoe |

- 2 *n-ê-i* *to-kasa* *bwenita*
 PAST-LW-it stand-be.in.line sea
- 3 *kwawenu' gu vivina.*
 be.angry my woman

Commentary

Line 1. *Kamidimidi <a>gu waga*: I have interpreted this as “Garlanded, my festive canoe”, in an attempt to render the image of the pendants, *kamidimidi*, shaped like small triangles with a swallowtail cut in the base. The author refers to the habit of decorating the canoe with these festive pendants for the launch, or when he has to depart for a ritual exchange. The launch is probably the most exciting of all the stages in constructing a canoe, above all for the person (*tokataraki*) who has carved the hull, but also for the craftsman (*tokabitamu*) who has engraved the four prowboards (*lagimu* and *tabuya*): it is on this occasion that overall judgement is given by all the village inhabitants (or by an entire region or by all the islanders) on both the technical quality of the whole boat (hull plus outrigger) and on the aesthetic quality of the prowboards. As soon as the canoe is launched a race (*tasola*) begins between the new boat(s) and the old canoes, so as to decide which is the fastest.

The term *kamidimidi* is composed of *ka-* (the contracted form of the classifier *kai-*, which in this case indicates that the word to which it is a prefix refers to the canoe, an artifact of wood) and by the base component *-midimidi*, literally ‘pendant’, ‘something that hangs, waves’, ‘decoration’. See Baldwin (1939a:363).

Line 2. *nêi tokasa*: this verb form (*n-ê-i to/takasa*) has been used in *Wosi weïmuya IV*, line 2a where it suggests the image of the dancers who line up one behind the other awaiting to start the dance patterns. Here it is used to suggest the same image, though of the canoes (to which the verb form refers), which are lined up alongside each other – not one behind the other – ready to set off on the race.

Line 3. *kwawenu'gu*: this is probably an archaic Nowau term, according to Ipaiya and Sïyakwakwa, equivalent to *kavikuru* and *gaburua*, or *giburuwa* (the latter is given by Baldwin, 1939a:78, as *gibulua*, translated as ‘annoyed, angry, indignant’, being the same meaning as attributed here). The author alludes to the ‘sulky expression’ of a woman towards a man who is about to take part in a race with a ceremonial canoe: in three short lines we have the joy of the man for the launch of his own ceremonial canoe (*<a>gu waga*), the festivity of the ritual occasion (*kamidimidi*), all of male symbolism (*bwenita*), the competition and challenge between their values (*nêi tokasa*) countered by the fragility of the women’s world symbolised in this case by the woman’s ‘sulkiness’ (*kwawenu'gu*). But there is a further semantic subtlety which reveals all of the ambiguity and complexity in the relationship between the man and the ceremonial canoe, indicated in the poetic formula as ‘my canoe, my inalienable possession’, where the concept of inalienability is given by the first person singular possessive pronoun, *-gu*. This very close possession stands out even more if one looks at the contrast with ‘woman’, whose possession by a man is always given by a pronoun which classifies something or someone that can be alienated, such as, for example, one’s own wife (in fact, the expression ‘my wife’ is rendered by *ura kwava*, in which *ura* is the first person singular possessive pronoun): one’s own wife can be alienated, but not the ceremonial canoe! The ceremonial canoe is, however, classified as feminine, even though of a rather particular nature: and thus it becomes extremely fascinating, and semantically susceptible to ambiguous interpretations, the approach between the ceremonial

canoe – ‘possessed’ by the man, who is a *tokula*, and is therefore involved in the ritual exchange seen as the reign of the male – and the woman who ‘sulks’ as if she were jealous.

(11) *Untitled III**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Guma Bweyowa Werara</i> | Werara, man of the winged island, |
| 2 | <i>kamu vana a rimu</i> | your garland intoxicates me: |
| 3 | <i>kumwemuya valamu.</i> | let your mind breathe sighs of longing. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Guma Bweyowa Werara</i>
inhabitant.of winged.island Werara |
| 2 | <i>kamu vana a rimu</i>
your garland I be.intoxicated |
| 3 | <i>ku mwemuya valamu.</i>
you longing.mind breathe.a.sigh. |

Commentary

Line 1. *Guma Bweyowa Werara*: the term *guma*, articulated with a nasal sound, means literally ‘inhabitant of’, and refers to a man. If it referred to a woman we would have *ima*. Because of the nasal sound, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish *guma* from the possessive pronoun *gumu* (see, for example, the poetic formula *Ī yai ĩ yai II*, line 7, sung by Krobai). Baldwin (1939a:88) did not record this second term in his Boyowa dictionary although he does give the first, to which he attributes the same meaning. It is likely that *gumu* belongs to Nowau, or to one of the languages of the Kula Ring, although we cannot rule out that it may have been constructed by the author of the formula: it could, for example, be made up of *gu-mu*, literally ‘my-you come’ where the vowel *-u* in the second component must be considered a variation on the vowel *a*, and thus we have the verb form *ma*, literally ‘to come’.

Line 2. *a rimu*: the intoxication, following the meaning of the first line, must refer to a woman who, because of her garland of flowers (spellbound by a poetic formula) loses herself in her love for a man, Werara. And this is the man who has placed a spell on the garland of flowers which, once given to the woman (in this case the poetess-singer) transfer his amorous passion to her by sympathy (Freedberg 1989). Once again we have a confirmation of the use and value of a metaphor in a poetic formula: the garland of flowers, spellbound, stands for the amorous passion of the lover for the woman loved. Or rather the garland of flowers metaphorises the love, conceived as desire, passion.

Line 3. *ku mwemuya valamu*: the first verb form also occurs in *Weponu I*, line 1 and *Wosi sobala II*, line 1 where it is interpreted as “wreathed”. But here both Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa detected a further subtlety in its meaning: ‘to desire someone or something, also with the mind, the intellect’, and thus a desire expressed not only through the senses. The interdependence between mind (as the site, I might say the iconographic location, of the activity of the intellect/thought) and the senses is understood better in this specific case when one relates it to the previous line, where the woman sings that she has been inebriated by a

garland of flowers enchanted by a poem: her love, in this case, is of a sensual nature, and the intellect is left out, excluded, because of the spell on the garland of flowers. While the man's love/desire is represented as 'of the intellect', and thus a love that has to be pursued and stimulated in contrast to the woman's love, artificially induced through verbal manipulation (the poem) or non-verbal communication (the garland of flowers): we have an example of visual, iconographic manipulation (words and substance) of the reality which confirms, thus, the possibility of being manipulated by a man. The spell, is then, merely verbal, a verbal fiction which uses a natural item (the beauty of flowers and the ability of their perfume to inebriate) to express his intention to want to modify nature itself: the woman, in this specific case, does not seem to love the man spontaneously but, through the perfume of the garland of flowers, perceives this man's intense desire, with a subterfuge, and that she, in turn, will desire because of the effect of the enchanted garland. The perfume of the flowers is thus transformed to signifier, in a certain form of expression, by a signified represented by love and desire: the enchanted garland of flowers becomes the tangible signifier of a signified, love, which would not otherwise be felt; or, at least, would not be accepted if not expressed only in words. At this point, it seemed to me more suitable to interpret *valamu* not with its usual meaning of 'lament, complaint, cry' but rather with "sighs of longing".

(12) *Untitled IV*

Watowa

1	<i>Weinuguta kiyaya</i>	My gentle beloved sister
2	<i>ponu'guveramu</i>	light as foam, you blow
3	<i>rimwatu rivana.</i>	a tracery of words.

Watowa

1	<i>Weinuguta kiyaya</i>	sister	beloved
2	<i>ponu' gu veramu</i>	light.as.foam	my breathe.a.sigh
3	<i>rimwatu rivana.</i>	gentle.word	talk

Commentary

Line 1. *Weinuguta kiyaya*: the first lexeme is composed of *we/i-nuguta*, where the prefix *we-* (or *wa-* as in Baldwin 1939a:633) has been interpreted as "gentle", but with strong connotations of 'sinuosity', an allusion to a person who moves sinuously, and recalls, once again, the idea of sacrality through one of its attributes: the sinuous movements of a millipede seen as one of the iconographic representations of the mythical hero Monikiniki or Mwata.

The second lexeme, *-nuguta*, can also be broken down into *nu-gu-ta* where the infix *-gu-* specifies the singer's tight possession of the words sung: we have therefore, 'the sister who belongs to me'. In the case of 'his sister' we would have *nu-re-ta*: this confirms that the base component, *nuta*, is irregular when declined as a possessive pronoun. *Kiyaya* (noted by Baldwin, 1939a:244, as *kiya* or *kiyai*) literally means 'to be hugged' or 'to be embraced amorously' and I have interpreted it as "beloved".

Line 2. *ponu'gu veramu*: the form *ponu*, both as a noun and verb, recurs in many poetic formulae in this collection and is used to suggest a state of 'lightness', or an impalpable, soft element, such as the white crest of a wave. Here it is used as a noun followed, as is usual in Nowau syntax, by the first person singular possessive pronoun, and thus literally we would have 'my lightness', but here the author wants to express the image of a memory linked to his youngest sister (*nuguta*) even if she is a rather unreal sister, intangible, immersed in a swirling mist. It could be interpreted as a metaphor, for example, of 'memories', 'memory', and the whole formula could allude to a wave seen as a companion on a ritual voyage. The very insistence on the images of 'lightness', make the character sung about impalpable and unreal.

Line 3. *rimwaturivana*: even in terms of sound, both the singer and the audience are urged to place themselves on a plane of impalpability, as if they were invited to mute each word whose meaning must be lost in the pure sonority of the performance. In the previous line we have the image of a delicate embroidery, almost lace, represented by the visual and tactile impalpability of the spray of the wave which is now made even more rarefied by the ethereal succession of delicate sounds. The verb form *rimwatu* indicates, in fact, 'to speak with a faint, light, gentle voice', almost the whisper in an ear from lover. A whisper of kind words. *Rivana* is a poetic interpretation of *livala* (Baldwin 1939a:318), literally 'to speak', but in this poem, precisely because of the transformation (of basically phonetic value) into *rivana*, decided by the author to harmonise with *rimwatu*, it takes on the meaning of speaking softly, gently.

(13) *Wosi weimuya Ia**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Kagu kauriya yorikasi</i> | My basket is for the silent souls, |
| 2 | <i>pitamuya'ra Budibudi</i> | it is the basket of the island of myths, |
| 3 | <i>senupei'gugudirova</i> | the motherless children come up to me |
| 4 | <i>kauriya'nada boporu.</i> | with the intoxicating red fruit in their baskets. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Nagabemapitamuya</i> | With the basket of silent souls on my head |
| 2a | <i>na rourama Budibudi</i> | I'm going to the island of myths, |
| 3a | <i>semwanei'gu kagu kauriya</i> | clasping the beloved basket, |
| 4a | <i>na kiutu na kikasa</i> | trimming threads for a garland |
| 5a | <i>na kagonu bwibwitoka</i> | plucking swelling blooms from the fragrant trees |
| 6a | <i>nêi vamwana Buburei</i> | I stride with joy to the village of voiceless shades |
| 7a | <i>gumu robu toweiponu.</i> | my precious jewels for that subtle bewitching man. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Kagu kauriya yorikasi</i>
my basket basket.of.the.dead |
| 2 | <i>pitamuya' ra Budibudi</i>
kind.of.basket its island.of.myths |
| 3 | <i>senupei' gu gudirova</i>
come.up my motherless.children |

- 4 *kaiiya' na da boporu.*
basket SFX our intoxicating.red.fruit
Kavira
- 1a *N-a gabema pitamuya*
PAST-I put.on.the.head kind.of.basket
- 2a *n-a rourama Budibudi*
PAST-I go island.of.myths
- 3a *semwane-î' gu kagu kaiiya*
clasp-LW my my basket
- 4a *n-a kiutu n-a kikasa*
PAST-I trim PAST-I put.together
- 5a *n-a kagonu bwibwitoka*
PAST-I pluck swelling.bloom/fragrant.tree
- 6a *n-ê-i vamwana Buburei*
PAST-LW-it stride.with.joy village.of.the.dead
- 7a *gumu robu toweïponu.*
my jewels bewitching.man

Commentary

Line 1. *yorikasi*: both Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa have given a very complex interpretation of this term and both associated it, in this specific case, with a type of *kaiïya* used by the souls, by the dead, who live in one of the villages (*Buburei*; see note 6a below) on the island of Tuma. Analysing the morphological structure of the word, we have the classifier *yo-*, alluding to something made of fibre (the pandanus strings which are used to make the small basket), while the basic verb, *-rika-*, alludes to the action of manipulating something by moving the hands up and down and suggesting, therefore, the work of weaving. The suffix *-si* indicates the plural form. However, this verb form also recalls the Boyowa *yolaka*, which means 'to make an offering' to the souls of the dead, such as a banana and pandanus fibre skirt which, in funeral rites, known as *sagali*, women exchange according to ancient rules (Baldwin 1939a:657; Weiner 1976). It is probable, therefore, that *yorikasi* can be interpreted both as an allusion to the small basket used by the souls of the dead, and to the gesture of displaying the fibre skirts during a *sagali* as a sign of ritual offering. It also alludes to dancers getting in line when preparing the spiral to carry out one of the dance figures which, occur after the annual harvest, when the souls return to the village – another element to keep in mind.

Line 2. *pitamuya'ra*: this also occurs in line 1a but without the third person singular possessive pronoun. This lexeme has also been interpreted as a synonym of 'small basket'. Ipaïya has attributed it to Muyuwa (where, however, it is not recorded in Lithgow & Lithgow 1974) or to the vocabulary of the dead: it is probable, then, that this ambiguous attribution means that the term was constructed by the author of the poetic formula. It could be a term from archaic Nowau no longer in use.

Line 3. *senupeï'gu gudirova*: I have interpreted this as "the motherless children come up to me" where the verb form has been introduced to make the image of young boys heading

towards the person reciting the poetic formula, and/or its author, is more explicit. Much more interesting is *senupeí'gu* which literally means 'all, very many, for me'. This is probably another example of crasis, so we would have *seĩna-peĩra-yeĩgu*, literally 'so many, or many, for me', where *seĩna* (recorded by Baldwin, 1939a:477, as *sena*) can be rendered by 'for, because of, on behalf of'. *Yeĩgu* is the first person singular personal pronoun 'I, me'.

The term *gudirova* can be broken down into *gudi-rova*, where the component *gudi* (corresponding to the Boyowa *gwadi* 'young boy', as in Baldwin p.90) encapsulates the concept of something blossoming, fresh, while the second component *-rova* (*lova* in Boyowa, literally 'yesterday', see Baldwin p.326) alludes to the recent past, 'yesterday': we thus have something which has just blossomed, an allusion to something fresh. But the same component can also be connected to *lavi* or *lai*, 'to leave, to leave a sign, to leave a footprint' (Baldwin p.307). The whole form therefore means 'a young boy, a child, left, abandoned'. Ipaĩya and Siyakwakwa had no doubt about interpreting the whole term as meaning "motherless children", and therefore orphans. This meaning contributes to the construction of a melancholy, sad image, used, however, by the author of the formula, to express the deep bond between those still in the village (in this case the young children) and those who now live on the island of Tuma (here, their mothers, who probably died giving birth to a child). This melancholy is soon brightened, however, with the introduction of *boporu* "the intoxicating red fruit", hidden in the small basket as a precious gift and probably used as an allusion to the ritual exchange in which the composer-singer of the formula seems to be involved.

Line 1a. *Na gabema pitamuya*: the first verb form is composed of *n-a gabe-ma* in which the base component *gabe* should be interpreted as a phonetic variant, thus respecting the rules of vowel harmony, of *gabi* (Baldwin 1939a:70), literally 'to put on the head'. The suffix *-ma* is used in this case to express the concept of duration, of an action being performed as one speaks (Baldwin p.343). The composer-singer has created an image in which past and present are continually mixed and lose all sense, suggesting again a single space for action and thought which our type of logic has accustomed us to setting on different planes. This way of confusing the past with the plane of the present answers perfectly to Nowau philosophy in which the relationship with the past (often represented by visual metaphors such as, for example, the megaliths which mark the earth from which the founding ancestor of the tribe arose, or the megalithic constructions which enclose the holy space where agricultural rituals are performed) is continually brought back to life through the use of declined verb tenses, within the same tale, both in the past and the present, or the future. For example, when the singer says *na gabema* he already indicates how the image it aims to represent should be interpreted: 'I have put on my head the small basket which is still on my head'. The same way of interpreting past, present and future tenses is given by the verb form in line 2a *na rourama*, composed of *roura-ma*, where the base component *roura* is equivalent to the Boyowa *lolo*, literally, 'to walk' (Baldwin p.322) while the suffix *-ma* has the function of signalling that the action indicated by the base component still continues: once again, we have an action referred to the past but whose effects continue in the present. And if one takes into account the fact that in the poem there is a continual reference to the world of the silent shadows, it therefore seems to me correct to interpret these 'lasting' forms as complete verbal metaphors which emphasise the profound, inextricable bond between the living and the dead, losing any kind of dichotomy.

Line 3a. *semwaneĩ'gu*: Ipaĩya interpreted this as a verb which expresses an intense desire, the desire to possess something or someone, for oneself alone, almost jealously. Baldwin

(1939a:477) notes the verb form *semwa*, referring back to *seyemwa* (p.481), translated as 'put aside', thus repositing the meaning of 'to hide' already suggested by Ipaïya. It thus seemed right to me to interpret this verb as "clasping".

Line 4a. *na kiutu na kikasa*: the first verb form has been attributed to Muyuwa, even though Lithgow and Lithgow do not record it. I can not rule out the possibility that it is in fact a Nowau term, constructed by the poet. In any case, it indicates the action of evening up a layer of threads (used here to weave a garland of flowers). The act of evening something up with a cutting instrument is depicted suggestively with one of the stages of making the *doba*, the short fibre skirt, when the woman who is making it has to even up the threads so that they are all of the same length. Naturally, the action of evening something up can also refer to other situations such as when one is constructing a pandanus sail.

Line 5a. *na kagonu bwibwitoka*: according to Siyakwakwa and Ipaïya's interpretation, the verb form *kagonu* is used to indicate the act of choosing or picking with the hands. The noun form *bwibwitoka* (which, according to Ipaïya, recalls the Muyuwa *bwiy* and *tok* – respectively translated as 'take down' and 'lead by hand' in Lithgow and Lithgow 1974:30, 145) refers here to a particular type of tree known for its highly scented blossom, although I cannot exclude that it is a term with a more general meaning which could refer to any tree or plant whose flowers are used for making garlands and wreaths. But without denying the usefulness of Ipaïya's information, the same word could also belong to Nowau, and be made up of *bwibwi-toka*: the first term is also noted by Baldwin (1939a:53), who translates it as 'moisten', while the second component, *-toki*, again recorded by Baldwin (p.557) is translated as 'increase, reinforce, stiffen, be plentiful', and thus there is a clear allusion to something swollen, turgid. It is on the basis of these meanings, including those expressed by the Muyuwa terms, that *bwibwitoka* should be interpreted as the act of picking flowers not yet completely open, possibly 'swollen' buds: I feel that this is the most appropriate meaning and the one which best respects its semantic richness.

Line 6a. *nêi vamwana Buburei*: the verb, used in the past, literally means 'to go quickly, to try to arrive first, to run' but with a strong emphasis on the element of play, such as when one travels for a ritual exchange. It alludes to a state of happiness. Baldwin (1939a:609) notes the verb form *va-mwali* which he translates as 'make race away' and also notes, in pencil, *vamwau*, for which he gives no translation, however. The prefix *va-*, which in this case functions as an auxiliary verb, suggests an action implying the use of one's legs, and thus already encapsulates the meaning of walking (Baldwin p.595). The base verb *-mwali*, because of the presence of the particle *-mwa-*, recalls the meanings of sacred, festive, prohibited, ancestral, ritual but also joyous.

Buburei is the name of one of the villages on Tuma, the island of the dead.

Line 7a. *toweiponu*: this is made up of the masculine classifier *to-*, the infix *-weï-* (a variation on *wai*, given in Baldwin, 1939a:633) – which encapsulates the meanings of sinuous movement, with the peristaltic movement typical of millipedes – and by the suffix *-ponu*, which suggests the image of the foam created by the movement of waves. By using *toweiponu*, the poet has tried to suggest the image of a cunning man, of a magician, who is at the same time attractive, fascinating and perturbing: he could fool you, but his trick will be the trick of a hero, of a creature which is not, or not only, human.

(14) *Wosi weimuya Ila**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Yegu gumu robu</i> | This is mine, this precious jewel, |
| 2 | <i>robu'na o Bweyowa</i> | this jewel from the winged island: |
| 3 | <i>kwautumasi gudirova</i> | motherless children, tease out the threads |
| 4 | <i>nêi weimuya kagu robu</i> | and as you remember my own precious jewel |
| 5 | <i>kavamwana ma vanu'ga.</i> | hasten with me towards our village. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Yegu gumu robu</i>
I mine jewel/precious |
| 2 | <i>robu' na o Bweyowa</i>
jewel SFX on winged.island |
| 3 | <i>kwautuma-si gudirova</i>
tease.out.threads-PLU motherless.children |
| 4 | <i>n-ê-i weimuya kagu robu</i>
PAST-L-he/she/it remember my jewel |
| 5 | <i>kavamwana ma vanu' ga.</i>
hasten our village SFX |

Commentary

Line 1. *Yegu gumu robu*: in using the first person personal pronoun and a poetic variation thereon the author wants to underline possession of his “precious jewel”, which could be either a *mwari* or a *vaiguwa*, but also perhaps a *diginagoma* (the white pendant made from a section of *Conus litteratus*, the same type of shell from which the *mwari* is made – Leach & Leach 1983) or the string, *sadabara*, of discs of spondilus considered one of the emblems of those of very high status (for example, it is one of the ornaments worn by the founding ancestor of a clan).

Line 3. *kwautumasi gudirova*: the verb form is composed of *kwau-* (which means both ‘to manipulate with the hands’ and ‘to cut, to sharpen’ and by analogy and according to the context, ‘to even up’) and of *-tumasi*, where the suffix *-si* gives the plural and can be translated as ‘to push under, to squeeze’. In this specific case the verb refers to the preparation of a garland or wreath of flowers and in particular to the stage when the fine threads, made from a tender shoot and onto which the flower buds or petals will be threaded, are cut and evened up. However, the author has used such a refined semantic subtlety that it is almost imperceptible: the morphological component *-tuma-*, with its reference to the silent world of the souls, alludes to an imaginary atmosphere where the poet and the motherless children move, weaving their garlands and wreaths of flowers: it could be the world of dreams, of memory, for initiates represented with a cryptic language (Baldwin 1939a:290, 576, 577).

Line 4. *kagu robu*: in line 1 we have *gumu robu*, and so the same concept is reiterated, except that the first person singular possessive pronoun is given by a form that is usually associated with food: we thus have a ‘stronger’ sense of possession.

Line 5. *kavamwana*: this verb form is composed of *ka-vamwana*, where the verb prefix *ka-* is interpreted as causative and implies the concept of 'doing'. The base verb *-vamwana* was noted by Baldwin (1939a:98, 609) as *vamwali* and rendered, as I have already mentioned, with 'to go quickly, to prepare for a race'.

(15) *Wosi sobala Ia*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Nêi waigana</i> | In the swell of the storm |
| 2 | <i>katuyobukaisai</i> | fame, like a powerful wave, surges towards |
| 3 | <i>vanu Rubegau.</i> | the village of the silent souls. |

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1 | <i>N-ê-i</i> | <i>waigana</i> |
| | PAST-LW-it | sea.storm |
| 2 | <i>katuyobu</i> | <i>kaisai</i> |
| | fame | powerful.wave |
| 3 | <i>vanu</i> | <i>Rubegau.</i> |
| | village | silent.soul/Rubegan. |

Commentary

Line 1. *Nêi waigana*: Ipaïya has suggested that the line depicts the movement of the sea, 'swelling' with the waves, thus alluding metaphorically to speed and power, but also to something that is unstoppable because of the very nature of its strength. In everyday language, to express the swelling of waves, we find *kaisai*, which can also be translated as 'rough sea'. Baldwin (1939a:633) records the form *waiga*, translated as 'hunt', which could also be interpreted as 'to swing', 'to go looking for, to hunt out, to follow', all concepts which have a sense if we consider the second line: "fame, like a powerful wave, surges towards". The poet has used the metaphor of a storm at sea, typified by powerful waves, to suggest the image of rapidly spreading news: this is the upturned image of the waves which push each other forming a powerful, continuous movement (this last image is hinted at in Baldwin's *waiga* form). In *Muyuwa* we find *wáwal*, literally 'fast' (Lithgow & Lithgow: 159).

Line 2. *katuyobu*: this is a synonym of *butu*, literally 'news, fame', and is made up of the prefix *katu-* which encapsulates the concepts of 'strength, vigour', and the base component *-yobu*, literally 'to expel, emit, throw out' (in this case referring to the voice) and which Baldwin (1939a:643, 653) also notes as *yabi* and *yoba* ('send away, dismiss' and 'expelled, driven out'). We thus have a piece of news awaited by someone, which is carried, spreads through the air with the vigour and strength (beautifully expressed by the prefix *katu-*) of a storm at sea.

Line 3. *Rubegau*: this is another village on the island of Tuma and, as with all villages inhabited by the souls of the dead, it is depicted as an architectural copy of a real village (but we could also say that a real village is a copy of an ideal village, as in Rykwert 1972). A village on Tuma is located in an intangible space, where the huts do not need to be rebuilt every three to five years and where there are no famines, water flows plentifully, the sun

does not scorch the yams and neither does the rain rot them: it is the Ideal Village, almost the representation of the abstract design of the perfect village. It could also perhaps be interpreted as a true model on the basis of which real villages should be designed.

(16) *Wosi sobala IIa**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Nagudimuya bi towoi</i> | The young girl's face clouds over, she sighs, |
| 2 | <i>ka<ra> rimwatu yoka pisi</i> | you are moved by her words of yearning, |
| 3 | <i>sokameŋ'gu gumu varumu.</i> | but I prefer my own sighs. |

Watowa

- | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Na-gudimuya</i> | <i>b-i</i> | <i>towoi</i> | |
| | CLA-frowning.young | FUT-she | sigh | |
| 2 | <i>ka<ra> rimwatu</i> | <i>yoka</i> | <i>pisi</i> | |
| | her delicate.word | you | yearning | |
| 3 | <i>sokame-ŋ' gu</i> | <i>gumu</i> | <i>varamu.</i> | |
| | prefer-LW | my my.own | breathe.a.sigh | |

Commentary

Line 1. *Nagudimuya bi towoi*: the first part of this term is made up of the classifier *na-* and the base component *-gudimuya* (which, in turn, breaks down into *gudi-muya*), meaning literally 'small, girl, boy who sighs or complains': because of the presence of the feminine classifier we have a 'young girl who sighs, who complains'. On its own, *gudi-* suggests early adolescence, the stage after puberty, about to embark on the first amorous experiences, and it is precisely because of this allusion that the interpretation "The young girl's face clouds over, she sighs" (*bi towoi*) seemed the most suitable to me. See Baldwin (1939a:86).

Line 2. *rimwatu yoka pisi*: I have already said (see note 3, for *Untitled IV* above) that *rimwatu* alludes to 'speaking softly', but here it takes on a melancholic, upset air: this is not only the way of speaking of someone who is upset but also that of a young girl when she first falls in love, perhaps unrequited, as she is 'sulky'. Her feeling thus arouses tenderness in the person to whom the murmured word is addressed and who will be moved (*yoka pisi*, where the emotion is given by the verb form *pisi*, literally 'to be sorry').

This short poetic formula shifts between melancholy and irony, this latter sense given by the line "but I prefer my own sighs".

(17) *Wosi sobala IIIa**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Ra vadudu ba wa</i> | I shall be blown away on the wind |
| 2 | <i>i bwadi'gu vina</i> | the woman will become one with me |
| 3 | <i>nēi yogibu nēi ma</i> | she will come, resentfully, |
| 4 | <i>kwageyeisa wosi.</i> | to give her precious song. |

Watowa

- 1 *R-a vadudu b-a wa*
PAST-I blown FUT-I go
- 2 *i bwadi' gu vina*
she become.one.body my woman
- 3 *n-ê-i yogibu n-ê-i ma*
PAST-LW-she resent PAST-LW-she come
- 4 *kwageye-i-sa wosi.*
give-SW-PLU song/s

Commentary

Line 1. *Re vadudu ba wa*: here we have a past, *ra* (to be considered as variation on *n-a*), followed by a future, *ba (b-a)*: the two tenses convey very effectively the image of something or someone (who already possesses the characteristic of being a fast, light entity, the wind, in fact) which, when 'launched' or 'blown', will fly, will go fast. Once again, the expression of a desire (of being as one with the woman loved) is metaphorised by turning to the image of speed, of the wind. So the use of the past contributes to creating a state of momentary motionlessness, of apparent tranquillity which, however, already contains within itself the possibility of change, represented in line 1 by the verb declined in the past. It is like a spring under pressure, wound up as tightly as possible, ready to 'unwind' in a sudden burst to reach a final state of calm.

The verb form *vadudu* (made up of *va-dudu*, where the prefix *va-* functions as an auxiliary verb encapsulating, as I have already mentioned, an action performed with the legs, thus clearly alluding to movement; the base component *-dudu* means 'to whisper, to murmur softly, to blow, to make a slight noise with the voice') suggests the image of a quick breath of wind which arrives unexpectedly.

Line 2. *i bwadi'gu*: this is a verb fully examined by Baldwin (1939a:44-45). It embodies the meaning of to meet and, more specifically, implies the merging of two or more elements into a single one. In some poetical formulae, for example, the theme of the merging of a group of men at the height of their youth with the head of the village, forming a single body with the latter, ready to fight against an enemy village is often sung about. We thus have the image of a compact body, which in this formula symbolises the union of two lovers.

Line 3. *nêi yogibu*: Ipaïya interpreted this as a synonym of *kavikuru*, translatable as 'sulky' or 'to be in a sulk' or, possibly, 'to shoot glances of rage'. Here it should be interpreted less strongly: we have, once again, a sulky woman, a woman who is not happy for some reason but will, in any case, give "her precious song". Baldwin (1939a:655) notes both *yogibu*, which he translates as 'put out' and 'infuriated', and a similar form, *yogibulua*, literally 'sulk'. The same form also brings to mind *gibu* (from which one can deduce that *yogibu* is made up of the prefix *yo-* functioning as an auxiliary verb with the meaning of 'to make someone or something become') and the base component *-gibu*, translated by Baldwin (p.78) as 'sullen, distorted, heavy, ugly': once again, therefore, we have the image of someone sulking, put out, broody.

Line 4. *kwageyeïsa*: this expresses the concept of generosity, or the gesture of giving something to someone. It is a verb form made up of the classifier *kwa-* (abbreviation of

kwai-) which refers to anything which is abstract, and by the base component *-geye* – followed by the softening vowel *-i-*. The suffix *-sa* indicates the third person plural in the present.

I cannot rule out the possibility that the same form could be interpreted with a different voicing, *geisi*, recorded by Baldwin (1939a:76) and translated as ‘tear off, tear open, wrench apart’, and thus with a meaning not far from that given in my interpretation.

3.2.1.3 BONEORI MWATUPA, INIDARERI OF LALELA AND NAUŪYANA MOKAISOPĪ, SINGERS

(1) *Weponu Ia*

Watowa

1	<i>Kagurimatu vaori</i>	At my gentle words, up and down
2	<i>kavaorisi o Bweyowa</i>	on the winged island, we will go:
3	<i>kasiurasi Munaya</i>	from the perfumed baskets in the village of voiceless shades
4	<i>kakagonu ganaugwa</i>	we will pick flowers to weave the garlands,
5	<i>karimwana Budibudi</i>	excited we will go to the island of myths,
6	<i>kamunovasi bweiguna.</i>	shouting with joy on the seashore bathed in sunlight.

Watowa

1	<i>Kagu rimatu vaori</i>	my gentle.word go.up.and.down
2	<i>kavaori-si o Bweyowa</i>	go-PLU on winged.island
3	<i>kasiura-si Munaya</i>	sit.in.a.ring-PLU village.of.the.dead
4	<i>kakagonu ganaugwa</i>	pick flower
5	<i>karimwana Budibudi</i>	go.around.excited island.of.myths
6	<i>kamunova-si bweiguna.</i>	shout.with.joy-PLU seashore

Commentary

Line 1. *rimatu*: I have respected, both in the phonetic transcription and in the spelling, the pronunciation of the term by the three female singers, instead of transcribing it as *rimwatu* as in *Wosi sobala I*, lines 1 and 2 or *Ruwegwau IV*, line 2a, partly so as to give an example of the possibility of introducing sound variations, sometimes barely perceptible, in the performance of the same text, or of the same word sung in the context of different sounds. Often this type of variant is really present as signs of identification not only of the singer, and therefore of a ‘way’ of performing it (and which could very well be defined a style) but also of a particular village or island or of a specific historical period. For example, Gidou Modigalobu’s ‘way’ of performing the *megwa* for the Kula is remembered as a ‘classic’:

clearly this singer embodied a whole tradition of ritual 'bel canto' still held to be valid and completely faithful right up to the late 1980s.

Once transcribed, a sound variant might seem nonsense, above all to one outside Nowau culture (if not simply an actual error in transcription), rather than a sign of the individuality of the performer. Naturally the variant takes on a more pungent and profound meaning for a Nowau who hears it being sung. In fact, neither the performer nor the audience have a written form (of either the music or the lyrics) to refer to and on which to base performance and listening – with relative value judgements – but a much more fluid 'text', more intangible, in the sense that it is reconstructed with a considerable effort of memory and requiring, above all, an extremely subtle and refined ear for music. The 'text' exists, but it should also be looked for in the ways it is listened to, as they have been stratified in hundreds of years of performance of the text. All this attributes great importance to the singer/interpreter or, at least, much more than in a culture accustomed to writing. In the first case, it is the singer who conveys, effectively, a text and conveys it also on behalf of the author who composed it. Thus, a performance/interpretation by a singer, even if it were the only one after the author's death, is equivalent to the printing of a work; and it is the singer, in this case, who could commit an error, above all in the melody which accompanies the text.

The situation is different if the author of a poetic formula is present at its performance by a singer: s/he can intervene and correct, although it should be said that during the performance a particular sound, as sung by the singer, may sound different to the way it had been planned. The influence that a singer may have over a poet's text, and which may manifest itself in a different sonority to that planned should not, in fact, be underestimated (above all if the singer is highly skilled and famed as an excellent performer). An excellent singer can impose his/her 'style' of executing a song, particularly if supported by the audience. Towitara Buyoyu of Kumwageiya was so highly esteemed for his style of performing the *megwa* for the ritual exchange that he was often thought to be the author of the songs. Obviously the way in which a specific term is sung does not always have an effect on its tendentially 'semantic' meaning. This meaning is, in fact, planned by the author of the formula recited, and so the singer's intervention on the text is much more similar to the execution/performance of an opera singer.

Line 2. *kavaorisi*: the prefix *ka-* conveys onto the base verb (*vaori*, followed by the sign of the plural *-si*) the meaning of 'to do, to act', thus expressing the action of 'to go, to walk'. But the interest of this prefix is represented by its sonority, which links the verb form, of which it is part, to the forms *kagu* (line 1), *kasiurasi* (line 3), *kakagonu* (line 4), *karimwana* (line 5), and *kamunovasi* (line 6), creating a series of velar and uvular-glottal sounds articulated in a masterly way by the three female singers.

Line 3. *kasiurasi Munaya*: this alludes to a group of people seated in a circle around a basket overflowing with flowers with which they weave garlands. The verb form is made up of *ka-siura-si*, in which the base verb is given by Baldwin (1939a:502, 503) as *siula*, translated as 'gather round'. *Munaya* is one of the villages on Tuma.

Line 4. *ganaugwa*: Siyakwakwa has identified this as a tree which grows on the beach; equivalents could be *garagwa* and *garaugwa*, of which the word transcribed would be the poetical variation. It should be noted that on page 73 of Baldwin's (1939a) dictionary the terms *gauma* 'a bright yellow timber' and *gauna* 'smell, taste' are listed.

Line 5. *karimwana Budibudi*: the verb prefix *kari-* (in Baldwin 1939a:142 we have *kali*) conveys the meaning of 'through' onto the base verb, while *-mwana* encapsulates the image of someone moving with happiness and joy. The component *-mwa-* recalls on its own, as I have mentioned, a state of joy connected to holiness and heroism, and thus to the mythical hero Monikiniki who, in turn, also alludes to erotic and sensual pleasure.

Line 6. *kamunovasi bweiguna*: the first term has been attributed to Muyuwa but pronounced according to the Nowau phonetic system. In Lithgow and Lithgow (1974:62, 63) the form *kamumwán* is recorded, translated as 'boast about, praise', as are the two forms *kamnámwan*, translated as 'show off, boast', and *kamúnuw* as 'warm yourself'. The second word has been interpreted by Siyakwakwa as 'sunny beach'.

(2) *Weponu Ila*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Ina'gu bi siki o Sarewa</i> | My mother will sit in the village of voiceless souls, |
| 2 | <i>ponu da kaíyobu</i> | like a shining wave our speech will flow, |
| 3 | <i>muya nano'gubi rikasi.</i> | its brightness binding up my thoughts. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Ina' gu b-i siki o Sarewa</i>
mother my FUT-she sit in village.of.the.dead |
| 2 | <i>ponu da ka-í-yobu</i>
wave our PFX-LW-speech |
| 3 | <i>muya nano' gu b-i rikasi.</i>
thought mind my FUT-it bright |

Commentary

Line 1. *o Sarewa*: this is another of the villages on Tuma. The village, in terms of Nowau politics and social organisation, is a piece of territory, in turn included in a region. For example, the region of Lalela includes, as well as the area of the same name, the territories of Lalekeiwa, Kimutu and Taraigasi. Each of these territories is then divided in villages which have their own political and economic autonomy, represented externally by a village chief (*toriwaga* or *tokaraiwaga*) who belongs to the clan (*kumila*) or subclan (*dala*) which exercises leadership in the village. A territory is, in turn, represented by an elder who together with other leading elders from other territories help the leader of the region in administration (in the widest sense).

Sarewa means literally 'perfumed garland, to weave flowers' and in this sense it appears in *Da weriya*, line 4e.

Line 2. *da kaíyobu*: this also appears in *Ba yaruwa*, line 4b and with the same meaning of 'to converse, to chat pleasantly'. Conceptually, it thus corresponds to the more colloquial *kayaku*. The 'conversing' referred to by the poet is that of a dumb shadow, and so is light, ethereal, almost impalpable and with a very melancholic streak: it is the conversation of a dead mother with her daughter or son who has remained among the living.

We have the prefix *ka-*, connected to the base component *-yobu-* (literally 'to expel, to emit') through the link vowel *-i-*.

Line 3. *muya nano'gu*: the first form also appears in *Ruwegwau VI*, line 3a, *Nadubeori I*, line 1a and *Dorai sobala I*, line 3 and has been interpreted in the sense of 'to caress, be caressed'. This is, however, only one of the meanings encapsulated in this form, another one being 'to weave'.

bi rikasi: it was Siyakwakwa who suggested the meaning of 'beautiful, clear', and the verb form should be referred as much to the mind as to the pleasant conversation which, when 'interwoven' work as a single element. The interlinking between pleasant conversation and the mind suggest the close bond between word and thought.

(3) *Bôï tayobu I*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Vina i gedei'gu</i> | The woman has a grudge against me |
| 2 | <i>Yaunuwenu gudirova</i> | but Yanuwenu, the motherless youth, |
| 3 | <i>ramuduwosi bôïtayobu.</i> | rested his wreathed head at the sound of her ancient song. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Vina i gede-i' gu</i>
woman she grudge-LW me |
| 2 | <i>Yaunuwenu gudirova</i>
Yaunuwenu motherless.youth |
| 3 | <i>ra-mudu-wosi b-ô-i tayobu.</i>
CLA-already-song FUT-LW-he rest |

Commentary

Line 1. *i gedei'gu*: in *Nadubeori VI*, line 2 the same verb form used in the third person singular in the future Nowau was interpreted as "crushed", referring to a wreath of flowers, and so it would seem to be a contradiction to suggest the translation here as "has a grudge against me". But the contradiction is only superficial because *geda* (the base verb, where the vowel *-a* for reasons of vowel harmony has become *-e* and is followed by the link vowel *-i*) also means 'to beat, crush, bite' or 'to sulk, to be put out'. In *Nadubeori VI* the meaning of "crushed" was chosen, obviously on the suggestion of Ipaïya the author, because this perfume is obtained by crushing and/or rubbing the perfumed shoots onto which flower petals are threaded.

Line 2. *Yaunuwenu*: in *Wosi weimuya II*, line 2a this was interpreted as a noun and not as a proper noun, whose meaning, however, can be deduced: this is a young man 'with perfumed threads', or more precisely he is the 'perfumed thread youth'. It could also be interpreted as 'the young man who gives perfumed threads or flowers' and in this case the act of donation is encapsulated in *yau nu*, or *yaula*. But it is also true that *yau-nu* and *yauli* encapsulate the meanings of 'turn end about, spin, make string' (Baldwin 1939a:649). The name is well-chosen and is in harmony with the sense of the short song: alongside the sulky woman with her lover is 'a young motherless man', melancholic and with a name as 'sweet' as a garland of flowers. There is also a metaphorical counterposition between a state of tension, even if

sweetened by the implicit hint of love which the woman's sulking alludes to, and a melancholic state represented by the "motherless youth". This contrast is dissolved, however, in the noble relationship between the woman's song and the young man's garland.

Line 3. *ramuduwosi*: this is made up of *ra-mudu-wosi* and is a poetical variation on *na-mudu-wosi*, where *-mudu-* is the equivalent of *-mugo-* or *-mugwa-*, which are in turn variants of the verb particle *bougwa*, encapsulating the concepts of a completed action (or which it has already been decided to complete) of a precise will, with allusions to something ancient, archaic and ancestral (Baldwin 1939a:384, 385). The suffix *-wosi* is in itself the song, the performance of a poem. Thus, literally, we have 'a woman who sings', but it is the presence of the verb particle *-mudu-* which gives the term a more precious, ancestral flavour.

bôï tayobu: the most interesting feature of this term is that of expressing a series of mental images linked to a mood pervaded with tenderness. Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa have interpreted this verb (for example, referring to youth) as "resting his wreathed head at the sound of her ancient song", suggesting the image of someone who is sleeping, resting, with a garland of flowers on their head. In Baldwin (1939a:643) the verb form *yabu* is recorded (the prefix *ta-* in this specific case functions as an auxiliary verb which gives the base verb the sense of an action of doing, becoming) and translated as 'to croon' it is referred back also to *yobuyobu*, literally 'crooning' (p.654): evoking a soft whispering, a quiet song.

(4) *Bôï tayobu II*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Bwita yaburesi</i> | A wreath of fragrant flowers |
| 2 | <i>yabweina bweivatoi</i> | shines through the sacred time of waiting |
| 3 | <i>yabweitapa re meyeisa.</i> | becoming bright at their return. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Yamatamata yaburesi</i> | A wreath of dormant flowers |
| 2a | <i>yabweiponu o kunu'gu</i> | lies in my hair like foam, |
| 3a | <i>sibweipaïya o kunu'gu</i> | I long to feel it in my hair |
| 4a | <i>yavamwana yaburesi</i> | my longing for the sacred blooms |
| 5a | <i>yabweina bweivatoi.</i> | shines through the joyful time of waiting. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Bwita yaburesi</i>
wreath fragrant.flower |
| 2 | <i>ya-bweina bweï-vatoi</i>
CLA-shine sacred.time-wait |
| 3 | <i>ya-bweitapa</i> <i>r-e</i> <i>meye-î-sa.</i>
CLA-become.bright PAST-they come-LW-PLU |

Kavira

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1a | <i>Ya-matamata yaburesi</i>
CLA-dormant fragrant.flower |
|----|--|

- 2a *ya-bweiponu o kunu' gu*
CLA-foam in hair my
- 3a *sibweipaiya o kunu' gu*
longing in hair my
- 4a *ya-vamwana yaburesi*
CLA-longing sacred.bloom
- 5a *ya-bweina bweivatoi.*
CLA-shine sacred.time-wait

Commentary

Line 1. *Bwita yaburesi*: both Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa interpreted *yaburesi* as the name of a tree held to be particularly valuable because of its perfumed flowers which are sought after for preparing garlands and wreaths. The wreath is the subject of the whole poetic formula and should, in turn, be interpreted as a metaphor for both the poet and the performer's state of being in love. All the attributes of the wreath, its intense perfume, its bright, luminous colours, are transferred onto the (undefined) object of love: as the formula was recited by three female singers, one can presume that the object of so great a love was a man.

The sound of *yaburesi* prepares the listener for a concatenation of plays on sound encapsulated in *yabweina*, *yabweitapa*, *yamatamata*, *yabweiponu*, *sibweipaiya* and *yavamwana*, making the formula particularly soft on the ear. Baldwin (1939a:38) records both *buresi*, which he then corrected in pen into *bulei*, and *burei*, translated as 'a fruit tree'.

Line 2. *yabweina bweivatoi*: the same line is found in line 5a of the *Kavira* and in both places is interpreted as "shines through the sacred time of waiting", where the meaning of 'shining' is given by *yabweina* (*ya-bweina*), literally 'beautiful', but with emphasis on the diminutive, so that we have almost 'pretty' or 'charming'. It should not however be forgotten that, in Nowau, *bweina* is equivalent to *boina*, *bouna* (Baldwin, 1939a:48, records the Boyowa *bwaina*) which in everyday language is used in the sense of 'good, fair, just'. The classifier *ya-* indicates that the term refers to the wreath of flowers. *Bweivatoi* breaks down into *bweivatoi*, where *bweiv-* functions as a prefix and is a variant on *bwai-* or *bo-* (Baldwin 1939a:47). In addition to conveying the meaning of waiting for someone or something onto the base verb (already expressed in *vatoi*; see Baldwin p.613) *bweivatoi* alludes to festivity, to holiness, to reverential fear of ancestors. And if *bweivatoi* is related to *bwita* (see line 1) one can grasp the joyous, sacred nature embodied in a wreath of flowers, as if it were the equivalent of the laurel wreath of ancient classical poets. The wreath of flowers should, then, be interpreted as a metaphor alluding to someone or something which sacrifices themselves, thus making the wait, in this case, become sacred, or surrounded by something sacred (this does not exclude joy, at least in certain contexts). For example, the wait for ceremonial canoes, as they return from a ritual voyage, underlines the importance of one of the most significant events in the life of an inhabitant of Kitawa. So, the use here by the poet, and then by the singer, of the image of a wreath of flowers should be interpreted as a sacred reference, understood as when the action occurs, a mythical or ritual event. And it is indeed the *bwita* or *butia* (where the prefix *bu-* is a variation on *bo-*) more than the garland, *vana*, which expresses this holy joy: the garland of flowers expresses, I would say, a more everyday, profane joy.

Line 3. *yabweitapa*: this can be broken down into *ya-bweï-tapa*, where the suffix alludes to light, luminosity (Baldwin 1939a:537 also notes *tapi*).

Line 1a. *Yamatamata*: literally this means something (which because of the presence of the prefix *ya-* refers to a leaf, or to something flat or made of fibre) which is extinguished, or apparently extinguished. For example, the expression *kova i mata* means 'the fire has gone out' but alluding to the embers that lie under the ashes and which could be stired. The verb form *matamata* should therefore be interpreted as 'is going out', although the poet uses it here to express an image of flowers only just closed, not completely open, and seeming 'almost extinguished' but ready to be brought back to life.

Line 2a. *yabweïponu*: if one sticks to the literal meaning then we have 'a foaming wreath of flowers' (*ya-bweï-ponu*) where foaming is given by *ponu*. But this refers to a wreath laid on someone's hair (*kunu*) so the most appropriate interpretation of the verb is "like foam" where the image of something soft laid on something else is given, again, by *ponu*. The hint of a wave, contained in *yabweïponu*, depicted as soft with its spray, could be an allusion to waiting for a ceremonial canoe returning from a ritual exchange.

Line 3a. *sibweïpaiya*: both *Ipaiya* and *Siyakwakwa* were sure in interpreting this verb as 'to desire something intensely', underlining that this desire refers to someone else's wreath. Again here I have not introduced this last detail in my interpretation, although I cannot exclude that the poet may have had it in mind. In any case, this form clarifies the function of both the wait and the wreath within the poem: the bright, shining wreath of flowers is 'awaited' as a sacred gift and it could bear witness to an act of initiation (which the infix *-bweï-* refers to) as well as to love.

Line 4a. *yavamwana*: this can be broken down into *ya-vamwana*, where the base verb *-vamwana* is, in turn, composed of *va-mwana*. The prefix *va-* conveys the sense of doing to the base verb (and, in particular, all that requires movement of the body, such as walking; see Baldwin 1939a:595), while *-mwana*, given by Baldwin on page 394, literally means 'leisure', recalling once again the concept of holiness, happiness and joy, to which the *-mwa-* component alludes very clearly, referring to the mythical hero *Mwat*, *Mwata* or *Monikiniki*.

(5) *Bôï tayobu III*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | <i>Waga tanibwisa</i> | They pull the festive canoe to the shore, |
| 2 | <i>imimeïsa bo<ugwa> veitaki</i> | the women vying with each other, |
| 3 | <i>rêi dawai dubemeïsa</i> | their skirts untidy, |
| 4 | <i>kaiyaderi diudewenu.</i> | they walk in the company of many men. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Tamurova tanibwisa</i> | With cries of joy, you drag the festive canoe down to the
sea |
| 2a | <i>kami doiya Budibudi</i> | with your bright streamer, to the island of myths, |
| 3a | <i>ku va(l)isa diweiyami</i> | you lean out so the banners stream, |
| 4a | <i>ku tatesa kaborura.</i> | playing with its mythical face in the waves. |

Watowa

- 1 *Waga tanibwisa*
festive.canoe pull.to.the.shore
- 2 *imime-î-sa bo<ugwa> veitaki*
woman-LW-PLU already vying
- 3 *r-ê-i dawai dube-me-î-sa*
PAST-LW-it untidy skirt-our-LW-PLU
- 4 *kaiyaderi diudewenu.*
walk.in.the.company.of many.men.

Kavira

- 1a *Tamurova tanibwisa*
cry.of.joy drag.down.to.the.sea
- 2a *kami doiya Budibudi*
your streamer island.of.myths
- 3a *ku va(l)isa diweiyami*
you lean.out banner.stream
- 4a *ku tatesa kaborura*
you play mythical.face

Commentary

Line 1. *tanibwisa*: this is another example of crasis based on the Muyuwa verb form *tanéis* (*tanóunas*), translated as ‘we all go’ (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:140). But the effect of crasis is not limited just to the level of the expression of the new word but also involves the memory of the meanings associated with the elements which have come to be part of the new word: the translation as “they pull...to the shore” thus seems to me a suitable choice, above all in relation to the meaning of the Muyuwa verb.

Line 2. *imimeîsa*: literally this means ‘women of’. The word is composed of *imime-î-sa*, where the first component is the equivalent of the Boyowa *ile-* and/or *ilela-*, which in turn are equivalent to *vilela* ‘woman’ (Baldwin 1939a:95).

bo<ugwa> veitaki: I have translated this as “vying with each other”, respecting the image of an action which ‘is happening’, suggested by the verb particle *bougwa*. Literally *veitaki* means ‘to decide the winner of two competitors’ or ‘to establish the truth between two versions’. But here the poet alludes probably to a beauty, shrewdness or wickedness contest between women, as we have a line which refers vaguely to a state of erotic pleasure.

Line 3. *rêi dawai dubemeîsa*: interpreting this as “their skirts untidy”, I have tried to give an image of young woman who, accompanying the dragging of the ceremonial canoe down the beach (without defining whether the poetic formula refers to dragging the roughed trunk to be worked or to the action of pushing the boat into the water for a ritual trip) get excited, screaming and in their excitement ruffle their coconut fibre skirts. The image would seem to be very appropriate given, above all, the atmosphere which characterises such scenes, when joy, erotic allusions and excitement accompany any gesture. On these occasions wreaths and garlands of flowers underline the euphoria for the occasion which is also ritual.

From the syntactical point of view, a verb declined in the past (*r-ê-i* stands for *n-ê-i*) in which the third person singular *-i* (which I have given as plural, however) refers to the 'short skirts' indicated by *dubemeîsa* (which breaks down into *dube-me-î-sa*) where the concept of 'skirt' is encapsulated in the morpheme *dube-* (a poetical variation on *doba*) while *-me-î-sa* literally means 'we' and is a variation on *masi* (*ma-*, pronoun, and *-si*, plural, *-î-* being considered a link vowel). Literally we have, therefore, 'our short skirts', leaving one to suppose that the formula must always be performed by female voices.

Line 4. *kaiyaderi diudewenu*: the verb form *kaiyaderi* should be interpreted as a composite of *kaiya-deri*, where the base verb would be literally translated as 'to converse while walking' or 'to converse pleasantly'. For example, *kaiyaku* is used in Nowau to suggest precisely this sense of 'chat'. The meaning 'to walk' is expressed by *deri*, literally 'with'. The expression 'many men' is given by *diudewenu*, a form used only in this formula.

Line 2a. *kami doiya Budibudi*: here we have a variation on the third person singular possessive pronoun *kamu*, usually referring to food (Baldwin 1939a:153) but which should be interpreted here as a form of metaphorical possession, followed by the term *doiya* which, in Nowau, indicates the streamer made out of a pandanus leaf, or by pleating some types of very long, thin leaves, then tied to the two ends of the footboard which joins the canoe's outrigger. This streamer is often made out of a piece of coloured cloth or of bits of plastic. Its function is to suggest the speed of the canoe, or a joyous, ritual atmosphere, and it thus works as a visual metaphor.

Line 3a. *ku va(l)isa diweiyami*: the form *va(l)isa* (*vali/sa*) literally means 'to leave a print, a sign', but here its meaning is much wider and more complex because it is used to represent the image of a number of men who, with their feet pressed against the inside of the boat (with the rest of their body almost upright and leaning against the outside edge) push the canoe so as to give it a jerky, undulatory movement. Thanks to this movement the canoe shifts from side to side, it rocks as it moves, as do the leaf-flags fixed both to the boat and to the outrigger wave. Once again we have a visual metaphor of the speed and lightness of movement, invoked as symbols of the ceremonial canoe. The term *diweiyami* should be interpreted as being made up of the base component *-weiyami*, literally 'decoration', but with a much more general meaning than that expressed by *doiya*. The value of the prefix *di-* is more for sound than anything else.

Line 4a. *kaborura*: literally, this means 'nose', but here it refers to the *tabuya*, one of the two prowboards located symmetrically at the two ends of the canoe. The *tabuya* is considered the 'nose' of the *lagimu* (the 'face of the sun') of which the former is half, from a geometrical/construction point of view (Scoditti:1990a). But the *tabuya* also symbolises the moon in relationship and contrast to the *lagimu*-sun: it is a night star, therefore, and is associated with darkness. Moreover, only one of the two decorated surfaces of the *tabuya* is visible when looking at the outside of the canoe: for this reason, too, the *tabuya* suggests something, or someone, 'hidden'.

(6) *Bôï tayobu IV*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Ina bubuwou</i> | Brilliant red fish, I |
| 2 | <i>yeïgu bi doyeï' gu</i> | will ride the current as it flows |
| 3 | <i>na ma waïno veka.</i> | to the Great Village. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1a | <i>Kauīya tumegwai</i> | My father's basket |
| 2a | <i>yeigu kagu robu</i> | is for my precious jewel: |
| 3a | <i>ponu unu varamu</i> | but my mind sighs |
| 4a | <i>gwadi Yaunuwenu.</i> | for the young Yaunuwenu. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>Ina bubuwou</i>
fish brilliant.red |
| 2 | <i>yeigu b-i doye-i' gu</i>
I FUT-it ride/flow-LW my |
| 3 | <i>n-a ma waīno veka.</i>
PAST-I come village great |

Kavira

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1a | <i>Kauīya tumegwai</i>
basket my.father's |
| 2a | <i>yeigu kagu robu</i>
I my precious.jewel |
| 3a | <i>ponu unu varamu</i>
soft.mind my sigh |
| 4a | <i>gwadi Yaunuwenu.</i>
young Yaunuwenu |

Commentary

Line 1. *bubuwou*: this is one of the terms to classify the colour red such as, for example, *bweyani* or *bweiyani*.

Line 2. *bi doyei'gu*: here the base verb is given by *doye* (a variation for reasons of harmony on *doya*; see Baldwin, 1939a:65), recalling the same verb form in *Bôï tayobu III*, line 2a. According to the interpretation given by Ipaīya and Redimu from Lalela, this verb literally means 'to let oneself drift with the current in a canoe', this implying something moved gently by something else. In effect, it is the same collection of meanings already suggested by *doiya* in *Bôï tayobu III*, line 2a.

Line 3. *waīno*: this is another example of a new word constructed with two stems belonging either to different vocabularies or to a single one, and of which there remains a 'sound' as well as semantic memory. In this specific case, the new term, which means 'village', has been attributed to Muyuwa, where we find *ven*, but also *wanúwan*, *wanuwéin*, *wawnúwan* (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:155, 159, 160), suggesting the image of being at the centre of something, for example a village. But it is also true that, through assonance, *waīno* recalls *varu*, *veru*, *velu*, which mean, in fact, village: the term chosen by the poet could be the result of crasis between the Muyuwa and Nowau terms.

Line 1a. *Kauīya tumegwai*: this has been interpreted as "my fathers' basket" where it is not specified who the fathers are or of whom they are fathers. The word is the plural form of *tama-ra* or *tama-la* (Baldwin 1939a:533) which in addition to classifying one's own father is

also used for his brother(s), for the son of one's father's sister and the husband of one's mother's sister.

Line 3a. *ponu unu varamu*: during the transcription of the poetic formula, Siyakwakwa specified that *ponu* can also be used as a synonym of *nanamusa*, 'thought', the product of *nona* or *nano*. Probably, the assonance is established on the basis of the image of lightness suggested to the poet by both sea-spray and thought. But the meaning that the poet wanted to evoke with *ponu* is also given, extremely subtly, by *varamu*: we thus have a mind, a thought, which has lost control because of falling in love, and so creating an idiomatic phrase which could be translated as 'to go off one's head'. Siyakwakwa has used as a semantic equivalent *i polu nano'ra*, which means 'gripped by jealousy' or 's/he has lost his/her head'. The same phrase *i polu nano'gu* is noted by Baldwin (1939a:445) and translated as 'jealous'.

Line 4a. *gwadi Yaunuwenu*: this term, used as a masculine proper noun, also occurs in *Bôï tayobu I*, line 2 and, as a noun, in *Wosi weimuya II*, line 2a. It is very likely that *Yaunuwenu* was a young man famous for his beauty and/or for some glorious act and transformed or associated with a wreath of flowers (the mention of the garland is contained explicitly in *Wosi weimuya II*, line 2a) and then made heroic. The fact that he is 'motherless' can be interpreted as a special sign: he is a young man, free of any earthly bond, represented metaphorically by the mother (not forgetting that we are in a matrilinear society). His freedom means he is open to love. Thus, the association with the garland of flowers could be another allusion to his being the object of erotic passion (by whom is left completely ambiguous) although immersed in a sacred atmosphere, indicated by the wreath.

(7) *Bôï tayobu V*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Wosi ta yayusa</i> | We will begin the song. |
| 2 | <i>bôï tayobu kasipo(n)u</i> | With wreathed heads, in a ring |
| 3 | <i>kaigawenu ku neisa</i> | weaving their voices into a single voice |
| 4 | <i>imu Bweyowa ku veyuma.</i> | the women of the winged island come and go. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Kamu kagonu bôï tayobu</i> | This simple flower of the wreath is yours |
| 2a | <i>kamu ke(ïw)ori ponu ponu</i> | and yours, gentle waves, the soft desire: |
| 3a | <i>ta derisa Budibudi.</i> | let us go together to the island of myths. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Wosi ta yayu-sa</i>
song we begin.to.sing-PLU |
| 2 | <i>b-ô-i tayobu kasipo(n)u</i>
FUT-LW-it wreath sit.in.a.ring |
| 3 | <i>kaiga-wenu ku nei-sa</i>
voice-sing you search-PLU |
| 4 | <i>imu Bweyowa ku veyuma.</i>
woman winged.island you come.and.go |

Kavira

- 1a *Kamu kagonu b-ô-i tayobu*
your flower FUT-LW-it wreath
- 2a *kamu ke(iw)ori ponu-ponu*
your soft.desire wave-wave
- 3a *ta deri-sa Budibudi.*
we go.together-PLU island.of.myths

Commentary

Line 1. *ta yayusa*: this is the third person plural present, where the base verb is given by *yayu* followed by the plural *-sa*, interpreted by Sîyakwakwa as a conceptual equivalent of *kaiwana* (Baldwin 1939a:134 records *kaiwala*). The latter means literally 'to sing in a certain tone'.

Line 2. *kasipo(n)u*: this is made up of the prefix *ka-*, giving the sense of action (Baldwin 1939a:98) and the base verb *-sipo(n)u* (Baldwin, p.500, records *sipolu*). Literally, it means 'to sit in a circle'. The image that the poet suggests is of a group of singers whose heads are wreathed and who crouch in a circle, beginning to sing: it is a tranquil image, closed in its own, almost solemn completeness, even though streaked with a subtle eroticism.

Line 3. *kaigawenu*: this is the weaving and harmonising of a number of voices at the same time. The two forms *kasipo(n)u* and *kaigawenu* are perceived (and the perception is aided by the sound of their phonetic structures) as closely connected: the vocal harmony represented by the simultaneous interweaving of a number of voices is added to the harmony suggested by the visual image of the circle.

The verb form is made up of *kaiga-wenu*, where the prefix *kaiga-* (given by Baldwin on page 116 as *kaiga-la*) literally means 'voice', while *-wenu* is a poetical variation on *weli* or *wali*, literally 'to sing' but also 'to row' (Baldwin, p.635, records both meanings under *wali*). It is likely that there is an assonance between the rhythmic movement of rowing (accompanied by the voice of the oarsmen) and the rhythmic movement of song and voices.

Line 2a. *ke(iw)ori*: I was uncertain in transcribing this form, as can be seen from the use of brackets around *(iw)*. According to Ipaïya and Redimu from Lalela, its most appropriate meaning is the amorous desire provoked by the perfume of a garland of flowers enchanted by a poetic formula. This was the version I accepted. However, we cannot exclude another possible meaning if the same form can be interpreted as a poetical variation on *keiwali* or *kaiwala* (Baldwin 1939a:226).

Line 3a. *ta derisa*: this is an interesting form of verbalisation from the preposition (complement of company, of specification) *deri* (cf. *deli* in Baldwin 1939a:60) which literally means 'with, in the company of, together with'. The preposition has been verbalised in the third person plural present.

(8) *Ruwegwau I**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | <i><A>gu wosi ruwegwau</i> | My song is a lament |
| 2 | <i>Rumei b(i)dauma</i> | o Rumei, woman from the sea: |
| 3 | <i>werova miratu'gu.</i> | my son is motherless. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---|
| 1a | <i>Yaga'gu bamaira</i> | I shall come alone now |
| 2a | <i>kaba'gurogaroga</i> | with my mat for lovemaking, |
| 3a | <i>bi dudu Neiruma</i> | then like a sigh Neiruma will come |
| 4a | <i>ra bwadi inegwai</i> | to meet with our mothers, |
| 5a | <i>biga'ra Bweyowaku semeisa</i> | to speak the language of the winged island; |
| 6a | <i>tua'gubi rivisi</i> | my brother's mind will become darkened |
| 7a | <i>ra buni varamu osimwana.</i> | as he hears the sad chanting of the dance. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i><A>gu wosi ruwegwau</i>
my song lament |
| 2 | <i>Rumei b-(i) dauma</i>
Rumei FUT-she come |
| 3 | <i>werova miratu'gu.</i>
motherless son my |

Kavira

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1a | <i>Yaga'gu b-a maira</i>
I my FUT-I come.alone |
| 2a | <i>kaba'gu rogaroga</i>
mat my copulating.support |
| 3a | <i>b-i dudu Neiruma</i>
FUT-she come.like.a.sigh Neiruma |
| 4a | <i>ra bwadi inegwai</i>
her meet our.mothers |
| 5a | <i>biga' ra Bweyowa ku seme-i-sa</i>
language SFX winged.island you speak-LW-PLU |
| 6a | <i>tua'gu b-i rivisi</i>
brother my FUT-he become.darkened |
| 7a | <i>ra buni varamu osimwana.</i>
his reason sigh chant.and.dance |

Commentary

Line 1. *ruwegwau*: a meaning similar to 'hoarse moan' is attributed by Baldwin (1939a:91) to *gwagwagu* and *gwagu*, which he translates respectively as 'gurgle, make deep noises in the throat' and 'issue instructions in a bad voice to all the village'. The poet wanted to allude to a type of *modulatio* voice with a hoarse tone and which is prolonged for a certain period of

time, very similar to a lament: we thus have a sad, melancholic atmosphere which characterises the whole *Watowa*.

Line 3. *werova miratu'gu*: the first form is made up of *we-rova*, where the suffix *-rova* indicates a state of privation (as in *gudirova*) and of abandon. The prefix *we-* should be interpreted as a variation on *wa*, literally 'to go, to go away, to leave' and in this specific case strengthens the meaning of *-rova*: we thus have someone or something which has been abandoned.

miratu'gu stands for *natu'gu* (literally 'the son who is mine, who belongs to me') in which the form *-mira* is usually used to indicate 'people of'.

Line 1a. *ba maira*: this is a very unusual verb form which has been interpreted by Redimu of Lalela as equivalent to *ba meiya*, literally 'I'll come here right away'.

Line 2a. *kaba'gu rogaroga*: this is translated as "with my mat for lovemaking", where the image of a bed for love is given by the present continuous *rogaroga*, composed of the doubling of the base verb *roga*, a variation on the Boyowa *logi*, translated by Baldwin (1939a:321) as 'copulating support'.

Line 4a. *ra bwadi inegwai*: the scene represented here is extremely melancholic even if interwoven, as often happens in this type of poetic formula, with threads of impalpable eroticism. The form *bwadi* literally expresses the meeting of two or more elements which merge to form a single one (Baldwin 1939a:27, 44) while *inegwai* is the plural of *ina'ra* or *ina'a* and corresponds to the Boyowa *inagwa* (Baldwin p.96).

Line 6a. *bi rivisi*: this verb form, the third person singular future, literally means 'to split in two, divide, separate' but as it is followed by *ra buni* (line 7a), literally 'his/her mind', it suggests 'a reason which splits in two', a way of saying that 'someone has lost their head'. But here 'to lose one's head' has a less forceful meaning, so it seemed correct to me to render the Nowau text with "...will become darkened".

(9) *Ruwegwau II*

Watowa

1	<i>Birara Nageyobu</i>	Nageyobu will burst into bloom
2	<i>yaga'gu kwatuvia</i>	and I shall be transformed
3	<i>ureri kwatuvia.</i>	into all the colours of the iridescent rainbow.

Watowa

1	<i>B-i</i>	<i>rara</i>	<i>Nageyobu</i>
	FUT-she	blossom	Nageyobu
2	<i>yaga'gu</i>	<i>kwatuvia</i>	
	I	my	transform
3	<i>ureri</i>	<i>kwatuvia.</i>	
	rainbow	transform	

Commentary

Line 1. *Bi rara Nageyobu*: this is a almost Proustian sensory image to allude to a 'girl in flower', where the budding of the woman is represented by the opening of a flower: reflecting this, like a visual echo, the person who is watching the budding of the flower 'opens up' in the colours of the rainbow. We have two symmetrical but not identical images, because one is the image of a bloom, the woman, who is about to change into a garland, and the other is the image of the rainbow, the man, who opens up, multifaceted, into all the colours of the spectrum. But the symmetry between the two characters is perfect and is established in relation to the passage from one state to another: the young girl changes into a woman, the rainbow-man transforms into colours. The change unites them.

Line 2. *kwatuvia*: literally this indicates the change from one state or situation to another state or situation and is a synonym of *katupeli* or *katupeili*. The first form is recorded by Baldwin (1939a:194) and translated as 'change over, transfer'. The form *kwatuvia* is made up of the prefix *kwatu-* or *katu-*, which functions as a causative (Baldwin p.184) and the root *-via*, a variation on *vili* or *vila*, literally 'to turn, turn round'. I have specified in the translation of the line what the man singing the poetic formula changes into, specifically underlined also in line 3.

Line 3. *ureri kwatuvia*: this first term means 'rainbow'; the Boyowa equivalent is *ulelu* (Baldwin 1939a:586).

(10) Ruwegwau III

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Ine'gu ponuponu</i> | My woman is the whiteness of sea foam, |
| 2 | <i>re dudu midabe'gu</i> | her skirt is gently lifted |
| 3 | <i>re gwau kagu vana.</i> | and the perfume of my garland fills the air. |

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Ine' gu ponuponu</i> | woman my whiteness.of.sea.foam |
| 2 | <i>r-e dudu midabe' gu</i> | PAST-it lift skirt my |
| 3 | <i>r-e gwau kagu vana.</i> | PAST-it perfume my garland |

Commentary

Line 1. *Ine'gu ponuponu*: the term *ine*, a variation on *ina* (Baldwin 1939a:96) can be used as a prefix to indicate anything feminine or anything done by a woman. In this specific case it simply means 'woman'. *Ponuponu* is a present continuous constructed by repeating the base form *ponu*.

Line 2. *re dudu midabe'gu*: this is another example of a verb in the past, where the consonant 'n' has been changed into 'r' to form *re* (for example, see *Bôï tayobu III*, line 3; *Dorai sobala I*, line 3 and *Dorai I*, line 1). I have interpreted the form *re* as a variation on *ni*, and therefore as a third person singular in the past and referred to 'skirt', although some

difficulty might arise in interpreting *midabe'gu* (where *mi-* functions as a classifier for anything concerning clothing, and here alludes to 'skirt'), which should literally be translated as 'the short skirt that belongs to me, which I am wearing'.

Line 3. *re gwau*: this is a synonym of *maina*, but is used in the text as a verb form (*r-* and *gwau* = *n-i gwau*). Baldwin (1939a:91) records *gwau*, translating it generically as 'tree, a type of tree'. It is very likely that flowers, particularly valued for their perfume, are picked from this tree: this is not the first time that a term used to classify someone or something is then used to indicate an action, an attitude or a quality of the former. Another example of such an extension of meaning is given by *yaunuwenu*, which is used both as a proper noun and as the action of threading petals, buds or flowers to make garlands and wreaths.

(11) *Ruwegwau IV*

Watowa

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|---|
| 1, | <i>Kaiiya o vegasi</i> | A small basket under his arm, |
| 2 | <i>mwaŋgini o berana</i> | joyful by the water's edge |
| 3 | <i>reiyava mirumeru.</i> | the youth blows the magic fruit from his mouth. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Vadudu o Bweyowa</i> | With quiet steps on the winged island |
| 2a | <i>rimwatu Nabouma</i> | Nabouma goes, her voice a whisper, |
| 3a | <i>domweta o kwadeu.</i> | as she enjoys the green fruit on the seashore. |

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Kaiiya o vegasi</i> | basket at be.under.an.arm |
| 2 | <i>mwa-ŋ-gini o berana</i> | PFX-LW-sign at water's.edge |
| 3 | <i>reiyava mirumeru.</i> | blow.the.magic.fruit youth/s |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1a | <i>Vadudu o Bweyowa</i> | step.quietly on winged.island |
| 2a | <i>rimwatu Nabouma</i> | whisper Nabouma |
| 3a | <i>domweta o kwadeu.</i> | green.fruit on sea.shore |

Commentary

Line 1. *Kaiiya o vegasi*: the form *vegasi* is found in Baldwin (1939a:603) as *va-kasi* and is translated as 'fit in'. It is made up of the verb prefix *va-*, used to convey the sense of action, of doing onto the base verb (in the poetic formula we have someone putting the small basket under his/her arm) and the base form *kasi* (literally 'to fill, to pile up'). As the meaning given by Baldwin is similar to that chosen by the author, it is probable that the verb can be

interpreted as a poetical variation of *vakasi*, or more simply as its Nowau equivalent. According to Siyakwakwa, the lexeme encapsulates the image of someone walking along holding the characteristic *kauīya*, a kind of wallet, under their arm, where betel nuts, white calcium powder, betel pepper and black quid of tobacco have been put.

Line 2. *mwaḡini*: this is also found in Baldwin (1939a:389) and is a synonym of *masawa*. It alludes to excitement, enjoyment, including in the sacred, ritual sense, as represented by the particle *mwa-*, which functions as a prefix, and whose fullest meaning is found in the Kula ritual exchange. The lexeme can be broken down into *mwa-ḡini*, where the suffix is usually used to express the action of leaving a trace, a mark (such as that of a wood carver) but which here, precisely because of the prefix *mwa-*, alludes to the mark that indicates pleasure or excitement: it is as if to say that one gets happy by leaving a sign of that happiness.

o berana: this has been interpreted by both Ipaīya and Siyakwakwa as a synonym of *o kwadeu* or *o kwadewa*, literally 'shore, seaside' (Baldwin 1939a:279).

Line 3. *reiyava mirumeru*: the first lexeme also occurs in *Wosi weīmuya III*, line 2a and with the same meaning. We have another hint at excitement, understood as a state of ritual ecstasy, as a moment when the mind's perception (perception/intellect) is sharpened. Once again, excitement is represented by the possibility of refining one's perceptive sensitivity: the ginger berry and the red betel mixture become metaphors for enjoyment, of excitement and of love in all its nuances. The transparent, vitreous ginger berry is transformed into a myriad of luminous, dust-like sound particles, enchanted by the voice and, in turn, enchanting all that they touch. The red *buwa* slowly descends into the body to enchant it, to transport it to the mythical, ritual world of the hero Monikiniki. But the ginger berry also metaphorises the passage from inside to outside: it is the world of the lover which emerges to flood the loved one with passion. In this case, it is a young man (perhaps the mythical Yaunuwenu) who casts his spell: we have, in fact, *mirumeru*, which Siyakwakwa has suggested interpreting as a synonym of *gwadi*. In Boyowa we find both *mila* (of which *miru-* could be a variation or a poetical version) and *milamila* as equivalents of *gugwadi*, so *mirumiru* is literally a plural, although I have preferred to retain the singular. See Senft (1986:324).

Line 2a. *rimwatu Nabouma*: once again the poet evokes the image of a 'light' conversation as a metaphor of 'harmonious' or 'whispered'. It alludes to an intimate conversation, that of two lovers using a language of initiates, where the erotic element is only just hinted at and almost sublimated 'in' and 'with' the conversation which amplifies the light of the intellect. The conversation is itself, then, a metaphor of an amorous relationship, as a 'sonorous' expression of the pleasure which is, once again, a ritual pleasure: we have, in fact, the particle *-mwa-* in *rimwatu*.

The woman *Nabouma* could allude to the world of Ade as the term – used in the formula as a proper noun – is made up of *na-bouma*, where the suffix is a variation on *boula* or *bola*, literally 'prohibition, time when song and dance are suspended' (Baldwin 1939a:28-32). In Nowau culture an example of prohibition which implies the suspension of any form of entertainment occurs during a serious mourning (such as the death of a village chief) but, at the same time, alludes to a ritual atmosphere and, therefore, to the joy connected to the rite. There is no contradiction in these meanings which are all encapsulated in *bouma*, so the full name *Nabouma* can be interpreted as a metaphor for enjoyment and joy, but connected to sacred, ritual events.

Line 3a. *domweta*: this is a synonym of *lobida*, the fruit and leaf of the betel pepper. According to Siyakwakwa it belongs to Muyuwa, although it is not recorded by Lithgow and Lithgow. The poet has already metaphorised enjoyment in line 3 with the ginger berry, while in this line the same metaphorical value is carried by *lobida* which, in turn, alludes to the red *buwa* mixture.

(12) *Ruwegwau* V

Watowa

1	<i>Bwita budegwai</i>	Weaving a wreath of fragrant petals
2	<i>ra kudu magu vana</i>	and entwining a garland of flowers,
3	<i>ra yami nemeyara</i>	preparing the pandanus leaf for a ritual girdle
4	<i>ra gwau segwau'gu.</i>	I gathered from the trees the intoxicating scent.

Watowa

1	<i>Bwita budegwai</i> wreath weave
2	<i>r-a kudu magu vana</i> PAST-I entwine my garland
3	<i>r-a yami nemeyara</i> PAST-I prepare ritual.girdle
4	<i>r-a gwau se-gwau' gu.</i> PAST-I gather.a.flower PFX-intoxicating.scent my

Commentary

Line 1. *budegwai*: the image sung is that of someone who is weaving a wreath of flowers, encapsulated in *budegwai*. This form is obtained by crasis: *bude-* derives from *boda* (or from the transitive form *bwadi*, literally 'to encounter', 'to put together', 'to form a single body' – Baldwin, 1939a:44 – a meaning which, in the poetic formula, refers to the putting together of petals, buds or flowers to make a wreath), to which has been added the term *-gwai*, derived from *gwau* (which Baldwin, p.91, translated literally as 'tree').

Line 2. *ra kudu*: the image of weaving flowers is repeated but this time in reference to a garland, and is given by the verb form *ra kudu* (a variation on *na kudu*), also found in *Da weriya*, line 1a. The use of two different forms to represent similar images, of weaving flowers and buds, is a sign of the differing semantic nuances the poet wants to give to the wreath and to the garland: the wreath is coloured with holiness and rituality, while the garland does not have this implication and is more linked to the profane, to everyday joy. In addition, the verb form *budegwai* recalls something made up of closely connected elements, so closely bonded that they form a single element. It is as if the wreath was more compact and harmonious than the garland: compactness and harmony are used here as a metaphor for sacred, ritual elements.

Line 3. *ra yami nemeyara*: the verb form *yami* (Baldwin, 1939a:649, records *yauli*, *yaula*) literally means 'to cut, to split into fine threads' but also 'gift'. However, here it should be interpreted not only as cutting a pandanus leaf for a girdle but also the later stage of softening up the leaf – passing it over red-hot stones – and decorating it with geometric designs. This

type of girdle (the form *nemeyara* should correspond to Baldwin's, pp.630, 650, forms *vivia* and *yavi-la*) is used only on ritual occasions such as, for example, the Milamala dances (worn under the white coconut fibre skirt, or on its own during the *rekoreko* dance) or Kula expeditions.

Line 4. *ra gwau segwau'gu*: the form *gwau* is used here twice in the same line. First it appears as a verb, first person singular in the past (*r-a gwau = n-a gwau*) and then as an affix in *se-gwau*, where the prefix *se-* functions as an auxiliary verb giving the concept of an action to be carried out, that must be effected, to the base verb. In line 1 the form *budegwai* was used, interpreted as "fragrant petals" which seemed the most appropriate translation, at least in this poetic context, even though in itself *gwau* and/or *gwai* means a tree probably well known for its fragrant flowers. We thus have a series of meanings associated with this form which suggests a wreath of flowers, the act of picking flowers from a tree, the act of weaving them and the scent they release into the air. See Baldwin (1939a:91, 473).

(13) *Ruwegwau VI*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Vina kamu youra</i> | Woman, you give these fine green shoots: |
| 2 | <i>deniba veramu</i> | with them I'll sigh out my love |
| 3 | <i>o kainena Bweyowa.</i> | on the edge of the winged island. |

Kavira

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|--|
| 1a | <i>Ku gabu boboeta</i> | On burning stones you whiten the fragrant leaves |
| 2a | <i>toutu inegwai</i> | caressed by mothers' hands; |
| 3a | <i>ku muya digeriwa</i> | you entwine the young green shoots |
| 4a | <i>o kainena Bweyowa.</i> | on the edge of the winged island. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>Vina kamu youra</i>
woman your fine.green.shoot |
| 2 | <i>deni b-a veramu</i>
with FUT-I sigh |
| 3 | <i>o kainena Bweyowa.</i>
on edge winged.island |

Kavira

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1a | <i>Ku gabu boboeta</i>
you burn/whiten fragrant.leaf |
| 2a | <i>toutu inegwai</i>
caress mothers |
| 3a | <i>ku muya digeriwa</i>
you entwine green.shoot |
| 4a | <i>o kainena Bweyowa.</i>
on edge winged.island |

Commentary

Line 1. *Vina kamu youra*: I have interpreted the *Watowa* as dedicated to a woman, *vira*, who is taken up with the preparation of “green shoots” which could be used to weave a garland or a wreath of flowers or perhaps a bracelet (*kwasi*) which men and women wear on their arms, above all during festivities. There is a clear hint at a preparatory stage, when the woman whitens and softens the “green shoots” on red-hot stones: this operation also serves to bring out the scent in the shoots. Moreover, the term which classifies a flower, plant or tree often also classifies a wreath, garland or bracelet, made from these elements. In this specific case, *youra* was interpreted by Ipaïya as a young banana leaf which, when passed over red-hot stones and stripped, will be used as a fine thread. His interpretation is not at odds with the more literal meaning given by Baldwin (1939a:665) to the Boyowa term *youlala*, very similar to *youra* ‘whitening’.

Line 2. *deni ba veramu*: literally, we have ‘with them I will complain’ or ‘I will heave sighs’, but the author has indicated very clearly that the line must be interpreted in relation to the whole *Watowa*: we thus have a gift, the sweet-scented, fine shoots, which allude to an act of love which, in turn, produces love pangs and torment. It therefore seemed right to interpret *varamu* as “sigh out my love”.

Line 3. *o kainena*: this indicates ‘something which stands’, as the classifier *kai-* can be interpreted as referring either to a wooden object or to something long (Baldwin 1939a:112). But *kainena* can also be a variation on *kaikela*, literally ‘foot’, ‘leg’ and alludes to anything that is the base of something or someone.

Line 1a. *Ku gabu boboeta*: the verb form *gabu* – literally to burn, to ignite, to heat – is used here by the poet to suggest the image of the leaves which are passed over the red-hot stones to release their perfume. Once again, the perfume is intended as a metaphor of a delicately amorous atmosphere. According to Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa, *boboeta* refers to a particular type of garland and their interpretation does not appear to contrast with the (more general), meaning that I have chosen on the basis of the morphological structure of the term: in fact, the prefix *bo-* on its own alludes to something ritual, sacred and forbidden, but also to festivity, and encapsulates the image of something or someone decorated with flowers. I cannot exclude, however, that *boboeta* may be broken down into *bobo-eta*, where the base morpheme *bobo-* (and the variants *bwabu-* and *bobu-*) refer more pertinently to the action of stripping, of cutting in thin strips (Baldwin 1939a:43).

Line 3a. *ku muya digeriwa*: the verb form *ku muya* has been interpreted as ‘to blow’ (as, for example, in *Nadubeori I*, line 1a) and as ‘to bind, to entwine’ (see *Weponu IIa*, line 3), a meaning which has also been chosen here. Both ‘blow’ and ‘bind, entwine’ are represented by the same verb form and should therefore be interpreted as having two complementary meanings: the entwining of a garland of flowers also implies touching them gently and delicately.

(14) *Ruwegwau VII*

Watowa

- 1 *Tuma'gu kagu robu*
- 2 *basiki kadenena*
- 3 *kainenui yuyeyura.*

My father is my jewel:
I shall wait for him, hidden on the path,
at the foot of the windblown tree.

Watowa

- 1 *Tuma' gu kagu robu*
father my my jewel
- 2 *b-a siki kadenena*
FUT-I wait path
- 3 *kainenu i yuyeyura.*
foot.of.the.tree it windblown

Commentary

Line 1. *Tuma' gu kagu robu*: it is very likely that with *robu* the poet refers to a *mwari* or to a *vaiguwa* or to a *diginagoma* (see also note 3 of the commentary on *Dorai sobala I*). It cannot be excluded that *robu* refers to all of a man's valuable possessions. The poet, moreover, depicts an intimate scene in a confidential tone, between a father and a son who sees the former as his 'jewel' and waits anxiously, as if for a sign of forgiveness.

The term *tuma*, followed by the first person singular possessive pronoun, stands for *tama* and in Nowau can mean both one's own father or his brother, or the son of one's father's sister and the husband of one's mother's sister.

Line 2. *kadenena*: this should be interpreted as a word constructed by the poet to obtain a certain sound effect and derives from *keda*, literally 'path' (Baldwin 1939a:221).

Line 3. *i yuyeyura*: this could correspond to the Boyowa *youya* or *yoya*, translated as 'gale', 'the wind blowing' (Baldwin 1939a:665, 668): the meaning is thus very similar to my interpretation.

(15) Weponu A*Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Ina' gu mesiki o kudumuiya</i> | My mother, where the waves die, awaits |
| 2 | <i>wadudutama' gu yorikasi</i> | the coming of my father: one after another they go, |
| 3 | <i>doba' na Bweyowayoriruwa.</i> | and her skirt is taken by the shades on the winged island. |

Watowa

- 1 *Ina' gu mesiki o kudumuiya*
mother my await on teeth.of.the.beach
- 2 *wa dudu tama' gu yorikasi*
at come.like.a.sigh father my one.after.another
- 3 *doba' na Bweyowa yoriruwa.*
skirt SFX winged.island shades

Commentary

Line 1. *mesiki o kudumuiya*: the verb form *mesiki* literally expresses the action of 'to come and stay', 'to stop' but also 'to crouch', where the meaning of 'to come' is conveyed by *me-* (a variation on *ma-*). The poet wants to depict the image of a dead mother whose soul is seated on the seashore, thus alluding to the first stage in the voyage she will have to make

before getting to the island of Tuma. According to Nowau culture, as soon as the soul leaves the body it starts on a trip divided into three stages and a ritual gesture is made in each stage. At the first stage the soul can stop and look back towards its loved ones: it is still able to feel emotion and anguish for all the affection left behind in the village; it is the time for contemplation of the faces of the loved ones. At the second stage, symbolised by a cliff to the north-east of Kiriwina (called *bowoyorogwegu*), the soul can still hear the voices of the loved ones but can no longer turn back to see them. At the third stage, separation is definitive. The short poetic formula depicts the first stage of the journey to Tuma: the mother is sitting on the shoreline where the waves lap the beach, on the line that separates 'land' from sea. The line of separation is not clear-cut but, I would say, indistinct and alludes to the not yet definitive 'separation' of the soul from the village and, above all, from her children.

The term *kudumuiya* is the equivalent of the Boyowa *o kudula gana*, literally 'on the teeth of the beach' (Baldwin 1939a:72, 264).

Line 2. *tama'gu yorikasi*: the poet specifies that the mother died before the father and is waiting for the latter before moving "one after another they go" (*yorikasi*) towards the island of Tuma. One should note the tone of heart-rending gentleness and melancholy which pervades the formula, suggested in part by the use of the verb form *yorikasi* which indicates the action of dancers getting in line for a harmonious figura, a harmony which is achieved calmly and slowly.

Line 3. *yoriruwa*: the sound of this term echoes the previous *yorikasi*, almost as if to underline a natural succession of events such as the wait (sweet and melancholic) on the beach; the arrival, like a breath of wind, of the father; the movement one behind the other slowly and harmoniously (*yorikasi*); and, finally, being carried away "by the shades on the winged island". Everything is soft, impalpable, ethereal.

The form *yoriruwa* is the equivalent of the Boyowa *yaluwa* (Baldwin 1939a:648).

(16) *Sinata I*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Ura waga Meutu</i> | Meutu, my festive canoe: |
| 2 | <i>betoderi buna'ra</i> | your face wreathed with bright shells |
| 3 | <i>tokasema Meutu.</i> | you go with the others, Meutu, to dance in the sea. |

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | <i>Ura waga</i> | <i>Meutu</i> |
| | my festive.canoe | Meutu |
| 2 | <i>betoderi buna'ra</i> | wreath.of shell SFX |
| 3 | <i>tokase-ma</i> | <i>Meutu.</i> |
| | be.in.line-SFX | Meutu |

Commentary

Line 1. *Meutu*: this is a proper noun whose meaning is 'voice which sings', but also 'song', 'composition'. It is made up of *me-utu*, where the prefix *me-* (variation on *ma-*) strengthens

the desire for something or someone: in this case the desire to sing, to use one's own words. In any case, the reference to desire, to will (it should not be forgotten that the prefix *me-* or *ma-* derives from *magi-ra* or *magi-la*, literally 'to want', 'desire', 'to desire') is implicitly strengthened by line 2 where the poet sings "your face wreathed with bright shells". The image of the 'face' is embodied in *betoderi* (in everyday language the form *magi-ra* or *magi-la* is used): the poet has established an assonance between the 'voice' and the 'face' of the ceremonial canoe. For comment on the personification of the ceremonial canoe see Scoditti (1990a).

Line 2. *betoderi buna'ra*: the first term refers literally to the decoration of white shells which is fixed to the upper part of the *lagimu* so as to form a garland. It is made up of *betoderi*, where the first component is a variation on *butia*, or *bwita*, literally 'wreath', while *-deri* literally means 'together, with': we thus have 'a wreath with, formed by'.

Line 3. *tokasema*: this is composed of *to-kase/a-ma* in which the classifier *to-* indicates the masculine, and the infix *-kase/a* means 'to line up, to be in line, to get into line', while the suffix *-ma* can be interpreted either as an indication of a direction (Baldwin 1939a:343) or as an action which lasts in time.

(17) *Sinata II*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>I kwane'gu sirara</i> | The gift I put on makes me beautiful, |
| 2 | <i>ba sirara wa waga</i> | I shall step into the festive canoe |
| 3 | <i>ra dodou kaisai.</i> | drawn by the voice of the waves. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>I kwane' gu sirara</i>
he make.beautiful me put.on |
| 2 | <i>b-a sirara wa waga</i>
FUT-I step.into in festive.canoe |
| 3 | <i>r-a dodou kaisai.</i>
PAST-I call wave |

Commentary

Line 1. *I kwane'gu sirara*: the first verb form here literally means 'to surround', 'to go around' but also 'to get oneself ready', 'to wear something', 'something which suits your body'. It corresponds to the Boyowa *kwali* and *kwani* (Baldwin 1939a:286, 287). Siyakwakwa has suggested that the poet wanted to depict a man, involved in a ritual exchange, who has 'prettied himself' by wearing a *mwari* or a *vaiguwa* ("The gift I put on makes me beautiful"). The verb form *sirara* (Baldwin, pp.489, 491, notes *sila* and *sili*) is also used in *Sinata IV*, line 2, *Wosi yawena*, line 1a and *Osiyawêi'gu*, line 3a.

Line 3. *ra dodou kaisai*: I have interpreted *ra* as being the equivalent of *n-a*, and thus we have the first person singular in the past (literally 'I called' or 'I have been called'). Baldwin (1939a:63, 65) records *dodou* and translates it as 'calling' and refers back to *dou*, translated as 'call': in this specific case we have a low muted sound, such as the typical rumble associated with the approach of thunder or a storm.

(18) *Sinata III**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Ura keda vaosa</i> | I try to find my way |
| 2 | <i>makedanaNuratu</i> | to Nuratu, the festival island, |
| 3 | <i>tokasema dobobu.</i> | where young girls dance on their skirts of many colours. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Ura keda vaosa</i>
my way try.to.find |
| 2 | <i>ma-keda-na Nuratu</i>
PFX-path-SFX festival.island |
| 3 | <i>tokase-ma dobobu.</i>
be.in.line-SFX short.skirt |

Commentary

Line 1. *Ura keda vaosa*: the verb form *vaosa* (the prefix *va-* suggests an action performed walking) has been interpreted by Siyakwakwa as 'to turn back on one's steps', 'to turn back and search'. It is connected to *vaori* (see *Weponu Ia*, line 1, *Da weriya*, line 3e).

Line 2. *makedana Nuratu*: we have the demonstrative pronoun *ma-*, referring to the path, *-keda-na*, where the affix *-na* completes the pronoun value already expressed in the prefix (Baldwin 1939a:342).

Nuratu is a small atoll opposite the beach in the territory of Kumwageiya to the south-west of Kitawa. It is often used for small parties, above all by men during ritual fishing expeditions, and is linked to images of pleasure, including erotic experiences. It is in this last sense that it has been used by the poet.

Line 3. *dobobu*: literally, this is the small skirt used by young girls just out of puberty and ready for their first amorous experiences. It is much shorter than a *doba* and multicoloured (as well as red and white, yellow and blue are also used). It functions as metaphor for adolescence, the pre-matrimonial state and amorous excitement.

(19) *Sinata IV**Watowa*

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Teriria <a>gu waga</i> | I have made my festive canoe beautiful |
| 2 | <i>ba sirara vivina</i> | and I shall stay with her, |
| 3 | <i>we mapu'gu tua'gu.</i> | my elder brother's gift. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>Teriria <a>gu waga</i>
carve my festive.canoe |
| 2 | <i>b-a sirara vivina</i>
FUT-I step.into woman |

- 3 *we mapu' gu tua' gu.*
 to gift my brother my

Commentary

Line 1. *Teriria*: this is given by Baldwin (1939a:530, 547) as *terera* and *talala* and he attributes the meaning of 'to cut finely': with Baldwin, we have thus specified the action of preparing decorations for the ceremonial canoe, this consisting in the stripping of pandanus leaves, or other plants, to make decorative items out of them.

Line 2. *ba sirara vivina*: the verb form *sirara* (which also occurs in *Sinata II*, lines 1, 2; *Wosi yawena*, line 1a and *Osiyawei'gu*, line 3a) means to get onto something and to sit down and, in this case, the author alludes to the ceremonial canoe, represented as a woman (*vivina*). We have, then, a 'canoe-woman' which confirms the feminine nature of the canoe attributed to it by the Kula Ring culture: the ceremonial canoe represents an erotic object for a man.

Line 3. *we mapu'gu tua'gu*: literally, we have 'to me the pay of my brother' where *mapu* means 'to reply', 'to give an assessment' either of an object or a person. This last meaning has often been interpreted as a conceptual equivalent to 'price' (Baldwin 1939a; Senft 1986) while for a Nowau it expresses the value of a symbolic exchange. A ceremonial canoe, for example, can be traded in exchange for a boar, even if the price of the canoe is infinitely higher: *mapu* in this case expresses the function of a reply to something that has been given. It should not be forgotten that *mapu* is the 'reply' to a 'question' (*katupoi*).

(20) *Sinata V*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Weipunukunu'gu</i> | My hair made beautiful, |
| 2 | <i>bi(e)tewa migi'gu</i> | my face clear and bright, |
| 3 | <i>bigamuya vivina.</i> | the women's excited voices. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Weipunu kunu' gu</i>
made.beautiful hair my |
| 2 | <i>b-i (e)tewa migi' gu</i>
FUT-it bright face my |
| 3 | <i>b-i gamuya vivina.</i>
FUT-it talk.excitedly woman |

Commentary

Weipunu: this does not mean only 'to comb one's hair' but also to 'dress' one's hair with the hands, so as to compact it. Hairdressing becomes important above all during the dances for the festival of Milamala: having one's hair 'well done' depends also on the splendour of the ornament of white feathers (*dagula*) which decorates a dancer's head. However, in this short song, the poet alludes to a more intimate, private situation, not the public stage of the dances, so the gesture of dressing one's hair should be understood as making oneself attractive for an amorous encounter.

Line 2. *bi (e)tewa migi'gu*: I have translated this with "my face clear and bright" even if the verb form *(e)tewa* – where the vowel *(e)* represents a sound embellishment – literally, and according to Ipaïya, it means 'to have a clean, fair face': the 'face' of someone who does not have to hide anything, who poses no barriers between their feelings and the outside world.

Line 3. *bi gamuya*: this is typically women's chatter. It should be interpreted as a sign of happiness, a way of showing a pleasant situation enlivened by light conversation.

(21) *Sinata VI*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Na kopwema natu'gu</i> | Holding my child closely |
| 2 | <i>na vatoi <a>gu waga</i> | I gazed at the returning canoe, |
| 3 | <i>na vaoturisana.</i> | and waited on the seashore. |

Watowa

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>N-a kopwema natu' gu</i>
PAST-I hold child my |
| 2 | <i>n -a vatoi <a>gu waga</i>
PAST-I gaze my festive.canoe |
| 3 | <i>n-a vaotu risana.</i>
PAST-I wait seashore |

Commentary

Line 1. *Na kopwema*: Baldwin (1939a:253, 254) records the forms *kopi*, *kopwi* and *kopoi*, to which he attributes the same meaning as expressed by *kopwema* ('to hold to one's breast, to rock, to hold in one's arms'). The poet probably alludes to a woman who is awaiting the return of her man from a ritual exchange, represented by the term *waga*. These three short lines encapsulate the relationship established between a man and a woman and the Kula, viewed as a man's field of action, and counterposed with the woman's field, symbolised by the rules of matrilinear descent and women's control of the land. On the one hand, we have the male world, metaphorised by the sea and the ritual exchange, and on the other the female world metaphorised by the possession of the clan name and the power to hand it down. The woman (woman-earth and woman-reproduction) is contrasted with the man (man-sea, man-travel) but at the same time she awaits him and hopes he will return: the man looks forward to the 'voyage' and its ritual aspects, but also to the 'return' to land. There is a subtle play of contrasts and complements mediated by the "child". It is precisely this function of mediation between male and female that makes us think of the "child" as a being whose sex is not yet defined, obviously considering sex from a cultural point of view.

Line 2. *na vatoi*: this is a verbal form connected to *bweivatoi* which I have interpreted as "through the sacred time of waiting" (cf. *Bôï tayobu II*, lines 2 and 5a). This last meaning does not contradict the value attributed to *vatoi*, 'to examine, to scan', because the concept of 'wait', 'to wait', also implies examining the thing or the person awaited. The poet alludes to the state of mind, summarised in "I gazed", of a woman who awaits the return of a man, a return which she desires very much, and this desire justifies the use of the verb form 'to gaze', which mirrors the 'wait' (see line 3).

The use of the past (*na kopwema, na vatoi, na vaotu*) helps the author of the poetic formula to give a certain force to all the feelings expressed by the woman in the formula.

Line 3. *na vaotu risana*: Baldwin (1939a:609) notes the verb form *vaotu*, interpreted as 'entertain'.

(22) *Sinata VII*

Watowa

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Nayabwema <a>gu tau</i> | Woman of many loves, I desire my man |
| 2 | <i>kwanarara kaba'gu</i> | to hold him in my arms, |
| 3 | <i>makaina geori.</i> | fragrant with the essence of many flowers. |

Watowa

- | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|----|-----|
| 1 | <i>Nayabwema</i> | <i><a>gu tau</i> | woman.of.many.loves | my | man |
| 2 | <i>kwanarara kaba' gu</i> | embrace | mat | my | |
| 3 | <i>makaina geori.</i> | this | fragrant/essence.of.many.flowers | | |

Commentary

Line 1. *Nayabwema*: this is a Nowau term meaning literally 'woman who loves men', 'woman who sleeps with many men', but without implying any negative judgement: she's a woman who likes to enjoy herself. The term is made up of *na-ya-bwema*, where the base component *ya-bwema* alludes to the hut (*bwema*) where the woman 'sleeps', 'lies' with a man on a mat represented by the particle *-ya-* (used for anything made of fibre, such as, for example, a mat).

Line 2. *kwanarara kaba'gu*: Siyakwakwa has suggested interpreting *kwanarara* as the act of loving a person by hugging them and Baldwin (1939a:286, 287) records two similar forms which express the same meaning: *kwali* and *kwani*.

Kaba, which we have already come across in *Ruwegwau I*, line 2a, indicates the bed of love, a soft mat: it encapsulates the meaning of an amorous act.

Line 3. *geori*: according to Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa, this is a tree with sweet-scented flowers used to prepare garlands and wreaths and also a source of perfumes (by crushing them or heating them on red-hot stones). It is probably a synonym of the Boyowa *kwebila* (Baldwin 1939a:292).

(23) *Ba yaruwa*

Watowa I

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Wosina bayaruwa</i> | To the song I'll give soul: |
| 2 | <i>nēi kasisa boboyeta</i> | drawn into a circle of thin sounds |

- 3 *nêi worisa kagu vana* it will charm my garland of flowers
 4 *nêi vaponusa Budibudi.* and send it riding on the waves to the island of myths.

Watowa II

- 1a *Gudirova nêi worisa* The motherless children are bewitched,
 2a *nêi worisa Budibudi* bewitched on the island of myths:
 3a *nêi kaneî' gu weikana Buburei.* the moon lights my way on the village of the silent
 souls.

Watowa III

- 1b *Kakiuto i nekudu* The threads of flowers for the crown are securely tied,
 2b *(kaka)gonu bwe' i ruwai* taken in bud from the small basket,
 3b *gunebiu kagu yagina* like a breeze I approach
 4b *da kaîyobu o wamwana.* and we will speak together in the joyful village.

Watowa I

- 1 *Wosi-na b-a yaruwa*
 song-SFX FUT-I give.soul
 2 *n-ê-i kasi -sa boboyeta*
 PAST-LW-they be.in.line-PLU circle
 3 *n-ê-i wori- sa kagu vana*
 PAST-LW-they charm-PLU my garland
 4 *n-ê-i vaponu-sa Budibudi.*
 PAST-LW-they wave.gently-PLU island.of.myths.

Watowa II

- 1a *Gudirova n-ê-i wori-sa*
 motherless.children PAST-LW-they charm-PLU
 2a *n-ê-i wori-sa Budibudi*
 PAST-LW-they charm-PLU island.of.myths
 3a *n-ê-i kane-î' gu weikana Buburei.*
 PAST-LW-it light-LW my way Buburei

Watowa III

- 1b *kakiuto i nekudu*
 trim it tie
 2b *(kaka)gonu bwe' i ruwai*
 pluck already it bud.of.flower
 3b *gunebiu kagu yagina*
 approach.lightly my breeze
 4b *da kaîyobu o wamwana.*
 our speak in joyful.village

Commentary

The whole of *Watowa I* also occurs in *Weponu II*, performed by Ipaïya on 25 June 1987 and divided, as we have seen, into one *Watowa* and one *Kavira*. Here, on the other hand, we have three *Watowa* performed by three female voices in polyphonic song in contrast to Ipaïya's monody. In addition, we have the following variations in *Watowa I* of *Ba yaruwa* compared to the *Watowa* of *Weponu II*:

	<i>Ba yaruwa</i>	<i>Weponu II</i>
2	<i>nêi kasisa boboyeta</i>	<i>nêi kasisa (o) boboyeta</i>
3	<i>nêi worisa kagu vana</i>	<i>nêi wori'gu kagu vana.</i>

The first *Watowa* in both *Ba yaruwa* and *Weponu II* can be considered a form of re-use of the same text within different (particularly sound) contexts which can also determine variations in the meaning.

Line 1a. *Gudirova*: see note 3 of the commentary on *Wosi weimuya Ia*.

Line 3a. *nêi kanê'gu*: both Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa interpreted this verb form as 'to be protected, illuminated, by moonlight' and Baldwin (1939a:159, 224, 286) records the forms *kana*, *kenu* and *kwali*, all synonyms, which he translates as 'to protect, to be protected, to lie under something'.

weikana Buburei: the first lexeme is the equivalent of *tubukona*, 'moon', while the second is the name of one of the villages on the island of Tuma.

Line 1b. *Kakiuto i nekudu*: the verb form *kakiuto* can be translated as 'to even up', 'to make square', and is usually used to express the action of making a layer of threads the same length, such as in a fibre skirt. But it also expresses the action of 'stopping a thread' and is used as such here by the poet.

Baldwin (1939a:242) gives the form *kiukiu* which he considers a synonym of *bulibwali* and *midimidi*, translated as 'streamer': it alludes to both the decorations of stripped pandanus leaves, usually used to embellish a ceremonial canoe, and to the *bisila*. We thus have an allusion to something which is stripped and then 'stopped' like a thread, for example. Baldwin (p.242) also records the form *kiuluwali*, translated as 'press and twist under the fingers'.

Line 3b. *gunebiu*: this is composed of *gune-biu*, where the first component literally means 'to whistle, to pipe' but also 'to weave, to wring, to twist and introduce'. Baldwin (1939a:88) records the forms *gula* and *guli*. The second component literally means 'to push, to push on' and is noted by Baldwin (p.20) as *bia* and with the same meaning: the whole form evokes the whirling of the wind, a windy breeze, the arrival of a gust of wind. These meanings should be interpreted in a metaphorical sense and allude to someone or something 'light' which is approaching, like a gust of wind.

(24) *Da weriya*

Watowa I

1	<i>Tutusa vanada weriya</i>	Crushed, the petals release their scent for our garland
2	<i>kudukudu ba kikasa</i>	threaded finely together,
3	<i>mi vana i ra Budibudi Budibudi.</i>	the garland goes to the island of myths.

Watowa II

- 1a *Ra kuduma i nêi gabu* On the heated stones the threads become fragrant
 2a *kara vana we nubei'gu* for your garland of flowers my friend,
 3a *<i> neumu yomwabeta.* made beautiful by the precious wreath.

Watowa III

- 1b *Ba suiya bwita bo<ugwa> i kagonu* With the flowers from my basket I'll weave a wreath,
 2b *kabobura kunumesa* for you to adorn your hair:
 3b *da sarewa bi mwa(i)duku.* it will be for you and me, to remember for longing.

Watowa IV

- 1c *Namu yuwa Nabwaikasa* As I, Nabwaikasa, woman of Muyuwa,
 2c *ba noiya keda banoma* walk the paths of the silent land,
 3c *tama'gu nano'ra bi puroru.* the mind of my father will become sad.

Watowa V

- 1d *Tokasana kada'gu* Tokasana, my mother's brother,
 2d *wamugweiyesa Boyowa* first alighted, like a gleaming wave, on the winged island,
 3d *masi kwabu bi ponusa.* and will remain joyfully with us.

Watowa VI

- 1e *Migi'mu tau migi'mu we nona Boyowa* You yearn in your mind for the winged island,
 2e *migi'mu pukouiya tama'gu* my father, you yearn for the rock of farewell:
 3e *ba vaoriagu vana* I shall go up and down with my fragrant garland
 4e *ba bweikasa magu sarewa* woven for me with precious flowers:
 5e *bi kautu [ku magu].* adorned with flowers my body becomes beautiful.

Watowa VII

- 1f *Ra kadudu ina'gu* It's mine the memory of my mother,
 2f *kagu dovira nuguta* it's mine the gentle memory of my sister,
 3f *vaimane'gu natu'gu* it's mine the burning desire for my child:
 4f *vanoêga Bweiyowa* now on the winged island
 5f *vine ba siponu <a>gu wosi.* I'll stay to sing my song.

Watowa VIII

- 1g *Karakuiya tama'gu* His small basket, my father
 2g *kuiya ra wamwana* his small basket is in the joyful village:
 3g *bi munabe'gu natu'gu* my child will come towards me
 4g *bi munumwenisaponu* and like shining waves the festive canoes
 5g *kuravagigi Boyowa.* of the winged island will meet me.

Watowa I

- 1 *Tutu-sa vana da weriya*
 crush-PLU garland our petal
 2 *kudu-kudu b-a kikasa*
 entwine-entwine FUT-I put.together

- 3 *mi vana i ra Budibudi Budibudi.*
our garland it go Budibudi island.of.myths

Watowa II

- 1a *Ra kuduma i n-ê-i gabu*
its thread it PAST-LW-it become.fragrant

- 2a *kara vana we nube-î' gu*
its garland with friend-LW my

- 3a *< i > neumu yomwabeta.*
< it > made.beautiful precious.wreath

Watowa III

- 1b *B-a suiya bwita bo<ugwa> i kagonu*
FUT-I weave wreath already it flower

- 2b *kabobura kunumesa*
hairstyle dress

- 3b *da serewa b-i mwa-(î)-duku.*
our companionship FUT-it PFX-(LW)-perish.for.love

Watowa IV

- 1c *Na-Muyuwa Nabwaikasa*
woman.of-Muyuwa Nabwaikasa

- 2c *b-a noiya keda banoma*
FUT-I walk path soul

- 3c *tama' gu nano' ra b-i puroru.*
father my mind his FUT-it become.sad

Watowa V

- 1d *Tokasana kada' gu*
Tokasana mother's.brother my

- 2d *wa-mugwe-î-yesa Boyowa*
go-first-LW-take.out winged.island

- 3d *masi kwabu b-i ponu-sa.*
our remain/be.fine FUT-they light.as.foam-PLU

Watowa VI

- 1e *Migi' mu tau migi' mu we nona Boyowa*
yearn your man yearn you at mind winged.island

- 2e *migi' mu pukouiya tama' gu*
yearn your rock.of.farewell father my

- 3e *b-a vaori agu vana*
FUT-I go.up.and.down my garland

- 4e *b-a bweikasa magu sarewa*
FUT-I weave my precious flower

- 5e *b-i kautu [ku magu].*
 FUT-it become.beautiful [you my]
- Watowa VII*
- 1f *Ra kadudu ina' gu*
 her memory mother my
- 2f *kagu dovira nuguta*
 my recall my.sister
- 3f *vaimane-i' gu natu' gu*
 burning.desire-LW my child my
- 4f *vanao-ê-ga Bweiyowa*
 stay-LW-SFX winged.island
- 5f *vine b-a siponu <a>gu wosi.*
 woman FUT-I stay.and.sing my song

Watowa VIII

- 1g *Kara kaiiya tama' gu*
 his basket father my
- 2g *kaiiya ra wamwana*
 basket his joyful village
- 3g *b-i munabe-i' gu natu' gu*
 FUT-he come.towards-LW my child my
- 4g *b-i munumweni-sa ponuponu*
 FUT-they go.festively-PLU foaming
- 5g *kuravagigi Boyowa.*
 meet winged.island

Commentary

This is one of the longest poetic formulae in this collection and is made up of eight self-contained *Watowa*, each with its own autonomy of expression (each *Watowa* can be considered separately from the others).

Line 1. *Tutusa vana da weriya*: the verb form *tutusa* (*tutu-sa*) literally means 'to crush, to beat' but also 'to strip', and is recorded by Baldwin (1939a:580) who translates it as 'thump, hammer' (and the relative verb forms) and also as 'a creeper'. Although his interpretation is correct, it does not encompass the semantic nuance present in this formula: in using *tutusa*, the author alludes to the release of scent from various plants which, when beaten, crushed and stripped, will be used to make a garland or a wreath of flowers. The image evoked by the poet recalls precisely this act of crushing and softening a thin creeper or a tender shoot, which then releases its perfume. This image is completed by the use of the term *weriya*, which was interpreted by Gidou (in 1976) and, then, by Ipaïya, as 'garland', even though literally it classifies a certain type of liana (Baldwin, p.635, records a similar word, *wali*, translated as 'a creeper'), so *weriya* would appear to be composed of *weri-ya*, where the suffix *-ya* literally means 'with'. *Da* is the first person dual inclusive possessive adjective/pronoun.

Line 2. *kudukudu*: this has been translated in the future even though it is a present continuous obtained by doubling the base verb *kudu*. Literally it means to gather a number of fine threads together.

Line 3a. <i> *neumu yomwabeta*: I have translated this as “made beautiful by the precious wreath” where ‘to make beautiful’ is given by the verb form *neumu* the subject of which is not specified in the text sung and which I have identified as the “precious wreath” (and for this reason the *littera addenda* appears in the transcription). The term *yomwabeta*, according to Gidou and Ipaïya, belongs to the vocabulary of Tuma and is a synonym of ‘wreath’, probably a ‘sacred, precious wreath’: we have, in fact, *yo-mwa-beta* in which the prefix *yo-* should be read as a variation of the classifier *ya-*, while the infix *-mwa-* alludes to the sacred or ritual, and the suffix *-beta* is a variation on *bwita* (wreath).

Line 2b. *kabobura*: Baldwin (1939a:27, 43) records the terms *bobo*, *bobu* and *bwabu* which are translated as ‘round, rounded’ but also as ‘to cut, to cut off, to cut the last part’. It refers to a particular type of haircut where the hair on the neck is curved, very gently and compactly, often finished off with a string of small white shells through which the curly hair is threaded. The image of hairdressing is reinforced by the verb form *kunumesa*, which describes the act of ‘combing, smoothing, stroking hair’.

Line 3b. *mwa(î)duku*: there is a certain degree of uncertainty regarding the vowel (*î*), which was introduced during the various checks on my transcription (it was missing, for example, in the first version of the same formula) which is also reflected in the most appropriate meaning to attribute to *-duku*, which appears here as a suffix. Baldwin (1939a:67) notes this form, translating it as ‘to leave oneself without’, thus underlining the meaning of ‘deprivation’ implicit also in ‘to remember for longing’, chosen in my translation. But *duku* can also mean ‘to murmur’ (cf. *Weponu II*, line 1a, where it appears as *dukuduku*). Siyawkwa had suggested interpreting *mwa(î)duku* as ‘to feel sorry for a friend a long way away’: once again we find the image of a privation, of someone or something missing, in this case a ‘sacred’ wreath of flowers. This last meaning is embodied in the particle *mwa-*.

Line 3c. *bi puroru*: verb form used, with the same meaning, by Ipaïya in *Nadubeori VII*, line 3.

Line 2d. *wamugweïyesa Boyowa*: the verb form comes up again in *Komusiyelu*, line 16 and with a very similar meaning, even if in this specific case I have preferred to render it as “first alighted”, as it refers to landing on an island.

Line 3d. *masi kwabu bi ponusa*: the form *kwabu* indicates ‘to be together’ and ‘to be together in happiness, happily’ (cf. *Komusiyelu*, line 12). We have the image of someone or something which suggests a state of levity, completed in the poetic formula by *bi ponusa*.

Line 2e. *pukouïya*: this is, according to Ipaïya’s suggestion, one of the three cliffs on which a soul rests on its journey towards Tuma. Basing ourselves on its literal meaning, we have ‘someone who desires two things at the same time’: the desire to reach the final goal, the tranquil reign of the dead on the island of Tuma and, at the same time, the burning desire to have a last look at the loved ones still in the village. Melancholy, burning desire and waiting are mixed together harmoniously by building an atmosphere where the division between what is dead and what is living loses any sense.

Line 3e. *ba vaori agu vana*: the verb form *vaori* means both ‘to roll (oneself) over’ and ‘to go up and down’, thus expressing the image of someone or something performing a continuous movement. See also *Weponu Ia*, line 1.

Line 4e. *ba bweikasa*: this verb form is made up of *bwei-*, or *bwai-*, and *-kasa*, where the prefix is a variation on *bo-*, the classifier which indicates something sacred or festive, anything that is forbidden or decorated. The suffix (which also occurs in *Nadubeori VIII*, line 1) means 'get in line for a dance', 'to make a sinuous line' and 'to weave', 'to intertwine': in both cases we have the representation of something or someone evoking softness and languor.

Line 5e. *bi kautu*: Baldwin (1939a:204) records the same verb form, translating it with 'match', 'well paired', which he connects to *utu* (p.591) rendered as 'utter', 'compose'. Substantially, the element of harmonisation, of 'keeping things together', present in the verb is underlined.

Line 2f. *dovira*: I have translated this as "gentle memory", in preference to the more literal 'to call back' which alludes, metaphorically, to the bringing back to life of a dead friend or relative by invoking their name. Baldwin (1939a:65) records a similar form, *dovai*, translated as 'call back'.

Line 3f. *vaimaneŋ'gu natu'gu*: Ipaŋya had suggested interpreting this as 'hold back someone very much loved', a meaning encapsulated in the two components *vai-*, literally 'to bind', 'lace' (cf. the Boyowa *vali* in Baldwin 1939a:607) and *mane-*, literally 'behind, back', 'to hold back' (equivalent of the Boyowa *mali*, which expresses the same meaning; see Baldwin p.350).

Line 5f. *ba siponu*: the verb form, declined in the future, is composed of *si-ponu*, where the prefix means 'to sit', 'to stay in a particular place' and derives from *sisu* (Baldwin 1939a:482). The suffix *-ponu* in this case is used in a metaphorical sense, alluding more to female singers being together, looking like 'gushing', 'happy' waves.

Line 4g. *bi munumwenisa*: there is an assonance with the previous verb form *munabeŋ* based on the prefix *muna-* and *munu-* (one being a variation on the other), meaning 'to go' and 'to do something happily, enjoyment'. In *munumwenisa* there is also a harking back to a sacred, ritual situation, or perhaps a state of mind, given by the particle *-mweni-* (cf. *Seina keda tauŋya*, lines 1 and 2a).

3.2.1.4 TOGERUWA MATAWADIA, SINGER

(1) *Lube'gu*

I

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Kwaibikibiki kwaigatugatu</i> | By degrees from dark to light |
| 2 | <i>i katupweniniyayeyuna kwadoiya</i> | the opossum's grey tail lightens |

II

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1a | <i>I visiga migi'ra [agu] kwailova</i> | so too my face brightens as the spell is cast, |
| 2a | <i>osikwebu kwailova</i> | the solitary chant becomes magic |

III

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1b | <i>Biga'ratama'gu</i> | the word of my father, |
| 2b | <i>ra biga kwailova</i> | his word, becomes magic |

IV

- 1c *Yagina kubu kwailova* the breath of the wind becomes magic,
 2c *osikwebu kwailova* and the solitary chant becomes magic

V

- 1d *Bova yoyu kwailova* the red swollen fruit becomes magic,
 2d *teitu bobu kwailova* the white swollen fruit becomes magic

VI

- 1e *Towasisa sagwai sigusagwai* you singer, you who are me,
 2e *manu 'mu bouna sagwai sigusagwai.* your shining bird will be my companion.

VII

- 1f *Ba valapula kadamalaga* Expectantly I shall follow the path
 2f *veru i gisigusi* looking with desire towards the village,

VIII

- 1g *Nutavisi nuraora nupiaku gisigisi* as I look, the nipple is swelling
 2g *ginepwalaigusi kwainidinidi kwainidinidi.* excited by my desire.

IX

- 1h *Lugemwa lulugemwa kwainidinidi lugemwa* You sing, like a bird deep in love,
 2h *lulugemwa lulugemwa kwainidinidi lugemwa.* you sing, like a bird deep in love.

X

- 1i *Lulugemwa i wa tunisa'gu* Like a bird deep in love you sing, you take me,
 2i *i wa kuwa'gu i katapata.* you hold me, excited, you embrace me.

XI

- 1l *Mu moi ku kopita ku kopitaka* On the soft mat you rock me as in a dream
 2l *tatumu ku kopita ku kopitaka* sweetly you rock me as in a dream

XII

- 1m *Ku bara kai'keta ku bara* On the soft reed mat you thrust deeply
 2m *ku bara ku bara tatumu.* again and again on the soft mat of reeds.

I

- 1 *Kwai-bikibiki kwai-gatugatu*
 CLA-by.degree CLA-darkening
 2 *i katupweniniya yeyuna kwadoiya*
 it light tail opossum

II

- 1a *I visiga migi' ra [agu] kwailova*
 it bright face its [my] cast
 2a *osikwebu kwailova*
 solitary.chant become.magic

III

1b *Biga' ra tama' gu*
word his father my

2b *ra biga kwailova*
his word become.magic

IV

1c *Yagina kubu kwailova*
wind breath become.magic

2c *osikwebu kwailova*
solitary.chant become.magic

V

1d *Bova yoyu kwailova*
swollen.betel.nut frond become.magic

2d *teitu bobu kwailova*
big.yam split become.magic

VI

1e *Towasisa sagwai si-gu-sagwai*
singer mate be-my-mate

2e *manu' mu bouna sagwai si-gu-sagwai.*
bird your good mate be-my-mate

VII

1f *B-a valapula kadamalaga*
FUT-I follow.expectantly main.path

2f *veru i gisigusi.*
village it look.with.desire

VIII

1g *Nutavisi nuraora nupiaku gisigisi*
rising.breast nipple swelling.nipple look

2g *gine pwalaigusi kwainidinidi kwainidinidi.*
see wrap.with.desire excited.body excited.body

IX

1h *Lugemwa lu-lugemwa kwainidinidi lugemwa*
warble PFX-warble excited.body warble

2h *lu-lugemwa lu-lugemwa kwainidinidi lugemwa.*
PFX-warble PFX-warble excited.body warble

X

li *Lu-lugemwa i wa tunisa' gu*
PFX-warble he sigh have.control.over my

2i *i wa kuwa' gu i katapata.*
 he sigh hold my he embrace

XI

1l *Mu moi ku kopita kopita-ka*
 your mat you rock rock-SFX

2l *tatumu ku kopita ku kopita-ka*
 cover you rock you rock-SFX

XII

1m *Ku bara kaiketa ku bara*
 you lie.with wood.pallet you lie.with

2m *ku bara ku bara tatumu.*
 you lie.with you lie.with covering

Commentary

This is a poetic formula of an amorous, secret kind. The version given in the text was performed by Togeruwa Matawadia in 1976: the voice recorded quivers, is full of emotion, almost an indication in sound of the delicacy of the subject. The person to whom the formula is dedicated is not even specified, so it could be sung for either a man or a woman.

Line 1. *Kwaibikibiki*: here we have the classifier *kwaï-* (referring to round, voluminous objects and to abstract things) followed by the affix *-biki-* in its doubled form, which literally means 'to go slowly', 'to degrade', so that the whole form *kwaibikibiki* must be referred to the tail of the opossum which is, in fact, round and voluminous. The image which the author wants to suggest is given by the progressive fading of grey in the animal's tail, used as a metaphor to allude to the brightening of the face, as it gradually lights up and becomes happy. The contrast between light and dark is underlined by the term *kwaigatugatu* (*kwaï-gatu-gatu*), literally 'dirty', 'dark'.

Line 2. *i katupweniniya yeyuna kwadoiya*: literally this is the lightening in the colour of something or someone, or the passage from one shade of colour to another, but it also means 'to open up', 'to reveal' (cf. *katupwanani*, which Baldwin, 1939a:197, translates as 'open'). The verb form *katupweniniya* is made up of *katu-pwenini-ya*, where the prefix *katu-* functions as a causative and attributes a sense of completeness to the base verb. The base component itself, *-pwenini-* (probably a synonym of *pwanana*, *pwanani*, literally 'open'; see Baldwin p.456) recalls *pweli* and *katupweli*, a form used to mean the change from one thing to another, for example the translation of a concept from one language to another.

kwadoiya: this term (which has the 'softener vowel' in contrast to the term Baldwin records) classifies a small marsupial, probably *Phalanger maculatus*.

Line 1a. *I visiga migi'ra [agu] kwailova*: during the various stages of checking my transcription, Togeruwa himself was very uncertain if the first person singular possessive pronoun *agu* should be included in the text, which in the final version appears as *loci corrupti*. The verb form *visiga*, which also recurs in *Museu Naganaga*, line 15 and *Mola ba kewa*, line 1, indicates the progressive brightening of something or the arrival of light. *Kwailova* refers to enchantment, to the act of putting a charm on something, for example a

garland of flowers, with a poetic spell. Baldwin records this from on page 281, translating it as 'a spell in healing magic'.

Line 2c. *osikwebu*: this is another example of crasis between *wosi-* and *-kwebu* (which, in turn, should be interpreted as connected to *kailei* 'to shout loudly' but also as 'to put a spell on', Baldwin 1939a:124). *Osi-* is equivalent to *wosi* (it seems that the semivowel *w-* should not be pronounced by the singer) and we therefore have 'to sing', 'song'. The whole form alludes to a love spell. Siyakwakwa has suggested 'silent song' for *osikwebu*, precisely because it is a love song dedicated to a loved person.

Line 1d. *Bova yoyu*: in the translation I have stuck to the interpretation suggested by both Ipaïya and Redimu (who was responsible for performing the song at Milamala) so we have "the red swollen fruit becomes magic" which is a metaphorical allusion to the erotic aspect of an amorous relationship. It should be noted that *bova* can be a poetical variation on *buwa*, while *yoyu*, which hints at 'flight', here means 'coconut frond, leaf' (Baldwin 1939a:668): the poet alludes to the slight intoxication from savouring betel nuts metaphorised by the frond waving in the wind.

Line 2d. *teitu bobu*: this is a large yam divided in two and alludes to the two lovers seen as part of a single element. Literally, *bobu* means 'to divide, cut' and is given the same meaning by Baldwin (1939a:43). See also Senft (1986:197).

Line 1e. *Towasisa sagwai sigusagwai*: the first term refers to a man seated or crouching who sings. But the author of the poetic formula has utilised the allusion specified in *sagwai sigusagwai*: the man is singing for a intimate friend, or for a woman he loves, and this intimacy is metaphorised by being crouched, hunched over himself. The classifier *to-* is followed by the base component *-wasisa*, which I have interpreted as a poetical variation on *vivisa*, in turn connected to *visi* (Baldwin 1939a:569, 627), literally 'to open up like a fan' which seems a very beautiful, delicate image to describe a singing voice, the release of words into the air. In addition, the opening of a fan evokes something magical and mysterious and, at the same time, erotic: this is the voice which peeks out from behind the fan (for *visi* see also Senft 1986: 413). The intimacy between the two friends, or lovers, is given by *sagwai* (a term very common in poetic formulae for the Kula) and implies their merging on both a physical and a spiritual level, so much so that it functions as a metaphor for narcissism.

Line 1f. *valapula*: this means going along the main path in a village (*kadamalaga*) and implies the image of a figure seen in perspective in the distance. But the author wants to underline the curiosity of the look of the person approaching the village, which betrays an awaited encounter: the person approaching is full of desire, represented in slow motion so as to create a wait which will be satisfied only in the last lines of the formula.

Line 2f. *gisigusi*: in one of the first transcriptions I had accepted the version *i ginigusi*, which was later substituted on Ipaïya's suggestion by *gisigusi*, literally 'to examine curiously, to look at someone with curiosity, desire'.

Line 1g. *Nutavisi nuraora nupiaku gisigisi*: this line marks the beginning of the crescendo of the formula, given by a succession of looks full of desire and shivers through the body. We have, in fact, *nutavisi* (made up of *nuta-visi*), representing the image of a breast 'which opens like a fan', 'which flowers'; this is echoed by *nuraora* and *nupiaku*, where the prefix *nu-* refers to chest, breast, nipple, to something turgid. It also hints at something which has to bud, is about to open and marks the crescendo of the modulatio in which the song must be performed. In this crescendo *nuraora* represents the nipple and *nupiaku* the turgid nipple, the

nipple hardening (cf. also *pia*, to be interpreted as a variation of *piaku* in Baldwin, 1939a:439, which is translated as 'pull', 'pull of').

Line 2g. *pwalaigusi*: the most appropriate meaning of this term is suggested by the singer himself, Togeruwa, who proposed the image of an excited look, full of desire, looking forward to an amorous encounter. Baldwin (1939a:455, 456) also grasps the erotic sense of this term, as he translates *pwalai* as 'free intercourse' and links *pwalai* to *pwalova*.

The eroticism in this specific case is given, metaphorically, by the image of 'something or someone who lets him/herself go, who melts, opens up', which is the literal meaning of *pwalai*. The image of a look which causes turgidity is given by *gisigisi* (the doubled form of the base component *gisi*-, literally 'to see', 'to look'. See also *gisigusi* in line 2f).

Line 1h. *Lugemwa lulugemwa*: the first form here (*lu-gemwa*, where the prefix, a variant of *lo*-, encapsulates the concept of an effective action onto the base component which, in turn, is an equivalent of the Boyowa *gela*, translated by Baldwin, 1939a:76, as 'call, warble', alludes to someone who gargles, modulating their voice in a 'sighed' song, and this someone is the lover-bird. *Lulugemwa* should be interpreted as a strong form of *lugemwa*, whose value is mainly for its sound.

Line 1i. *tunisa'gu*: literally this means 'owner of me' and should be related to *tori* or *toli*, which Baldwin (1939a:561) interprets as a simple prefix for 'owner', 'property', 'master'. For example, *tori-waga* or *toli-waga*, is the person who 'governs' the canoe (particularly the ceremonial canoe for the Kula) and is therefore the captain, but the term is also used with a much broader meaning: the expression *tori-waga tetorera/tetolela* means 'responsible for him/herself' or 'is responsible for his/her actions'. In addition, the same term is used for 'village chief', 'leader'.

Line 2i. *i katapata*: here we have *ka-tapata*, where the prefix functions as a causative and the base component means literally 'to adapt oneself well', 'to be well with' (Baldwin 1939a:434). But it could also be considered a variation on *katapatu* (*ka-ta-patu*) 'to surround', 'to put around' and therefore also to embrace. Both of these interpretations are relevant in this formula.

Line 1l. *ku kopita ku kopitaka*: Togeruwa has suggested interpreting *kopita* as 'to move oneself, to be restless, as in a dream', even if literally *kopi*- means 'to hold someone in one's arms, to rock'. Even if this last interpretation were accepted the line would still make perfect sense.

Line 1m. *ku bara*: this is intercourse between two people and according to some singers it indicates the act of penetration. A Boyowa verb form which recalls this second meaning, and which is morphologically similar to *bara*, is *basi*, given by Baldwin (1939a:14) and translated as 'to pierce'.

3.2.2 POETIC FORMULAE CHANTED FOR THE CEREMONIAL CANOE

3.2.2.1 TOWITARA BUYOYU, SINGER

(1) *Tama'gu*

I

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | <i>Tama'guavaguri'mu</i> | Father, I will touch you lightly and wake you |
| 2 | <i>ku nunumata, naboïya ba tai ura waga.</i> | like a sleeping fire: tomorrow I'll cut down the tree for
my festive canoe. |

I

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Tama'gu a vaguri' mu</i>
father my I touch.lightly you |
| 2 | <i>ku nunumata, naboïya b-a tai ura waga.</i>
you sleeping.fire tomorrow FUT-I cut my festive.canoe |

Commentary

Tama'gu initiates the group of poetic formulae performed by the carvers of the two prowboards (*lagimu* and *tabuya*) for the ceremonial canoe and by the *tokataraki*, those who carve the trunk to make the hull of the boat (Scoditti 1990a). They are known, therefore, by a very restricted group whose members are introduced to the profession of carver with an initiation rite and a long apprenticeship. These formulae are part of the 'secret' genre: they belong to individual clans or subclans, and should circulate only within them. Their meaning and metaphorical allusions are known only to those they belong to.

The singer of *Tama'gu*, Towitara Buyoyu of the *Nukwasisiga* clan, *mwauli* subclan, from the village of Kumwageiya (in the region of the same name on Kitawa) was one of the most famous carvers of prowboards for ceremonial canoes: a *tokabitamou bougwa*, a great master, a person who possesses not only sophisticated carving skills but is also able to put forward a new model of *lagimu* and *tabuya*. In addition, he was also a famed *tokula*, a man with profound understanding of the ritual exchange, and thus knew a wide range of formulae in this genre.

The brief poetical formula performed by Towitara on 2 May 1974 is dedicated to the spirit of the father and must be sung before venturing into the forest to cut the trunk from which the ceremonial canoe's hull will be made. This stage is extremely delicate because the trunk could have some defect which would compromise all further carving. One can understand, therefore, the importance connected to the execution of the formula and the invocation of the father who appears, in this specific case, as a protective deity.

Line 1. *Tama'gu gu a vaguri'mu*: the invocation of one's father (*tama*) is addressed to a person who is not linked to the singer by rules of matrilinear descent making the relationship between the two characters one of simple affection. The possible contradiction between the rule that states that the *megwa* may circulate only within a certain clan and the recital of it by the singer, who belongs to a different clan to the person it is addressed to (one's own father) is bridged by invoking a spirit which will never be able to 'reveal' the formula performed to a member of its own matrilinear group and which belongs to another clan or subclan. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the rules of matrilinear descent are broken when one leaves an inheritance of poetic formulae for the ritual exchange and, sometimes, those

regarding the various stages of building a ceremonial canoe for the Kula and the carving of the two prowboards. This 'oral' gift from father to son takes on a very special character: it is also a metaphor of the contrast between the feminine sphere (typified by the rules of matrilinear descent) and the male one (which produces tricks for breaking these rules). On a metaphorical level the use of the first person singular possessive pronoun, *gu*, which follows the masculine noun *tama*, underlines on a syntactic level the close relationship between father and son, presenting it on the same level as that of mother and daughter: we have in fact *ina'gu*, 'my mother', 'the mother who belongs to me and whom I cannot alienate', just as we have *tama'gu*.

The verb form *vaguri'mu*, literally 'I touch you lightly in your sleep', was used by Ipaïya, but in a different form, in *Dorai I*, lines 1 and 1a, where we have *vagumi*. The concept expressed is, however, the same: it alludes to the reawakening of someone who has been brushed against, lightly touched. In this specific case, it is the spirit of the father of the singer who is brought back to life from his eternal rest: they speak of 'sleep' and 'reawakening' to emphasise that there is a close bond, an uninterrupted flow, between life and death.

Line 2. *ku nunumata*: this is a verb form also used to indicate a state of weariness, but its most appropriate meaning is given by the embers under the ashes which can be revived by blowing on them. The expression *kova i nunumata* means, in fact, 'dead fire' but in the sense of firebrands that have stopped smouldering, of embers below the ashes. We thus have the use of a metaphor where the flames, the fire, alludes to life: the memory of the father has not 'gone out' but can be revived by the memory of the son who revives it just as a flame can be obtained from the embers below the ashes. A ritual occasion, given by the cutting down of a tree for the ceremonial canoe, functions as the breath which reanimates the embers under the ashes and makes the flame/memory of the father spit and spark once again.

(2) *Ku ruruwai*

I

1	<i>Ku ruruwai kai koiya katatagwara</i>	Do you remember the mountain tree cut clean
2	<i>gura waga waga'ra mwari</i>	for my festive canoe, the canoe for the white gifts?
3	<i>tavekuyo waga'ra vaiguwa</i>	tied, dragged away, for the festive canoe, for the red gifts,
4	<i>tavekuyo waga'ra tagwara</i>	tied, dragged away, for the festive canoe, cut...cut...ut....
5	<i>tavekuyo ware ware</i>	tied, dragged away...way...ay...y.....
6	<i>ku lumasisa tavekuyo.</i>	tightened the cord, tied it, pull away...way...ay...y...

I

1	<i>Ku ruruwai kai koiya kata-tagwara</i>	you remember tree mountain PFX-cut/scratch
2	<i>gura waga waga' ra mwari</i>	my festive.canoe festive.canoe SFX white.gift
3	<i>tavekuyo waga' ra vaiguwa</i>	tie.and.drag.away festive.canoe SFX red.gift
4	<i>tavekuyo waga' ra tagwara</i>	tie.and.drag.away festive.canoe SFX cut

- 5 *tavekuyo* *ware ware*
 tie.and.drag.away echo echo
- 6 *ku lumasi -sa tavekuyo.*
 you pull.up-PLU tie.and.drag.away

Commentary

This poetic formula, which belongs to the group composed for the various stages of the building of the ceremonial canoe, is not performed in secret like others of the genre but in public and by a group of men made up not only of the *tokabitamu* and *tokataraki* but also by their assistants, by the patron who has commissioned the canoe (the *toriwaga* or *tokaraiwaga*) and, often, by other men from the village. The formula refers to the initial stage in the construction of the canoe, classified by the term *tatai*, when the trunk has just been cut down, stripped of its bark, roughly hewn (a stage known as *bobobu*) and tied with a strong liana and dragged to the village. In commenting on the text, Siyakwakwa classified it as an example of *vinavina* whose *modulatio* is similar to the rhythmical song of the tuna fishermen. See Baldwin (1939a:625).

Line 1. *Ku ruruwai*: the use of the second person singular, *ku* 'you' without specifying the person to whom it is addressed opens the way to a series of suppositions. As this is a formula for the construction of a ceremonial canoe, the 'you' could allude to one of the companions in the singer's Kula exchange, but it cannot be excluded that the allusion is directed at the mythical hero Monikiniki, often invoked in this type of poetic composition. Whoever the person addressed may be, one must admit that this 'you' placed at the very beginning of the formula gives strength to its whole rhythmic structure, like putting your foot on the accelerator.

kai koïya katatagwara: the 'mountain' is not only the physical place where the tree is cut for the ceremonial canoe but it is also the High Place, the Mythical Place associated with many of the acts of the hero Monikiniki or Mwata. The mountain is also his Highness, a metaphor for the Absolute, the high point which one reaches for, so much so that it can even be a non-existent place. For example, on the island of Kiriwina, as in all of the Trobriands, the mountain is flat; even when it a precipice over the sea, on the east coast, towards Kitawa, it takes on a purely mythical, symbolic role. The real, physical place should be sought out on Kitawa itself (at 150 metres above sea level) above all on Muyuwa island, or Woodlark, and in the Goodenough islands, Dobu or Fergusson, that is at the two east and west extremes of the Kula Ring. These two extremes coincide with the points of origin of many myths and poetic formulae of the ritual exchange, just as they are the canonical localities of the production of *mwari* (east) and *vaiguwa* (west).

The verb form *katatagwara* is made up of *kata-ta-gwara* (the last component is found in Baldwin, 1939a:92, as *gweli*, literally 'scratch'). The prefix *kata-* encapsulates the meaning of 'cutting', 'sharp', 'shiny', and conveys it to the base component which, in this case, means 'cut cleanly' more than 'scratch' or 'graze'. The function of the infix is to strengthen the value already expressed by the prefix.

Line 3. *tavekuyo*: we have *ta-ve/a-kuyo*, where the prefix, in this case, conveys the meaning of 'to do', 'to act' (Baldwin 1939a:516), a meaning reinforced by the infix *-ve/a-* (Baldwin p.595). The suffix *-kuyo* is a synonym of *sipu*, literally 'to tie tightly' (Baldwin p.260 – where he notes the form *koya*). The author wanted to describe both the action of cutting the trunk and dragging it.

Line 4. *tagwara*: see the commentary on the form *katatagwara* in line 1.

Line 5. *ware ware*: it is very likely that this corresponds to the Boyowa *wali*, translated by Baldwin (1939a:635) both as 'creeper' and as 'sing' and it is this second meaning which comes closest to that attributed by the author of the formula to *ware ware*. We have, in fact, a continuous sound which insists on the ending of the word, in itself similar to the shout of encouragement given by sailors dragging a boat.

Line 6. *ku lumasisa*: this verb form also suggests the image of someone who pulls something and is the third person plural, present tense, of *lumasi* (cf. *lulu*, literally 'pull up, out', in Baldwin 1939a:332).

(3) *Tokwai*

I

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | <i>Tokwai ku tokaiyesa</i> | You, wood spirit, come out, begone! |
| 2 | <i>ku yusa kamu kai</i> | leave your tree: |
| 3 | <i>makaina ba kataiya(da) ma waga.</i> | I'll cut it down for our festive canoe. |

I

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Tokwai ku tokaiyesa</i> | wood.spirit you come.out.and .go |
| 2 | <i>ku yusa kamu kai</i> | you leave your tree |
| 3 | <i>makaina b-a kata-i-ya(da) ma waga.</i> | this FUT-I cut-LW-polish our festive.canoe |

Commentary

Line 1. *Tokwai ku tokaiyesa*: the *tokwai* is depicted as a wood spirit which lives in tree trunks or in ravines in the forest. It is small, with very pale skin and a long white beard. It looks roughly like a gnome in many Western fairy tales. It is mischievous rather than malicious and enjoys practical jokes, so it is not seen as a negative and dangerous force. It could, for example, if provoked or not invoked, reserve the surprise of a rotten point in the trunk, found when the tree has been cut and sawn for the canoe. And it is for this reason that it is invoked by the *tokataraki*, or by the *tokabitamu*, in the formula recited the night before going into the forest to cut down the tree.

The verb form *ku tokaiyesa* encapsulates both the meaning of 'to stand up' and 'to go out'. It is thus almost an imperious invitation to the *tokwai* to leave the trunk-dwelling chosen for the ceremonial canoe. The wood spirit will then be excluded from possessing the canoe (which will no longer be its trunk-dwelling); and to cast out any further doubt on the future property of the timber, the singer uses the third person plural, excluding the first person dual exclusive form.

Line 2. *ku yusa*: literally this verb form is used in the sense of 'to refuse to leave, to abandon something or someone' but can also be used as an active form. Compare *yusi* in Baldwin (1939a:669), who translates it as 'to refuse to part with', 'refuse'.

Line 3. *makaina ba kataîya(da)*: the demonstrative pronoun *makaina* (*ma-kai-na*, where the prefix *ma-* in correlation with the suffix *-na* indicates the reference to someone or something, and the infix *-kai-* is the classifier for anything made of wood) refers to the trunk or the tree. The verb form *kataîya(da)* breaks down into *kata-î-ya(da)*, literally 'to cut + the link vowel + to cut and finish' and could mean a particular type of wood-cutting technique. For *-ya(da)*, in Baldwin (1939a:644) we find *yadi*, translated as 'polish, sharpen', which in this case reinforces the meaning already given by *kata-*.

(4) *Kara vagia*

I

1	<i>Tokwasi tayoura youra</i>	Woodcutters tie and bind,
2	<i>tokwasi tayoura youra</i>	woodcutters tie and bind:
3	<i>liu tayoura youra</i>	the slender pole tie and bind,
4	<i>waga tayoura youra</i>	the planks of the festive canoe tie and bind,
5	<i>sipa tayoura youra</i>	the small flank tie and bind,
6	<i>budakai tayoura youra</i>	the large flank tie and bind,
7	<i>patapatila tayoura youra</i>	the footboard tie and bind,
8	<i>lagimu tayoura youra</i>	the sun's face tie and bind,
9	<i>tabuya tayoura youra.</i>	the moon's face tie and bind!

I

1	<i>Tokwasi ta-youra youra</i> woodcutter PFX-tie tie
2	<i>tokwasi ta-youra youra</i> woodcutter PFX-tie tie
3	<i>liu ta-youra youra</i> slender.pole PFX-tie tie
4	<i>waga ta-youra youra</i> festive.canoe PFX-tie tie
5	<i>sipa ta-youra youra</i> small.flank PFX-tie tie
6	<i>budakai ta-youra youra</i> large.flank PFX-tie tie
7	<i>patapatila ta-youra youra</i> footboard PFX-tie tie
8	<i>lagimu ta-youra youra</i> sun's.face PFX-tie tie
9	<i>tabuya ta-youra youra.</i> moon's.face PFX-tie tie

Commentary

Line 1. *Tokwasi tayoura youra*: the form *tokwasi* (made up of the classifier *to-* and the base component *-kwasi*, literally 'to smooth, to hone') refers to the assistants of the *tokataraki* who work on digging out the trunk from which the ceremonial canoe will be made. They have generic duties and are not considered specialists like, for example, the engraver of prowboards and the canoe builder himself. Usually they help the *tokataraki* or the *tokabitamu* in the rough-shaping of the various parts of the canoe and in the assembly of these parts (above all in the final stages, when the hull and the outrigger are put together using the platform of overlapping planks). Within this group, we should distinguish between those who are assistants in a technical sense, true apprentices, and assistants in a generic sense: the latter are all, or almost all of the men from the village or even an entire region. Their participation in the various stages of construction is more ritual than technical, as if to emphasise the importance of the event by their presence.

The verb form *tayoura* (*ta-youra*) literally means 'to prepare strings, to strip' but here it means, more precisely, 'to tie with rope' even if the rope is made by stripping a creeper and then weaving the threads from it. The expression 'tied, fixed' takes on particular value if one considers that a ceremonial canoe (like a fishing canoe) is built with a complex series of joints and bindings: its waterproofing and its speed depend on how well this work is done.

The formula is performed on the the *ligogu*, the small axe used to carve the wood, during the *youra* stage, when the various parts of the canoe are assembled.

Line 3. *liu*: literally this is the slender pole which holds the canoe's hull to the outrigger. In a canoe, whose length varies between 10 and 13 metres, there are usually 11 *liu* which divide the boat into 13 areas or 'compartments' (*nukutara*), two of which in the centre (*gebobwa*) are considered the most important and are reserved during navigation for the *toriwaga* or *tokaraiwaga*. One of the two ends of the *liu* is marked by a notch, *kurura tau*.

Line 5. *sipa*: this classifies the two smaller flanks of the canoe (which overlap the two larger ones, tied directly on to the hull). The holes, used to pass the rope which ties the top to the bottom flanks are classified by the term *koliu* or *kouliu*.

Line 6. *budakai*: these are the two large flanks, fixed directly onto the canoe hull. One flank is fitted into a groove (*tarapwapwa*) carved in the top of the hull and is crossed horizontally by the *liu*. The holes which the *liu* pass through are classified by the term *urakiyadiga*. The *budakai* and *sipa* together are called *yoviri*. In addition, both types of flank are fixed to the hull by *gelu*, carved into triangles.

Line 7. *patapatila*: this is the footboard which supports the outrigger (*lamina*) to the hull. It is made of a closelyknit network of thin circular poles which form a grid. The poles laid vertically are known by the term *pomaraga* and the horizontal ones *patapatili*.

Line 8. *lagimu*: this is the prowboard placed vertically in the corresponding notch (*kaikikila*), at the two ends of the canoe. It symbolises the face of the sun. See Scoditti (1990a).

Line 9. *tabuya*: this is the prowboard placed in front of the *lagimu*, sideways, so as to block it. It symbolises the face of the moon. See Scoditti (1990a).

(5) *Kaibubura*

I

1	<i>Irakadanai irakadanai</i>	Silent soul, silent soul,
2	<i>i vabusi i ramwana tomwana</i>	refreshed and delighted by a tender caress:
3	<i>bwada' gu bougwa kavikavira buwa</i>	my little brother, the intoxicating red fruit is already shedding its radiance
4	<i>bougwa kwalikava batitatuva</i>	my body trembles with pleasure
5	<i>bougwa rinaiya a kura masawa</i>	as I go towards the woman I love
6	<i>a kura kuruburebu kurunukoli</i>	to collect precious gifts, to know the exchange,
7	<i>waga' rakurunukolilamila</i>	as the festive canoe knows the motion of the outrigger:
8	<i>i kugwaisa mina Kaibutu</i>	first will come the men of Kaibutu,
9	<i>mina Kumwageiya i mefyesa</i>	the men of Kumwageiya will come
10	<i>bougwa kagu bi kivisa</i>	weaving the fragrant threads into garlands,
11	<i>agu vilatumala o nopou' ra leiyava.</i>	sharing the magic fruit with me.

I

1	<i>Ira-kadanai ira-kadanai</i> CLA-silent.soul CLA-silent.soul
2	<i>i vabusi i ramwana to-mwana</i> he come.down he be.excited CLA-caressed
3	<i>bwada' gu bougwa kavikavira buwa</i> younger.brother my already shed.light intoxicating.red.fruit
4	<i>bougwa kwalikava b-a titatuva</i> already enjoy FUT-I go.into.raptures
5	<i>bougwa rinaiya a kura masawa</i> already woman I go love
6	<i>a kura kuru-burebu kuru-nukoli</i> I go go-abound go-know
7	<i>waga' ra kuru-nukoli lamila</i> canoe SFX go-know outrigger
8	<i>i kugwa-i-sa mina Kaibutu</i> they be.first-LW-PLU inhabitant.of Kaibutu
9	<i>mina Kumwageiya i me-i-ye-sa</i> inhabitant Kumwageiya they come-LW-IFX-PLU
10	<i>bougwa kagu b-i kivi-sa</i> already my FUT-they weave-PLU
11	<i>agu vilatumala o nopou' ra leiyava.</i> my share in inside its magic.fruit

Commentary

Line 1. *Irakadanai*: this is made up of *ira-kadanai* (in Boyowa we have *ila-kadala*). The prefix should be interpreted as a classifier for anything feminine, while the suffix alludes literally to

one's mother's brother, or to the daughter or son of one's sister. However, none of these meanings is really appropriate in this formula, by which the author undoubtedly wants to refer to a woman, probably an ancestor. Towitara himself has specified that the term should be interpreted as referring to the 'silent, dumb shadow' of a woman, as we have the prefix *ira-*. Towitara also pointed out to me that the whole term belongs to the vocabulary of Tuma. The formula is recited when the *tabuya* is coloured white, red and black.

Line 2. *i ramwana tomwana*: the first form is composed of *ra-mwana*, in which the prefix literally expresses a movement in space (to walk, to go), while the suffix alludes to entertainment or pleasure, but connected to a sacred, ritual action such as the participation in a Kula ritual exchange. The second form is made up of the classifier *to-* and the base component *-mwana*: we thus have a 'man who enjoys himself, who is pleased, happy'. Siyakwakwa has suggested a very beautiful image for this term: 'man caressed under his chin', thus capturing both the atmosphere of intimacy between the person caressing and the person caressed, and the rituality implicit in the gesture which is almost a consecration of the person caressed. The sacred and profane are mixed extremely elegantly and naturally in this formula.

Line 3. *bwada'gu*: the metaphorical meaning here is much wider than the literal one. It could, for example, indicate the person who is the object of the singer/composer's affection, and therefore one of his companions in the ritual exchange, certainly a younger man as he is called "my little brother" ('big brother' could refer to an older companion on a metaphorical level, *tua'gu*): it could be referring to a young man who is being initiated to the ritual exchange by an elder.

Line 4. *ba titatuvu*: Baldwin (1939a:549) records this form but written in pencil and without an English equivalent. On page 581 he notes *tuvu*, translating it as 'creeper, used for stupefying fish'. Baldwin refers to the fishermen's custom of putting the poisonous roots of a tree into the crevices in the coral reef so as to stun the fish, which, when they float to the surface, can be caught by hand. The author of the formula, using *titatuvu*, wants to suggest the image of a man 'stunned', 'inebriated' with pleasure.

Line 5. *rinaiya*: this is a variation on the Muyuwa *vinay* (Lithgow & Lithgow 1974:156) which is the equivalent of *vivila* or *vivira*, and thus is rendered as "woman".

Line 6. *kuruburebu kurunukoli*: the first form is made up of *kuru-burebu*, where the first component is a variation on *kura* or *kula*, literally 'to go', 'to go with pleasure and find joy, excitement', and is a verb form typical of the Kula vocabulary. The second form means 'abundance' and is connected to the Boyowa *bulu*, translated by Baldwin (1939a:36) as 'flourish', 'abound'. According to Towitara (and his interpretation was shared by Redimu, Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa), the author used *kuruburebu* to render the image of a man who is aiming to conquer a great number of *mwari* and *vaiguwa* during a ritual exchange and, basing myself on this explanation, I have translated it as "to collect precious gifts".

The second form is composed of *kuru-nukoli*, in which the second component literally means 'to know', and thus for the entire form we have 'to go with pleasure to know', and around this meaning the poet played on the similarity between 'knowledge of the game' (where the 'game' is the ritual exchange) and the 'knowledge of the play between hull and outrigger of the ceremonial canoe': all of this recalls intertwining, joints, ties, loosening and tightening which characterise the 'bond' between the hull and outrigger as that between two loves.

Line 8. *mina Kaibutu*: this refers to the inhabitants of Kaibutu, one of the villages which used to stand on the old site of Kumwageïya, to the south-west of the present region of Lalela, thus to the east of the present site.

Line 10. *bougwa kagu bi kivisa*: I have interpreted this as “weaving the fragrant threads into garlands” where the adverb *bougwa* indicates the desire to do something (in this case ‘to weave’). The meaning of ‘garland’ is implicit in the verb form *bi kivisa*, literally ‘to twist’ (while it was translated as ‘to strip’ in *Nadubeori VI*, line 1 by Ipaïya). See Baldwin (1939a:242).

Line 11. *vilatumala o nopou’ra leiyava*: the first form here suggests the action of dividing something (Baldwin, 1939a:622, 623, connects *vila* and *vili*), while *leiyava*, already used in *Wosi weïmuya III*, line 2a, as well as the ginger plant (Baldwin, p.310, records the form *leya*) also indicates an area of beach in the Kumwageïya region. Ginger (*Alpinia nutans* and *Hedychium coronarium*) is used above all by the *bwagau* when they recite a formula to cast a spell, and also functions as a visual metaphor of the voice and of the expressive and constructive functions of words.

(6) *Mwanoïna*

I

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | <i>Sesero sesero bi mwanoïna</i> | Through the waves we will go as sinuously as the millipede, |
| 2 | <i>sesero sesero mwanoïna mwanoïna.</i> | through the air we will go as sinuously as the excited millipede. |

I

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Sesero sesero b-i mwano-ï-na</i>
push push FUT-he go.excited-LW-SFX |
| 2 | <i>sesero sesero mwano-ï-na mwano-ï-na.</i>
push push go.excited-LW-SFX go.excited-LW-SFX |

Commentary

This poetic formula, which Towitara performed on 9 January 1974, is dedicated to the stage of *toura* or *youla*, when *lagimu* and *tabuya* are fixed onto the hull.

Line 1. *Sesero sesero*: Baldwin (1939a:479) records the form *sesila*, translated as ‘pushed ahead, as a canoe in a race’. There is a clear allusion to one of the requirements of a ceremonial canoe: speed, the ability to skim across the water. The speed of a boat is one of the *sine qua non* to being successful in a ritual exchange, when the conquest of a *mwari* or a *vaiguwa* depends partly on being the first to reach one of the islands where one’s companions live or the first among men competing to conquer the same prizes.

bi mwanoïna: here we have another example of the verbalisation of a noun, *mwano-ï-na* (for the first component see Baldwin 1939a:394) which recalls, as has already been mentioned, the concepts of sacred and ritual but also that of excitement and entertainment, typical of a ritual exchange. But *mwano/a* recalls in turn *mwasila*, *munumwanita*, *mwata*, all terms present in many poetic formulae for the Kula and which allude to the mythical hero Monikiniki represented also iconographically as an “excited millipede”.

(7) *Tobilikova**I*

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Bowa duku bowa duku</i> | I have no ritual unguent to make my face beautiful, |
| 2 | <i>gera kagu bulukwa</i> | I have no wild boar: |
| 3 | <i>kagu bulukwa buluwoweŷya</i> | my wild boar is too small. |
| 4 | <i>gera ura katakewa</i> | I have no pole to carry him: |
| 5 | <i><ura katakewa>katalagaga</i> | the pole I have is too thin. |
| 6 | <i>gera ura wotuno</i> | I have no cord to bind him: |
| 7 | <i>ura wotuno waibitu</i> | my cord is sharp and cutting. |
| 8 | <i>gera guna yekwesi</i> | I have no leaves to cover him: |
| 9 | <i>ura yekwesi yabukwabu</i> | mine are too dirty. |
| 10 | <i>gera kagu buwa</i> | I have no intoxicating red fruit, |
| 11 | <i>kagu buwa uwara</i> | mine is crushed in pieces. |
| 12 | <i>da gegila taluma.</i> | Still our red bird sings the exchange of gift! |

I

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | <i>Bowa duku bowa duku</i>
black.symbol be.without black.symbol be.without |
| 2 | <i>gera kagu bulukwa</i>
not my wild.boar |
| 3 | <i>kagu bulukwa buluwowe-ŷya</i>
my wild.boar small.boar-LW-SFX |
| 4 | <i>gera ura katakewa</i>
not my carrying.pole |
| 5 | <i><ura katakewa> katalagaga</i>
my carrying.pole sharp |
| 6 | <i>gera ura wotuno</i>
not my cord |
| 7 | <i>ura wotuno waibitu</i>
my cord sharp |
| 8 | <i>gera guna yekwesi</i>
not my leaf |
| 9 | <i>ura yekwesi ya-bukwabu</i>
my leaf CLA-dirty |
| 10 | <i>gera kagu buwa</i>
not my intoxicating.red.fruit |
| 11 | <i>kagu buwa uwara</i>
my intoxicating.red.fruit crush.in.pieces |
| 12 | <i>da gegila taluma.</i>
our red.bird sing.the.exchange.of.gifts |

Commentary

This formula is sung during the *youra* stage of the construction of a ceremonial canoe, when the two *lagimu* and the two *tabuya* are placed in their respective grooves.

Line 1. *Bowa*: this alludes to a type of decoration, in black, which the men usually use to paint their faces when taking part in a ritual exchange. I have interpreted this as “I have no ritual unguent to make my face beautiful” because in this case the colour is made by mixing smoke black with the *burami* ointment which, in turn, is a metaphor for beauty. Compare with *Monikiniki III*, line 3.

Line 2. *bulukwa*: the killing of one or more boars celebrates both the beginning and the end of the construction of a ceremonial canoe. It also symbolises the separation and the later return of the *tokataraki* and/or the *tokabitamu*, from and to the village. Here the singer complains that the boar “is too small” and thus of little value, just as the pole, the cord and the leaf mentioned in the following lines are of little value.

Line 4. <*ura katakewa*>: literally this is the long pole made from the branch of a tree used to transport a boar. The animal is tied by its feet and the pole is then passed between the two knots and carried on the shoulders of two men.

Line 5. *katalagaga*: this form is made up of *kata-la-gaga*, where the first component literally means ‘cutting, sharp’ (Baldwin 1939a:179) while the third component encapsulates the negative value echoed by the whole term.

Line 7. *waibitu*: the same term is noted by Baldwin (1939a:633) and translated as ‘a creeper’. Towitara has specified that it is a very sharp particular type of liana, used for rope.

Line 8. *guna yekwesi*: here we have the first person possessive pronoun referring to ‘leaf’. The singer probably refers to the custom of covering the pieces of boar meat, whether raw or cooked, with large leaves (for example, banana or taro) to protect it from dust and flies.

Line 11. *uwara*: Baldwin (1939a:593) records the form *uwali* which he translates as ‘break into’. The singer alludes to a betel nut which is no longer good edible, because it has been broken up into little pieces and so cannot be mixed with betel pepper (*lobida*) and calcium powder: he will not therefore be able to enjoy the “intoxicating red fruit”.

Line 12. *gegila*: this form is also used in *Kaukwa reina*, line 5, where it is interpreted as “red bird”, identified with a species of parrot which is also one of the totem animals of the *Nukulabuta* clan. See Baldwin (1939a:75).

(8) *Mwasila sulumoïya*

I

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Guna sulumoïya guna sulumoïya</i> | My bewitching leaf, my leaf bewitch |
| 2 | <i>yamwenonuwu tabu'gu Yubuna</i> | my desire for my ancestor, Yabuna: |
| 3 | <i>nasavana yavana.</i> | the perfume of flowers is scenting the village! |

I

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | <i>Guna sulumoïya</i> | <i>guna sulumoïya</i> |
| | my bewitching.leaf | my bewitching.leaf |

- 2 *yamwenuwa tabu' gu Yubuna*
 desire ancestor my Yubuna
- 3 *na-sa-vana ya-vana.*
 CLA-IFX-garland/scent CLA-garland/scent

Commentary

Line 1. *sulumoiya*: this is the *Ocimum basilicum* which is usually used in preparing love potions and perfumes. Tufts of basil are also tucked into the bracelets (*kwasi*) worn by men and women on their arms and made by intertwining very thin threads blackened with smoke dust. The basil leaves are also associated with the sphere of eroticism and love.

Line 2. *yamwenuwa*: this is composed of the prefix *ya-* which conveys onto the base component the meaning of 'to do, to become', plus the infix *-mwenu-* meaning 'to give oneself pleasure' (in this last case it recalls *mwana*; see Baldwin 1939a:394) even though this is a pleasure connected to the sacred. This last meaning is underlined by the presence of *tabu'gu*.

Yubuna: This form is used here as a man's name.

Line 3. *nasavana yavana*: the first form here is composed of *na-* followed by the infix *-sa-*, used to indicate something which is rubbed or ruffled with the hands and, finally, the suffix *-vana*. The author thus wants to allude not only to the fragrance released by the garland of flowers but also to the action which releases it – the action of rubbing and crushing the shoots and flowers with the hands. But *nasavana* can also be the name of a woman. The form *yavana* is composed of *ya-vana*.

(9) *Mwasila monikiniki I*

I

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Waíya bakewa tupa bodaboda</i> | I shall set sail against the waves in the festive canoe |
| 2 | <i>yeíguta daba' gu kawala (buraku)</i> | raising the pole high I shall thrust it into the sea |
| 3 | <i>yaga' gu daba' na Tariebutu ku ma</i> | as I stand there the village in the west will appear, |
| 4 | <i>agu waga yavi dudu</i> | a light wind will stretch the sail, |
| 5 | <i>koiya takubu ku bara guniu</i> | there is the magic mountain: come towards me, |
| 6 | <i>koli gubai saíya guíya</i> | surround me, fight if you desire me, |
| 7 | <i>dudu ku wai i toina Muyuwa</i> | and, like a breath, flow to the distant transformed island |
| 8 | <i>tawefya guíya tawefya bununa da wabu'ra.</i> | I am water, I am shell, I yield myself to this seduction. |

I

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Wa-í-ya b-a kewa tupa boda-boda</i>
set-LW-up FUT-I sail push.over meet-meet |
| 2 | <i>yeígu-ta daba' gu kawala (buraku)</i>
I-SFX head my pole thrust/canoe.tree |
| 3 | <i>yaga' gu daba' na Tariebutu ku ma</i>
name my head SFX village.in.the.west you come |
| 4 | <i>agu waga yavi dudu</i>
my festive.canoe light.wind blow |

- 5 *koiya ta-kubu ku bara guniu*
 mountain PFX-tremble you come.towards approach
- 6 *koli gubai saiya gu-i-ya*
 surround wrap fight me-LW-SFX
- 7 *dudu ku wai i toina Muyuwa*
 blow you flow he/she/it transform distant.island
- 8 *taweyya guiya taweyya bununa da wabu' ra.*
 go.sinuously me go.sinuously shell our seduction SFX

Commentary

The poetic formula opens with the same line of *Monikiniki I* sung by Towitara, which comes as no surprise as both are recited for the Kula ritual exchange. According to the singer Gidou, this formula should be sung when the *tabuya* is fitted into its groove (*kaikikila*) on the hull, evoking a scene full of enchantment.

Line 2. *yeiguta daba'gu kawala (buraku)*: the first form here should be considered a poetical form of *yeigu* or *yaegu* (Baldwin 1939a:644) and can be broken down into *ye-i-gu*, where the prefix is the variation on the particle *ya-*, which in pronouns carries the meaning of 'with', plus the softening vowel *-i-* and the suffix *-gu* which literally is the first person possessive pronoun: we thus have 'with myself', 'I belong to myself'. *Daba'gu* literally means 'my head' but here the author wants to represent the act of pushing the long pole (*kawala*) 'up' (*daba*) above one's head. The term *buraku*, which appears with the symbols of uncertain transcription, could mean either the mast of the canoe on which the sail is raised, or 'to launch', 'to push in forcefully'. In this last case it should be transcribed *ba raku – laku* or *leku* in Boyowa (Baldwin 1939a:302, 309).

Line 3. *Tariebutu*: according to Siyakwakwa this is a village on the island of Dobu, to the west of Kitawa, and therefore a village included in the Kula Ring.

Line 4. *yavi*: literally this means 'to lay out, unroll, open up' above all in reference to the unrolling of a mat. The author wants to depict the image of a sail taut in the wind, and thus also refers to the wind blowing. It is a light, gentle wind and this lightness explains how the same verb form could be used by Ipaïya in *Nadubeori VI*, line 3a.

Line 5. *koiya takubu*: this is not simply a mountain but the deified mountain, rendered heroic, one of the visual metaphors of the hero *tokula*, and thus it is 'excited' in the same way a man participating in a ritual exchange is.

The verb form *takubu* is made up of the prefix *ta-* which functions as an auxiliary verb, and the base component *-kubu*, literally 'to tremble', 'to be excited' (Baldwin 1939a:263, 516).

ku bara guniu: here we have a 'strong' meaning of *bara*, with an erotic connotation as in *Lube'gu*, lines 1m and 2m, which refers to the penetration of the penis and can be rendered as 'to push inside' but it can also have the weaker meaning 'to come to meet'. Substantially, it means 'to push in the opposite direction' to another opposing push, a meaning also deduced from *guniu*. Obviously the 'strong' meaning cannot be excluded and perhaps could be interpreted in a subtler way.

Line 6. *koli gubai saiya guîya*: the form *koli*, which Baldwin (1939a:249, 286) treats as a synonym of *kwali*, literally means 'to go around', 'to wrap', 'to protect by enveloping'. *Gubai* (probably the equivalent of the Boyowa *guba* and *gumli*, literally 'to wrap something' and 'small basket in which to put something precious'; see Baldwin pp.86, 89) reinforces the concept expressed by the first form. The being wrapped thus refers to something intimate, I would say an act of love, as it is preceded by *ku bara guniu*. The intimacy, and in this case eroticism, is reinforced by *saiya guîya*, where the image of being desired is encapsulated in *gu-î-ya* (another example of the first person singular personal pronoun) and the image of being competed for in *saiya*. See also Baldwin (p.472), where he notes *saya*, translated as 'jump up and down'; this could be interpreted as an equivalent to the expression 'pulled backwards and forwards'.

Line 7. *i toina Muyuwa*: we see here the transformation of Muyuwa, the island with the high mountains: probably it is transformed into the mythical hero Monikiniki. Once again the island, the nautilus shell or the sea is personified. The concept of transformation is enclosed in *toina*, the equivalent to the Boyowa *tailina*, *tavila* and *tavina* (Baldwin 1939a:544) all terms translated as 'to change one thing into something else', 'to change into', 'to translate from... into...'.

Line 8. *tawêîya*: this form is made up of *ta-we-î-ya*, and recalls *waiya* in line 1, of which it is only a variant. The meaning of 'to go', 'to sail' of the first form is applicable here as well, except for the presence of the prefix *ta-* which expresses a much stronger concept hidden in *waiya* or *wêîya*: this is to move the body sinuously, in a bewitching way, to seduce and which therefore produces pleasure for oneself (I would say of a narcissistic nature) and which gives pleasure. The mention of the sea shell, *bununa*, and of water (an image encapsulated in *tawêîya*) underlines with great subtlety the image of gently succumbing to "this seduction".

(10) *Bisila A*

I

1	<i>Boda reina boda reina</i>	As a single body, a single body,
2	<i>boda tetana boda tetana</i>	as a single man, a single man,
3	<i>sina'gu yeyei ba yeyei</i>	my small black starling will fly and I will fly
4	<i>tama'gu kausi ba kausi</i>	my father will cast a spell and I will cast a spell.
5	<i>gera ura waga</i>	I have no festive canoe
6	<i>ura waga goragora</i>	the nautilus shell will be my canoe;
7	<i>gera ura keda</i>	I have no ritual path
8	<i>ura keda kumunuwa</i>	the wave swelling with the wind will be my path.
9	<i>ba kalipwasiga o modaweta</i>	Through the bright opening I shall come down
10	<i>ba kalisopu putakaiyagina</i>	into the hut to hide in the cooling ash
11	<i>a papa ba kausi siri didi...</i>	and like the subtle dolphin, make spells of sounding dust.

I

1	<i>Boda</i>	<i>reina</i>	<i>boda</i>	<i>reina</i>
	become.a.single.body	be.in.line	become.a.single.body	be.in.line

- 2 *boda* *tetana* *boda* *tetana*
 become.a.single.body one.man become.a.single.body one.man
- 3 *sina'* *gu* *yeyei* *b-a* *yeyei*
 black.starling my fly FUT-I fly
- 4 *tama'* *gu* *kausi* *b-a* *kausi*
 father my cast.a.spell FUT-I cast.a.spell
- 5 *gera* *ura* *waga*
 not my festive.canoe
- 6 *ura* *waga* *goragora*
 my festive.canoe nautilus.shell
- 7 *gera* *ura* *keda*
 not my path
- 8 *ura* *keda* *kumunuwa*
 my path swelling
- 9 *b-a* *kalipwasiga* *o* *modaweta*
 FUT-I pass.through in bright.opening
- 10 *b-a* *kalisopu* *putakaïyagina*
 FUT-I hide ash
- 11 *a* *papa* *b-a* *kausi* *siri* *didi...*
 I act.as.a.dolphin FUT-I cast.a.spell sounding blowing...

Commentary

Line 1. *Boda reina boda reina*: with this first line the author of the poetic formula (which is sung after placing the *lagimu* and *tabuya* in the corresponding grooves in the hull) aims to depict the merging of two or more elements into a single one; this process of fusion is given by *boda* and underlined and reinforced by *reina*. This last form is a variation on *lei*, literally 'to draw a line' or 'to make a line, to line up'. Again here we have the formation of a compact body composed of many elements (the dots which form a line or row). In lines 3 and 4 the author specifies that this compact, single body is made up of his own father and the "small black starling", to be interpreted as allegorical figures. The formula is also recited to celebrate a joyous occasion such as the delivery of a prowboard by the engraver to the patron who has commissioned a canoe for the Kula, or the arrival of a group of men who ready themselves for a ritual Kula conversation. The *bisila* is a long, narrow strip, made from pandanus leaf, and fixed to the top of a pole to serve as an ensign. This is an example of a visual metaphor, in this case alluding to pleasure, happiness, excitement, friendship, all of which are feelings and situations that explode like "spells of sounding dust" at the end of the formula, after an interlude in which the fact that something or someone is missing is announced.

Line 3. *sina'gu*: this form was at first interpreted by Sïyakwakwa as a Dobu term but later, during one of the revisions of both transcription and translation, it was proposed that it be interpreted as a Boyowa lexeme. I accepted this last version, so we have "black starling", belonging to the genus *Sturnus*, characterised by its shiny black plumage. This last term returns in *Sina ba yasina*, line 1, for example.

Line 4. *kausi*: this is a lexeme associated with the manipulation of verbal elements (poetic forms) and non-verbal ones (things such as leaves, branches, flowers and so on) for spells. The spell can be used to obtain either negative or positive results, so it is the negativity or positivity which determines the most appropriate translation of the lexeme.

Line 6. *goragora*: this is one of the Nowau terms most laden with mythical and metaphorical meanings. Translated as “nautilus shell”, literally *Nautilus pompilius*, chosen in the past by the engravers as the central design of the *lagimu* and *tabuya* and as a geometric pattern on which the two prowboards are constructed. It represents the visual synthesis of the golden section, the Golden Number, which the engravers have elevated to the status of metaphor of perfection, of total, harmonious knowledge. In this specific case, the author of the formula sings *goragora*, alluding to the ceremonial canoe and it is not by chance that on Kitawa, before adopting the present *tadobu* model, the *goragora* model was used, whose *lagimu* was similar to the style and pattern of a nautilus shell.

Line 8. *ura keda kumunuwa*: Baldwin (1939a:274) records *kumun*, translated as ‘puff’, and thus with a meaning very similar to the version accepted in the text, suggested by Ipaïya. He had interpreted *kumunuwa* as a “wave swelling with the wind”: this seems a very elegant metaphor for suggesting the approach of the end of a wait or the satisfaction of a wish.

Line 9. *ba kalipwasiga o modaweta*: the verb form *kalipwasiga* is made up of *kalipwa/la-siga/la*, where the first component literally means ‘to pass through’ (Baldwin 1939a:484) and the second ‘light’, ‘to illuminate’, ‘to be illuminated’. We have something or someone who passes through a lighted space, which in the formula is a triangular gap between the two sloping sides of the roof of a hut: it is the only point which is full of light in a hut which is otherwise dark. Because of its luminosity it is seen as a place of enchantment, an illuminated ‘window’ through which flying witches, the *tokwai* and poetic formulae pass as spells.

Line 10. *putakaiyagina*: this is the barely warm ashes, used as a metaphor alluding to a pleasant wait (the embers under the ashes waiting to burst into flames): but the ashes also recall an atmosphere of enchantment and magic.

Line 11. *a papa*: on the suggestion of Siyakwakwa and Redimu I have interpreted this form as “subtle dolphin” which enchants and bewitches. In Nowau culture, the dolphin represents faithful, constant friendship and human faculties are attributed to it. It is often depicted in stylised engravings on the upper side of the hull of a ceremonial canoe and coloured alternately black and white.

(11) *Katulova*

I

1	<i>Ba mwena ba mwenawa</i>	I raise it high
2	<i>ba busi wa tanawa</i>	and thrust it deep
3	<i>kaitara si kawala sagwai</i>	the pole of my companions:
4	<i>sigilisigili vaki</i>	it flashes swiftly, swiftly,
5	<i>kaitara ura kawala</i>	the moving pole
6	<i>siliyou bi you busi momwau.</i>	gleaming like a spear, then down!

I

- 1 *B-a mwena b-a mwena-wa*
FUT-I raise.high FUT-I raise.high-SFX
- 2 *b-a busi wa tanawa*
FUT-I thrust at deep
- 3 *kaitara si kawala sagwai*
one their pole companion
- 4 *sigili sigili vaki*
flash flash firing
- 5 *kaitara ura kawala*
one my pole
- 6 *sili-you b-i you busi momwau.*
PFX-gleaming FUT-it dart go.down heavily

Commentary

The poetic formula (performed by Towitara in honour of the ceremonial canoe) alludes to the male world metaphorised in the departure of the canoe for a Kula exchange, and the canoe, in turn, is metaphorised by the long pole (*kawala*) with which it is pushed outside the coral reef. In fact, all manoeuvres to get outside the barrier and within its confines are made with the same pole so as to make sure the canoe does not run aground on the rocks. It is only outside the reef that the sail, made from pandanus leaves, is raised.

Leaving land behind, metaphorised by the use of the *kawala*, implies the start of the great ritual voyage which functions as a good omen for reaching perfect knowledge (the Kula Ring) just as it also underlines a sort of opposition to the rules of matrilinear descent, metaphorised in this case by the land.

Line 1. *Ba mwena ba mwenawa*: literally *mwena* means 'to go up', 'to arrive high', 'to ascend', but in this case it expresses the action of 'throwing something up'. The second verb form is made up of *mwena-wa*, where the suffix *-wa* specifies and completes the meaning already expressed by the base verb.

Line 2. *ba busi wa tanawa*: with the translation "and thrust it deep", I have attempted to convey the image of the pole which sinks into the sea after being pushed down forcefully (given by *wa tanawa*, literally 'down, below'). See Baldwin (1939a:535).

Line 3. *si kawala sagwai*: the reference to "the pole of my companions" should be interpreted as an allusion to the whole of the crew taking part in the ritual exchange and to the exchange itself. Cf. *so-la* in Baldwin (1939a: 507).

Line 4. *sigili*: Baldwin (1939a:484, 485) records *sigala* and *sigili*, which he translates respectively as 'light' and 'bright', thus alluding to something which produces light as well as being bright in itself. Given the context in which the term occurs, the brightness produced is given by the rapid movement of the pole which, shifted up and down, slips in and out of the water like lightning: the brightness, the light, in this case, is a metaphor of speed and vice versa.

Line 6. *siliyou*: this form is composed of *sili-you*, where the prefix *sili-* can in turn be broken down into *si-li* and indicates a reflexive action. The base verb *-you*, which recurs in many

other formula used to cast spells, refers to the action of flying like an arrow. Baldwin (1939a:491, 664).

3.2.2.2 TOKUNUBWAI BARAWEÏYA, SINGER

(1) *Kaliboda*

I

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Kayawa kayama bwada'gu</i> | Push it this way and that my little brother |
| 2 | <i>bougwa kavikavira buwa...</i> | the intoxicating red fruit flashes like lightning! |

I

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Kaya-wa kaya-ma bwada' gu</i> | push-go push-come brother my |
| 2 | <i>bougwa kavikavira buwa...</i> | already lightning intoxicating.red.fruit |

Commentary

Tokunubwai Baraweïya of Lalekeiwa has attributed this poetic formula, sung in 1974, to the *kasivi* stage when the trunk, which has been cut into the canoe form, is put in its hangar (*bonatoru*) to be finished. But Towitara and Siyakwakwa were of a completely different opinion and attributed the formula to the stage of initiation to the profession of engraver of prowboards, when it is sung at the moment of giving spring water to the initiate by the initiator: in this second case, it could be a fragment of a longer composition.

Line 1. *Kayawa kayama bwada'gu*: the two verb forms have the prefix *kaya-* in common (which can be broken down into *ka-ya*, where the first component functions as a causative) which, in the first form completes the meaning of 'to go', 'to push', encapsulated in the base verb. The second form suggests the opposite movement: we have 'to come', given by *ma*.

The sense to attribute to the formula depends on the genre in which we locate it: if we accept the interpretation of Gidou, then the composition suggests the gesture of shaking the gate made of branches which closes the opening (*kaliboda* or *marekata*) of the hangar towards the sea (while we have *kaliboda tadeu* for the opening of the hangar towards land). The shaking of the gate has a ritual value and indicates the opening (when it is open) of a ritual exchange, or the end (when it is closed).

The term *bwada'gu*, literally 'my smaller brother', could also allude to one of the companions in the ritual exchange. It has an affective but also erotic value, as it is followed by "the intoxicating red fruit flashes like lightning!"

Line 2. *kavikavira*: literally this means 'to flash', 'lightning flash'. It often comes up in poetic formulae connected to both the ritual exchange and to the profession of prowboard engravers. It is another metaphor to suggest the image of speed (for example, the speed of the ceremonial canoe), of brightness, of intelligence, of shrewdness. But the flash of lightning, and lightning itself, is also a symbol of the mythical hero Monikiniki.

(2) *Sina ba yasina*

I

1	<i>Sina'gu you ba you</i>	My small black starling flies and I will fly
2	<i>kaut(u)ba kaut(u)</i>	he bewitches, I will bewitch.
3	<i>gera ura keda</i>	I have no path,
4	<i>ura keda goragora</i>	the nautilus shell will be my path.
5	<i>gera ura waga</i>	I have no festive canoe,
6	<i>ura waga goragora</i>	the nautilus shell will be my canoe.
7	<i>kagu mata'na kagugarena</i>	My sharp eye, my voice like a bird:
8	<i>a you a kausi youyou sididi...</i>	I fly and make magic, rolling over in the sounding dust.

I

1	<i>Sina' gu you b-a you</i> black.starling my dart FUT-I dart
2	<i>kaut(u) b-a kaut(u)</i> bewitch FUT-I bewitch
3	<i>gera ura keda</i> not my path
4	<i>ura keda goragora</i> my path nautilus.shell
5	<i>gera ura waga</i> not my festive.canoe
6	<i>ura waga goragora</i> my festive.canoe nautilus.shell
7	<i>kagu mata'na kagu garena</i> my eye SFX my warbling:
8	<i>a you a kausi you-you sididi...</i> I dart I cast.a.spell dart-dart sounding

Commentary

This was attributed by Tokunubwai to the group of poetic formulae performed for one of the last stages of the building of a ceremonial canoe. It thus belongs to the same genre as *Bisila A*, performed by Towitara, and with which it has much in common. For example, we have:

<i>Bisila</i>		<i>Sina ba yasina</i>
3	<i>sina'gu yeyei ba yeyei</i>	1 <i>sina'gu you ba you</i>
7	<i>gera ura keda</i>	3 <i>gera ura keda</i>
5	<i>gera ura waga</i>	5 <i>gera ura waga</i>
6	<i>ura waga goragora</i>	6 <i>ura waga gora gora</i>
11	<i>a papa ba kausi siri didi...</i>	8 <i>a you a kausi youyou sididi...</i>

The problem of assonances does not obviously concern only two poetic formulae, and various hypotheses can be put forward. One, for example, recalls the interpretive ideas of

Milman Parry (1971) in the *Making of Homeric verse* on the recurrence of formulae (see in particular the chapters 'Homeric formulae and Homeric metre' and 'Formulaic verses in Greek and Southslavic heroic song'), but in the specific case of Nowau compositions, especially those regarding the Kula and the profession of prowboard engravers, the presence of the same line within different formulae could be attributed to the re-use of fragments from a single, probable longer work, perhaps an epic. One cannot deny that the large underlying layer of mythical material (concerning, for example, the mythical hero Monikiniki) can lead to the re-use of the same line dealing with an episode considered fundamental in different poetic formulae.

Line 1. *Sina'gu you ba you*: it is confirmed, as mentioned in line 3 of *Bisila A*, that the "small black starling" alludes to the speed of the ceremonial canoe. The very colour of shiny black, typical of the bird's plumage, has a positive value, a value which is also asserted in poetic formulae for the Kula. Black is used in the two prowboards for the ceremonial canoe and is the colour of the *sayaku*, the perfumed ointment (made from pinaster resin) which a *tokula* rubs on his shoulders and face when taking part in an expedition.

Line 3. *gera ura keda*: the same line is used in *Bisila A*, line 7, although here it is followed by "the nautilus shell will be my path". So both the ceremonial canoe and the path, assimilated in the *Nautilus pompilius*, allude to the journey towards perfection, towards knowledge. This is not merely a ritual journey, but a journey as a symbol of understanding, which requires a series of labours to be accomplished, such as navigating on the ocean, a visual metaphor of the difficulties that the intellect has to face in order to arrive at understanding. In this case, the 'path' is not only the route of the ritual exchange but also the route to knowledge.

Line 4. *goragora*: this specifies in more detail the various values associated with the nautilus which, in addition to alluding to the perfection of understanding, also encapsulates the rule of progressive and harmonious growth according to a certain ratio, a rule that is valid even for a *tokula*. A man leaving from a certain point (represented by his introduction into the Kula-Understanding Ring through his initiator, who gives him his first companion-*mwari* or his first companion-*vaiguwa*) starts his ritual journey which, according to his skills and intellectual abilities, grows (just like the spirals of the nautilus), each stage increasing on the previous without negating it. The successive companions which are added to the first as the journey proceeds in time can be interpreted as so many metaphors of 'pieces' added to knowledge, above all of himself.

Line 7. *kagu mata'na kagu garena*: this line comes up again in *Ni payu*, line 4, in *Kagu waliwali*, line 7 and in *Bisila B*, line 6, which belong to different genres. I cannot rule out that this is the re-use of a poetical expression which embodies a reference to some very widespread and well-known myth and for this reason is used in various poetical contexts. Naturally, the use of the same line in different poetical and linguistic contexts takes nothing from their expressive specificity.

The term *garena* is usually used to indicate the throat but more pertinently it classifies the phonatory organs.

(3) *Tokwai ku busi*

I

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Tokwai ku busi ku simwa</i> | Wood spirit come down, stay here! |
| 2 | <i>ku you ku ra o bwarita</i> | then fly over the intense blue-painted sea, |
| 3 | <i>ku ramasi piya bi taweiyō</i> | pull the rope tight so the festive canoe will leap away! |
| 4 | <i>ku ruruwai kai koīya</i> | Do you remember the mountain tree |
| 5 | <i>ku rurubusi Mwadowa</i> | dragged down to the village of the far island? |
| 6 | <i>kwarouto kwarouto</i> | Little bird, little bird, |
| 7 | <i>giri-giri kaike' mu</i> | endlessly hopping, |
| 8 | <i>ku mwaiki koīya waga bi kota.</i> | go to the mountain so the festive canoe flies! |

I

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Tokwai ku busi ku simwa</i> | wood.spirit you come.down you stay.here |
| 2 | <i>ku you ku ra o bwarita</i> | you dart you go on sea |
| 3 | <i>ku ramasi piya b-i taweiyō</i> | you pull rope FUT-it leap.away |
| 4 | <i>ku ruruwai kai koīya</i> | you remember tree mountain |
| 5 | <i>ku rurubusi Mwadowa</i> | you drag.down village.of.the.far.island |
| 6 | <i>kwarouto kwarouto</i> | little.bird little.bird |
| 7 | <i>giri-giri kaike' mu</i> | hop-hop leg your |
| 8 | <i>ku mwaiki koīya waga b-i kota.</i> | you go mountain festive.canoe FUT-it sail |

Commentary

This poetic formula was also sung in 1974 by Tokunubwai of the *Malasi* clan and the *tabalu* subclan. The singer (who died in 1975, like Towitara Buyoyu) thus belonged to the highest status subclan, whose members usually live in the Omarakana district north-east of Kiriwina.

We have another invocation of the “wood spirit”, so the formula belongs to the genre sung by a *tokabitamu* or a *tokataraki*. It is performed during the first stage of work when the trunk for the ceremonial canoe has to be cut.

Line 3. *ku ramasi piya*: the verb form *ramasi* literally means ‘to pull a rope’ and belongs to the language of the sea. Baldwin (1939a:303) records the form *lamasi*, translated as ‘pull straight’. *Piya*, which I have accepted as a variation on *pia*, reinforces the meaning of ‘pull’ already expressed in *ramasi*. The same term also indicates one of the first stages of construction of the ceremonial canoe, when the trunk begins to take the shape of the hull (Scoditti 1990a).

bi taweijo: this form is made up of *ta-weijo*, literally 'to hit, shake' and 'to be hit, be shaken' but here it alludes to the effect of the blow or the shove, given to the canoe when it is dragged by the rope. In Baldwin (1939a:638) we have *ta-weya*.

Line 5. *ku rurubusi*: the verb form here is made up of *ruru-busi*, where the first element means 'to push' and the second one 'to go down', 'to move downwards'. By combining the two meanings, we obtain "dragged down". Cf. *lulu* in Baldwin (1939a:332).

Mwadowa: literally this is the island on the west side of Muyuwa or Woodlark, noted on maps as Mwadau or Madau (Leach & Leach, eds 1983).

Line 6. *kwarouto kwarouto*: Baldwin records *kwaroto*, translated as 'mud bird', associating it with *geu* (identified as a sort of wild turkey). Whatever species of bird this may be, its presence in the formula once again recalls the image, represented by a visual metaphor, of the speed and flight associated with the ceremonial canoe (cf. the myth of the flying canoe noted by Malinowski 1922: 311-321). A stylised bird (a sea eagle or a sea swallow) is engraved, for example in the upper part of the *lagimu*, and a heron form is depicted on the main part of the *tabuya*. See Scoditti (1990a).

Line 7. *girigiri kaikemu*: I have accepted the suggestion made by Ipaïya, Siyakwakwa and Redimu to translate the first lexeme as 'leaping, skipping', which repropose the Boyowa *gili* interpreted by Baldwin (1939a:80) as 'pull out, pluck' but also as 'a row'. Baldwin also therefore repropose the image of someone performing a continual series of identical or similar movements.

Line 8. *koiya*: here we have another association with a bird, or something else which flies, and the mountain (as a symbol of Highness, or the High Point). We cannot rule out that this flying being might even be the mythical hero Monikiniki, in this case seen as the 'cause' of speed, assimilated with the flight of the ceremonial canoe.

3.2.2.3 KROBAI TONUWABU, SINGER

(1) *Ni payu*

I

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Kagu waliwali yatana si vali</i> | My strong cord, you bind and hold |
| 2 | <i>sagwai yerubiki yerudumu yerukubobwa</i> | my companions bathing against the waves |
| 3 | <i>kalipwala wa modaweta</i> | drag them under the cooling ashes |
| 4 | <i>agu mata'ra agugarena</i> | my magic eye, my chanting voice, |
| 5 | <i>sidididi...tatata Nomumusa.</i> | hissing and trembling in the magician's village! |

I

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | <i>Kagu wali-wali yatana si vali</i> | my cord-cord one their bind/hold |
| 2 | <i>sagwai yerubiki yerudumu yerukubobwa</i> | companion current-slowing current-growing current-trembling |
| 3 | <i>kalipwala wa modaweta</i> | drag at bright.opening |

- 4 *agu mata' ra agu garena*
 my eye SFX my warbling
- 5 *sidididi... tatata Nomumusa.*
 hissing trembling village.of.magician

Commentary

This was performed by Krobai Tonuwabu on 11 May 1974 and attributed to the *vakai* or *vakasi* stage of the construction of the ceremonial canoe, when *lagimu* and *tabuya* have been fixed into the corresponding grooves on the hull.

Line 1. *waliwali... si vali*: despite the close assonance between the two forms their respective meanings are completely different. The first refers to a very thin, strong type of liana used to hold together the various parts of a canoe, and which the inhabitants of Kitawa usually obtain on Gilibwa or on Vakuta, in the Trobriands. I have already commented on the second form, although here I interpret it more freely, "bind and hold", while literally it means 'their prints', 'they leave their prints': I would have had to translate it as 'my cord is their print', thus making the meaning attributed to it by the author unnecessarily obscure.

Line 2. *yerubiki yerudumu yerukubobwa*: the prefix *yeru-* appears in all three forms, underlining the presence in the scene of a force contrary to an action being performed. This opposing force is metaphorised as *yeru*.

Line 3. *kalipwala*: see *kalipwasiga* in *Bisila A*, line 9.

(2) *Kagu waliwali*

I

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Bi na bi nawa</i> | Rising and sinking |
| 2 | <i>bi na bi nawa</i> | sinking and rising |
| 3 | <i>yatana kasi bisila</i> | the ritual leaf |
| 4 | <i>sagwai yerukubobwa</i> | of my companions, beaten back by the current, |
| 5 | <i>yerukubobwayerukubobwa</i> | beaten back by the current: |
| 6 | <i>a kalisopu patilef'gu</i> | I'll slither, secretly, among my festive canoes |
| 7 | <i>agu mata'ra agugarena</i> | my magic eye, my chanting voice |
| 8 | <i>sidididi tatata Nomumusa...</i> | hissing and trembling in the magician's village! |

I

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>B-i na b-i na-wa</i>
FUT-it rise FUT-it go-sink |
| 2 | <i>b-i na b-i na-wa</i>
FUT-it rise FUT-it go-sink |
| 3 | <i>yatana kasi bisila</i>
one their ritual.leaf |
| 4 | <i>sagwai yerukubobwa</i>
companion trembling.current |

- 5 *yerukubobwa yerukubobwa*
trembling.current trembling.current
- 6 *a kalisopu patile-î' gu*
I hide/enter foot-board-LW my
- 7 *agu mata'ra agu garena*
my eye SFX my warbling
- 8 *sidididi tatata Nomumusa...*
hissing trembling village.of.magician

Commentary

The author here wants to bring out the figure of the *tokabitamu* as a magician, an enchanter, and the magic atmosphere which surrounds his activity as engraver of prowboards.

Line 1. *bi nawa*: this suggests the image of something or someone going up and down. The movement refers to the *bisila* which flies from ceremonial canoe blocked "by the current". This last image is used by the author to establish a contrast between a storm situation and one where calm pervaded with magic reigns.

Line 4. *yerukubobwa*: here we have a form composed of *yeru-*, which indicates the flow of the water, or of a steam, and of *-kubobwa*, similar to the Boyowa *kubugwa* which alludes to any element which blocks another element. See Baldwin (1939a:263).

Line 6. *kalisopu*: this expresses the concept of 'getting down/off something' but here refers to a furtive action, carried out almost in hiding, from which comes the interpretation "I'll slither, secretly". The verb form (which I have rendered in the future) is made up of *kali-* (literally 'between, through, to pass through') followed by *-sopu*, which can be translated as 'put into the earth', 'plant', as it is usually used in reference to the growing of yams. Here it is used more in a metaphorical sense to allude to someone or something which 'goes down into'.

Line 7. *mata'ra*: this is not only an eye but a "magic eye", that has the ability to see through things.

garena: literally this is the throat, or rather the intermediate area between the palate and the throat. We have another metaphor, one thing which stands for another: this alludes to the voice but it is the voice of the magician, and thus a voice capable of throwing spells with sound dust. In addition, with *garena* the author could allude to the ability to chew and enjoy the betel nut or ginger. Baldwin (1939a:72) records two forms which could be associated with *garena*: he notes *gali*, which translates as 'to chew', and *gani* 'to bite'.

Line 8. *Nomumusa*: according to Siyakwakwa this is a small atoll which rises near the island of Yanaba or Yarabwa, to the south east of Kitawa, and is famous for being inhabited by powerful magicians.

(3) *Bisila B*

I

1	<i>Sina'gu bi yowa</i>	My small black starling will fly,
2	<i>sina'gu bi yowa</i>	my small black starling will fly,
3	<i>sina'gu bi kausi</i>	my small black starling will cast a spell
4	<i>sina'gu bi kausi</i>	my small black starling will cast a spell,
5	<i>ku yowa bi yowa</i>	you fly and it will fly
6	<i>agu mata'ra agu garena</i>	my magic eye, my chanting voice;
7	<i>bi yowa bi kausi</i>	it will fly and cast a spell
8	<i>bi yowa bi kausi.</i>	it will fly and cast a spell!

I

1	<i>Sina' gu b-i yowa</i>	black.starling my FUT-it fly
2	<i>sina' gu b-i yowa</i>	black.starling my FUT-it fly
3	<i>sina' gu b-i kausi</i>	black.starling my FUT-it cast.a.spell
4	<i>sina' gu b-i kausi</i>	black.starling my FUT-it cast.a.spell
5	<i>ku yowa b-i yowa</i>	you fly FUT-it fly
6	<i>agu mata' ra agu garena</i>	my eye SFX my warbling
7	<i>b-i yowa b-i kausi</i>	FUT-it fly FUT-it cast.a.spell
8	<i>b-i yowa b-i kausi.</i>	FUT-it fly FUT-it cast.a.spell.

Commentary

This poetic formula, sung by Krobai, refers to the *tasola* stage of the building of the ceremonial canoe, when it is launched and prepared for racing.

Line 1. *Sina'gu bi yowa*: here again the mention of the small black bird, the starling, comes up, already seen in *Sina ba yasina*, line 1. It is compared here to 'someone' (not specified in the formula) who can fly. Again here the singer could be referring to the mythical hero Monikiniki called "my magic eye, my chanting voice" (cf. line 6), alluding to two qualities held to be fundamental for a *tokula*-canoe: the voice, to cast a spell on a companion in the ritual exchange, and the eye for casting a spell on him.

3.2.2.4 TODUBWAU LUKUBOI, SINGER

(1) *Tayou*

I

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>A tayou tayou</i> | I fly, I outstrip the wind, |
| 2 | <i>a tadudu (a) tayou</i> | like lightning I fly, |
| 3 | <i>a takapoka kwapoka</i> | I flash, a speeding spear, |
| 4 | <i>a tapela ku pela.</i> | gleaming, you gleam and fly. |

I

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>A ta-you ta-you</i> | |
| | I PFX-fly PFX-fly | |
| 2 | <i>a ta-dudu (a) ta-you</i> | |
| | I PFX-blow (I) PFX-fly | |
| 3 | <i>a ta-kapoka kwapoka</i> | |
| | I PFX-flash speed | |
| 4 | <i>a ta-pela ku pela.</i> | |
| | I PFX-gleam you gleam | |

Commentary

This poetic formula (the transcription given here is from the performance by Todubwau of Okabulula in 1974) is sung on the *ligogu* (the small axe used for carving) so that through sympathetic association it will impart speed to the ceremonial canoe.

Line 1. *tayou*: this expresses the concept of speed referred above all to something, or someone, which flies, shoots through the air. It also recalls *tayoura*, a verb form used to indicate the action of hitting something rhythmically and then fixing it, and this sense recurs in *Kara vagia*. This last meaning is also explained by the myth of the flying canoe (see Malinowski 1922) in which each stage in the construction of the boat and the assembly of the various parts is accompanied by references to the act of flying. The verb form is made up of the prefix *ta-* (which here functions as an auxiliary verb with the meaning of 'to do, to become') and by the base component *-you*, literally 'to fly', 'to go fast'. See Baldwin (1939a:664).

Line 2. *tadudu*: this form is composed of *ta-* and *-dudu*.

Line 3. *takapoka kwapoka*: the crackle of sounds continues, penetrating the air, 'flying', conveyed by the use of the prefix *ta-*. In this case the base component *-kapoka*, similar to the form *kwapoka* as a sound variation on the first, encapsulates the meaning of 'sparkling'. I find it interesting that *kapoka* is also used to indicate upwards motion, or 'climbing up and then jumping down'. This last form also alludes to a form of suicide, reserved for adulterous women caught *in flagrante delicto*, whereby the person climbs a coconut palm and throws herself off. See Baldwin (1939a:167).

3.2.3 POETIC FORMULAE CHANTED FOR THE RITUAL EXCHANGE KULA

3.2.3.1 TOWITARA BUYOYU, SINGER

(1) *Nagega**I*

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Nagega nagega wai</i> | Canoe-shell, canoe-shell:go like the wind! |
| 2 | <i>a liku yagama'gu</i> | I bring my gourd with the intoxicating powder, |
| 3 | <i>a liku beku</i> | I bring my green, magic axe, |
| 4 | <i>a liku koulai</i> | I bring my black ointment to beautify my body, |
| 5 | <i>a liku sayaku</i> | I bring my perfumed oil, |
| 6 | <i>a liku mwari</i> | I bring my ritual white armshell |
| 7 | <i>a liku bosu.</i> | I bring my white bone spatula! |

II

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---|
| 1a | <i>A vali Muyuwa</i> | I set foot on the far island, |
| 2a | <i>a vatana Muyuwa</i> | I shout my name on the far island, |
| 3a | <i>a vayawa Muyuwa</i> | I leave the far island, |
| 4a | <i>a kaulamuku waga'ra</i> | I load the festive canoe with precious gifts, |
| 5a | <i>a kaulamuku lamilela.</i> | I load the black outrigger with precious gifts! |

I

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Nagega nagega wai</i> | canoe-shell canoe-shell go.like.the.wind |
| 2 | <i>a liku yagama'gu</i> | I bring gourd my |
| 3 | <i>a liku beku</i> | I bring axe |
| 4 | <i>a liku koulai</i> | I bring black.ointment |
| 5 | <i>a liku sayaku</i> | I bring perfumed.oil |
| 6 | <i>a liku mwari</i> | I bring armshell/white.gift |
| 7 | <i>a liku bosu.</i> | I bring bone.spatula |

II

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1a | <i>A vali Muyuwa</i> | I set.foot far.island |
| 2a | <i>a vatana Muyuwa</i> | I shout far.island |
| 3a | <i>a vayawa Muyuwa</i> | I leave far.island |

- 4a a *kaulamuku waga' ra*
 I load festive.canoe SFX
- 5a a *kaulamuku lamilela.*
 I load outrigger

Commentary

This is sung to capture *mwari* and *vaiguwa*.

Line 1. *Nagega*: I have translated this as “canoe-shell” because it the Nowau term refers to the model of ceremonial canoe (still built on the islands of Gawa, Kwaiwata, Yanaba and Woodlark) where the prowboard – which corresponds to the *lagimu* in the *tadobu* model – is based on a process of patterning and stylisation of the *Nautilus pompilius* or *goragora*. This last term is used to indicate, in addition, the model built in Kitawa roughly up to the second half of the nineteenth century. See also note 4, *Sina ba yasina* and note 6, *Bisila A*.

Line 2. *a liku*: Baldwin (1939a:313) also records this verb form, translating it as ‘take off’. The repetition of the first person singular in the present gives a sing-song rhythm to the formula up to line 7.

The use of *nagega* can be interpreted in two ways: either as a reference to the date the formula was composed and therefore not later than the first half of the nineteenth century, and in this case the formula could be attributed to a Kitawa poet; on the other hand, it could refer to the place of composition and thus in one of the islands to the east of Kitawa (for example, Gawa or Yanaba). The fact that it was then performed by Towitara Buyoyu is not relevant to either dating or placing it on one island rather than another. In fact, one of the characteristics of the Kula Ring is the intense and wide-ranging circulation not only of *mwari* and *vaiguwa* but also of *megwa* performed by the participants in the ritual exchange. One of the consequences of this circulation is, for example, that a man from Kitawa may possess a song composed in Yanaba. Or a poet from the region of Kumwageiya may have composed a *megwa* for the Kula using vocabulary from the island of Muiyuwa.

yagama'gu: this is a variation on *yaguma*, the container for calcium powder, made out of a pumpkin (*Lagenaria siceraria*). The calcium powder (*pwakau*, or *pupwakau*) is made by pulverising a type of coral which has been baked under a heap of branches. The container, the small mortar (*kaimili*) – where the betel nuts, betel pepper leaves or fruit and calcium powder are mixed – and the spatula (*kena*) to lift the mixture to the mouth are the belongings that all men and women carry with them, above all for a man involved in a ritual exchange.

Line 4. *koulai*: Baldwin records the form *koula* which he associates with the action of blackening the body with smoke dust. But in this specific case, the poet refers to the custom of a *tokula* of painting his face with black stripes to decorate his cheekbones and cheeks near the mouth, brightened by *buwa* red. In any case, the dark ointment *sayaku* used for scenting the shoulders is also covered by the term ‘black’.

Line 7. *bosu*: this is spatula made out of a cassowary bone (a bird of the *Casuariidae* family, *Casuarius bennetti*, *Casuarius unappendiculatus* and *Casuarius casuarius*) with the handle decorated with beads and mother-of-pearl pendants. The object comes from the islands to the west of Kitawa and from the Trobriands, and therefore it is one of the propitiatory gifts which characterise a ritual exchange.

Line 1a. *A vali Muyuwa*: the verb form *vali* is usually used to suggest the image of an imprint. In many poetic formulae for the Kula it is interpreted in a broader sense, for example of the memory one leaves imprinted on another, or in a certain place. In this last sense the 'print' is left on the 'mountain' (for example on Muyuwa, with its high mountains).

Line 4a. *a kaulamuku*: literally, this means 'to fill up to the top', 'to overfill', 'to brim'. The poet wants to depict a ceremonial canoe so full of *mwari* and *vaiguwa* that it risks sinking. We have a metaphor of abundance and wealth, in turn visual allusions to happiness.

The verb form *kaulamuku* is made up of *kau-la-muku*, where the prefix in itself means 'to carry', 'to take', while the infix *-la-* should be interpreted as the third person singular possessive pronoun (in Nowau we usually have *ra*) and the suffix *muku*, following Baldwin (1939a:384) expressed a durational or modal value.

(2) *Sabwaboileta*

I

1	<i>Yeru yeru avei tau waga'ra</i>	Fast flowing stream, who's the man-canoe?
2	<i>yeigu, Sabwaboileta waga'ra</i>	I, Sabwaboileta, I am the man-canoe!
3	<i>avaka dudune'gu</i>	What do you bring me in the streaming wind?
4	<i>bogisayawa dudune'gu.</i>	the magic ointment in the streaming wind!

I

1	<i>Yeru yeru avei tau waga' ra</i>	stream stream who man festive.canoe SFX
2	<i>yeigu, Sabwaboileta waga' ra</i>	I Sabwaboileta festive.canoe SFX.
3	<i>avaka dudu-ne' gu</i>	what blow-SFX my
4	<i>bogisayawa dudu-ne' gu.</i>	magic.ointment blow-SFX my

Commentary

Performed by Towitara on 9 January 1974, this is a poetic formula about the colours, *buwa* red and smoke-black, used to decorate a man's face before a Kula ritual exchange.

Line 1. *Yeru yeru*: this covers the meanings of stream, spring water, a small current in the water, and is one of the richest terms from a metaphorical point of view. *Yeru*, or *yelu* according to Baldwin (1939a:652), alludes to freshness, to the ability to construct images as, for example, an engraver of prowboards or a poet creates them. It also alludes to the purity or sincerity of ideas and thoughts, and in this formula *yeru* is invoked as a divinity.

Line 2. *Sabwaboileta*: this means 'man of the deep waters', where *sabwa-* should be interpreted as a variation on *sabwau* (literally 'to go under', 'to drown', 'to be covered by water', Baldwin 1939a:462), while the suffix form *-boileta* is a variation on the Boyowa *bolitela* or *bulitala*, literally 'deep water'. We cannot rule out the possibility that the name

brings to mind some mythical *tokula* who, precisely because of his skill in the ritual exchange, has been made a hero, and is represented as living in the water.

Line 3. *dudune'gu*: during the interpretation of the various poetic formulae, this lexeme was proposed as the vocal expression of the action of flying. It represents the sound of the wind, the hiss of someone or something that moves in the air. It is often associated with the approach of thunder, a storm or lightning.

Line 4. *bogisayawa*: according to Towitara this refers to a particular type of decoration with which a *tokula* colours his face when preparing for a ritual exchange. This symbol should be very similar to the *bulukalakala* used by dancers for the Milamala dances: it takes up the whole of the bottom of the face, framing the lips, brightened with red *buwa*, and comes almost to the ears where it finishes in two small coils which turn downwards. The 'black beard' is bordered by a series of white dots. The form *bogisayawa* is made up of *bogisayawa*, where the first term indicates the colour black and the second is a variation of *sayaku* (probably a poetical variant), the perfumed ointment used during Kula expeditions. See Baldwin (1939a:472).

(3) Dova

I

1	<i>Kaukwa reina reina</i>	Dog, come step by step, slowly,
2	<i>kaukwa moreina moreina</i>	man-dog, come step by step, slowly:
3	<i>natana si kaukwa sagwai</i>	one is the female-dog of my companions,
4	<i>natana si kaukwa sagwai</i>	one is the female-dog of my companions:
5	<i>kaukwa vivira</i>	the woman-dog!
6	<i>natana ye'gu ura kaukwa</i>	one is my female-dog,
7	<i>Tudava kaukwa bulumwala</i>	Tudava the hero is Dog, is Boar,
8	<i>a sipu o yeyuna</i>	I tie a knot in his tail,
9	<i>a siuwali kwasi'ra</i>	I arouse his small penis:
10	<i>kaukwa kimwa'ra</i>	Dog, with your strong jaws,
11	<i>ra giburuwa ina Dobu</i>	the woman of Dobu, her face darkening,
12	<i>kaukwa kimwa'ra</i>	Dog, with your strong jaws,
13	<i>taumwasila ta'ulai gimusau</i>	joyful we men become strong, flinging our spears in the air
14	<i>si laka govavivila</i>	while the women shout aloud,
15	<i>silaka bulubwalimila</i>	their voices flow with the south-east wind,
16	<i>si laka gura viri.</i>	their voices are bound to the winds!

I

1	<i>Kaukwa</i>	<i>reina</i>	<i>reina</i>
	dog	come.step.by.step	come.step.by.step
2	<i>kaukwa</i>	<i>mo-reina</i>	<i>mo-reina</i>
	dog	PFX-come.step.by.step	PFX-come.step.by.step
3	<i>na-tana</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>kaukwa sagwai</i>
	CLA-one	their dog	companion

- 4 *na-tana si kaukwa sagwai*
 CLA-one their dog companion
- 5 *kaukwa vivira*
 dog woman
- 6 *na-tana yeigu ura kaukwa*
 CLA-one I my dog
- 7 *Tudava kaukwa bulumwala*
 Tudava dog boar
- 8 *a sipu o yeyuna*
 I tie in tail
- 9 *a siuwali kwasi' ra*
 I arouse penis his
- 10 *kaukwa kimwa' ra*
 dog jaw his
- 11 *ra giburua ina Dobu*
 her dark.face woman Dobu
- 12 *kaukwa kimwa' ra*
 dog jaw his
- 13 *tau-mwasila ta' ulai gimusau*
 man-joyful we become.strong fling.in.the.air
- 14 *si laka gova-vivila*
 their voice cry-woman
- 15 *si laka bulubwalimila*
 their voice south-east.wind
- 16 *si laka gura viri.*
 their voice bound twist

Commentary

This is one of the most complex poetic formulae for the Kula from the point of view of interpretation because it is laden with allusions to the mythical corpus of the Kula, allusions which cannot be grasped and explained by a single singer. At the most a single singer may be able to feel its meaning by intuition or on a vague, undefinable level. For example, he may be able to grasp the fragments of a myth but not the entire myth itself, above all when it is encapsulated in a poetic formula characterised by an extremely metaphoric lexical structure, which speaks through synthetic, allusive images. I would say that it is the very nature of the allusions and synthesis of the Kula poetic formulae which make it difficult to explain on the level of meaning.

Line 1. *Kaukwa reina*: here a mythical character is introduced, the dog-hero, which is also the man-woman Tudava. Baldwin (1939a:574) interprets this as a 'demigod', 'ancestor', while Malinowski (1927) talks of the myth of the hero Tudava born of a virgin made pregnant by the penetration of a stalactite (see the chapter 'Obscenity and myth', in particular pp.111-114). Other references to Tudava can be found in *The sexual life of savages*

(Malinowski 1929:182, 355, 426). In this formula Tudava appears both in the masculine (*moreina*, where the masculine is given by the prefix *mo-*) and in the feminine (*natana si kaukwa*) functioning as a metaphor of the meeting between two *tokula* during a ritual exchange. This encounter is so intense that the poet adopts the image of an intimate relation between a man and a woman, even if male and female, in this case, are skilfully confused and resolved in the mention of the narcissistic figure of Tudava.

I have interpreted the form *reina* as an equivalent of the Boyowa *lei-na* or *lei-la* (Baldwin p.308) literally, 'to get in line' or 'to line up' and which here I have rendered with "step by step, slowly", while in *Bisila A*, line 1, I preferred to give the effect of getting in line, that is the formation of something compact, as the author of the text desired.

Line 3. *natana si kaukwa*: the cardinal number adjective *natana* (composed of the feminine classifier *na-* plus *-tana*, while the masculine would have been *tei-tala*) indicates that the noun *kaukwa* should be interpreted as feminine. It should not, however, be translated as 'bitch', in order to retain the semantic, and therefore metaphorical, ambiguity that the author encapsulates in *natana si kaukwa* "one is the female-dog".

Line 7. *Tudava kaukwa bulumwala*: the hero Tudava, here associated with a dog (which is both male and female), is connected to Boyowa mythology and in particular to the village of Labai on the island of Kiriwina. He was, according to Malinowski, the founder of the art of the cultivation of yams, he who knows the poetic formulae which make the land fertile. He performed his heroic gestures from Kiriwina as far as the Nada islands, passing through Kitawa, which he transformed into one of the most luxuriant gardens of the whole Kula Ring. However, there is no trace in Malinowski of Tudava as a 'dog-hero', although he does mention a small dog, Tokulubweydogo, in 'The myth of the flying canoe of Kudayuri' in *Argonauts of the western Pacific* (Malinowski 1922:311-321), a myth which belongs to Nowau culture. The only element there appears to be in common between the two dogs is their belonging to the *Nukubai* clan (Malinowski notes *Lukuba, Lukubai*). On the myth of Tudava see also Malinowski (1935, I:68-75 and II:200-210).

bulumwala: this form is made up of *bulu-mwala*, literally 'to flower, to bloom, to be plentiful, to grow large' but it is also used as a classifier for pig, fish, 'male' and 'husband'.

Line 8. *a sipu o yeyuna*: the meaning of this line is not clear; it should probably be sought in the myth of the hero Tudava, and must be connected to line 9. There could, for example, be an allusion to the special relationship between Tudava and the *tokula*-singer of poetic formulae, a relationship whose metaphorical ambiguity has to be unveiled and disentangled: in this case, Tudava would seem to represent understanding and 'to be bound' to him is the equivalent of an act of devotion to the uncovering of the mechanism or mechanisms which produce this understanding.

Line 10. *kimwa'ra*: Baldwin (1939a:237) records *kimwa*, translating it as 'jaw', the same meaning as attributed in translation here. However, Towitara suggested emphasising that it is a metaphor for 'strength', 'power' and for this reason I have preferred to render it as "strong jaws". The correctness of this interpretation is also confirmed indirectly by the two following lines, where a contrasting element to "strong jaw" appears: we have "the woman of Dobu, her face darkening" as if her sulkiness was caused by the attention of the *tokula* (he who invokes Tudava) to the man-dog, and the woman-dog. Playing on the clash between "strong jaws" and "the woman of Dobu, her face darkening" the poet introduces the element of jealousy.

Line 13. *taumwasila ta' ulai gimusau*: the first two forms have underline the atmosphere of joy and happiness which 'bursts out' at the end of the formula. This is an atmosphere where the male element seems to predominate, thus harking back to one of the features of the ritual exchange: the exaltation of male values, as they have been developed and experienced within the Kula Ring, contrasting them with the values of the female world synthesised in the rules of matrilinear descent.

The form *taumwasila* (made up of the classifier *tau-* and the base component *-mwasila*, literally 'entertainment, excitement') is reinforced by *ta' ulai* which means 'we who open ourselves up', 'we who blossom', just as a plant blooms, which seems to me a clear allusion to the vigour of young men who are 'opening themselves up' to the fullness of maturity.

Line 14. *si laka govavivila*: literally the first form here means 'to howl' and 'to grunt' but also 'tomb' in both Nowau and Boyowa (Baldwin 1939a:301). But here it means 'shout', which becomes "shout aloud" in relation to *govavivila*, a form composed of *gova-*, literally 'to shout, raise one's voice, shout with joy', and *-vivila* 'woman'.

Line 15. *bulubwalimila*: this is the south-east wind, good for sailing from Kitawa or Kiriwina towards Iwa, Gawa, Kwaïwata and Muyuwa. It therefore indicates the direction the *tokula* is taking in the Kula expedition, eastwards, probably to deliver a *vaiguwa* and/or to receive a *mwari*.

This form is made up of *bulu* (which we have already come across, again as a prefix, in *bulumwala*) and *-bwalimila*. The meaning of the prefix can be justified if we take into account the star map as it is depicted in Nowau tales. In fact, the constellation found to the south corresponding to the wind followed to sail from Kitawa towards Iwa, Gawa and Muyuwa is represented iconographically by a *bulukwa* (wild pig) or by a *bulumwala* (boar) which in the tale is called *Doredori* and forms the constellation *Tananabobu*, corresponding to the *kwaïbaga*, the south wind. The boar is also imagined trussed up by its feet from a pole, as if it were carried by two men on their shoulders. To the east is represented the *Mobakaiwau* or *Morakaiwau* constellation which appears like a comb (*Sinata*) corresponding to the *bwalimila* wind. The encounter/combination of *Doredori* and *Sinata* (and therefore the east and south winds) gives origin to the *bulubwalimila* wind.

(4) *Bo<ugwa> kavikavira*

I

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Karia karia yobwa karia</i> | Sky, darkening with the gathering storm |
| 2 | <i>karia vilasasa'gu</i> | dark sky surround me, break me open |
| 3 | <i>bo<ugwa> kavikavira.</i> | hurl your red lightning against me. |

I

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Karia karia yobwa karia</i> | dark.sky dark.sky turn.out dark.sky |
| 2 | <i>karia vila sasa' gu</i> | dark.sky surround split me |
| 3 | <i>bo<ugwa> kavikavira.</i> | already lightning |

Commentary

Line 1. *Karia karia yobwa karia*: a stormy sky is depicted as an omen of a mystery event. The darkening of the sky and the unleashing of natural elements are characteristic features of many poetic formulae performed for the Kula, and are used to cast spells. Signs from the sky are always associated with the death of a famous prowboard engraver, or with a man who covered himself in glory at the ritual exchange, or of a powerful magician. But the sky, with its natural phenomena of light and sound, is also the place of the gestures of mythical heroes such as Monikiniki and Tudava.

The form *karia* is made up of *ka-*, which functions as a causative, and *-ria* (Baldwin, 1939a:310, has *lia*), literally 'to be covered', 'to be oppressed'. *Yobwa* is the equivalent of *yoba* and/or *yabi*, literally 'to send away, to expel, to extract' (Baldwin pp.643, 653), and refers here to a darkening sky which 'shows' this blackness.

Line 2. *sasa'gu*: in this case I have preferred to leave the literal meaning, which gives perfectly the sense the author attributed to it and which fits in well with the dark, overcast atmosphere of a stormy sky lit up by lightning 'hurled with force' (recalling the gesture of Jupiter). The assimilation of the hero, the god, with the stormy sky is clear.

Line 3. *kavikavira*: lightning appears in all the *megwa* for the Kula as an attribute of the mythical hero Monikiniki; I would say that it functions as a visual metaphor for him. The invocation of the stormy sky thus reveals itself to be an invocation of the mythical hero and his gesture of hurling the flash of lightning could be an allusion to an act of ecstatic penetration.

(5) *Luku bukwabuïya*

I

1	<i>Kaitotu waga agu waga</i>	I anchored my festive canoe:
2	<i>bo<ugwa> i kagu bo<ugwa> i kagu</i>	she has been given to me, a gift for me
3	<i>uli waga agu waga</i>	my festive canoe, my festive canoe!
4	<i>naboiya nuba waga waiya ba kewa</i>	I'll sail tomorrow in my festive canoe,
5	<i>butu'ra Mwangula rarakara</i>	and Mwangula's fame will run fast,
6	<i>butu'guyeïgu Towitara tomadudu</i>	my name, Towitara, will be the roar of thunder,
7	<i>waiya ba kewa butu'ra Krobai rarakara</i>	I'll sail: Krobai's fame will run fast,
8	<i>butu'guyeïgu Towitara tomadudu.</i>	my name, Towitara, will be the roar of thunder!

I

1	<i>Kaitotu waga agu waga</i>	anchor festive.canoe my festive.canoe
2	<i>bo<ugwa> i kagu bo<ugwa> i kagu</i>	already she my already she my
3	<i>uli waga agu waga</i>	my festive.canoe my festive.canoe
4	<i>naboiya nuba waga wa-i-ya b-a kewa</i>	tomorrow friend festive.canoe go-LW-at FUT-I sail

- 5 *butu' ra Mwagula rakaraka*
fame his Mwagula run fast
- 6 *butu' gu yeigu Towitara tomadudu*
fame my I Towitara roar.of.thunder
- 7 *wa-i-ya b-a kewa butu' ra Krobai rakaraka*
go-LW-at FUT-I sail fame his Krobai run.fast
- 8 *butu' gu yeigu Towitara tomadudu.*
fame my I Towitara roar.of.thunder

Commentary

Line 2. *bo<ugwa> i kagu*: the form *i kagu* is the only example in this collection of poetic formulae of a possessive pronoun which has been made into a verb: we have “a gift for me” which renders the more literal ‘it’s mine’, ‘it’s for me’. It should be remembered that *kagu* is usually used as a possessive pronoun referring to the possession of food.

Line 4. *nuba*: literally this means ‘friend’, and thus corresponds to the Boyowa *lubai-la* (Baldwin 1939a:327). I have translated it as “my”.

Line 5. *butu'ra Mwagula rakaraka*: here we have a man’s name *Mwagula*, which in this case should be interpreted as one of Towitara’s companions in the ritual exchange. In poetic formulae for the Kula the presence of a name, whether of the person invoking or invoked, does not mean that it is the original name in the text composed by the author. In fact, a singer may, and often does, change the name of the author, or the previous owner, of the formula and include his own or that of a companion of his rather than another: this is the case here with *Mwagula* and *Towitara*.

The form *rakaraka* is another example of a present continuous constructed from the base component *raka-*, which I have interpreted here as “will run fast”, thus rejecting a slavishly literal translation. This meaning was chosen by bringing out the sense of ‘voice thrown’, a voice which cuts through the air, encapsulated in the more literal ‘shout/s’ and, above all, by connecting it to “my name” (*butu'gu*).

Line 7. *Krobai*: this certainly does not refer to *Krobai* from *Okabulula*, who died in 1978 and who was one of the singers who performed some of the poetic formulae in this collection.

Line 8. *tomadudu*: this form is made up of *toma-dudu*, where the first component also means ‘to maintain in time’, ‘to last’, thus suggesting an action which lasts in time and spreads out in space. Used as prefix of *-dudu*, it gives an extremely vivid sense of expansion, the movement in the air of the flow of a powerful voice particularly appropriate: this is indeed the fame of a *tokula*.

(6) *Mwasila*

I

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Yaero yaero avei tau</i> | Fast-flowing current, who’s the man? |
| 2 | <i>waga'rayegwai waga'ra</i> | I, the festive canoe, I am, the festive canoe! |
| 3 | <i>Sabwaboileta avaka dudune'gu</i> | Sabwaboileta what do you bring me like the breath of the wind? |
| 4 | <i>yauradudune'gu</i> | all that I desire bring me like the breath of the wind: |

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|
| 5 | <i>Bagidudu dudune'gu</i> | bring Bagidudu like the breath of the wind! |
| 6 | <i>yaero yaero avei tau</i> | Fast-flowing current, who's the man? |
| 7 | <i>waga'ra yegwai waga'ra</i> | I, the festive canoe, I am, the festive canoe! |
| 8 | <i>avaka dudune'gu</i> | what do you bring me like the breath of the wind? |
| 9 | <i>Bagitorobu dudune'gu.</i> | bring Bagitorobu like the breath of the wind! |

I

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Yaero yaero avei tau</i>
current current who man |
| 2 | <i>waga' ra yegwai waga' ra</i>
festive.canoe SFX I festive.canoe SFX |
| 3 | <i>Sabwaboileta avaka dudune' gu</i>
Sabwaboileta what blow my |
| 4 | <i>yaura dudune' gu</i>
gift blow my |
| 5 | <i>Bagidudu dudune' gu</i>
Bagidudu blow my |
| 6 | <i>yaero yaero avei tau</i>
current current who man |
| 7 | <i>waga' ra yegwai waga' ra</i>
festive.canoe SFX I festive.canoe SFX |
| 8 | <i>avaka dudune' gu</i>
what blow my |
| 9 | <i>Bagitorobu dudune' gu.</i>
Bagitorobu blow my |

Commentary

Line 1. *Yaero yaero avei tau*: this same line recurs (although without the term *waga'ra* which appears at the beginning of line 2) in *Sabwaboileta*, line 1, sung by Towitara. It would seem to be another example of the re-use of the same line in different poetic formulae but it could also be the 'trademark' of a particular author. It should be remembered, furthermore, that in this case the same line recurs in formulae which all belong to the Kula ritual exchange, and therefore to a homogeneous cultural context. Within this context, formulae circulate freely, as I have already pointed out, above all between members of a given subclan, for whom it is part of their cultural heritage. This could mean that the same line recurs in various formulae either because the authors belonged, for example, to the same subclan (and therefore there is a lexical and rhythmical loan) or because the poetic formulae were composed by the same author who 'recycled' the same line. If these hypotheses are acceptable, then the recurrence of the same line in different formulae could mean, for example, that it is a sort of trademark, a hallmark, of a certain author or of a school of composition. The same thing is naturally valid for the person who performs the piece: some singers might only sing a formula which bears a certain hallmark (the recurring line), which would be the equivalent of saying that they only perform songs which belong to a given subclan. The singers in this case become

true depositories and guarantors of a style, of a poetics, which they propagate in time within the Kula Ring.

Line 2. *waga'ra yegwai*: compared to *Sabwaboileta*, the term *waga* takes on a different meaning. Here, the ceremonial canoe is identified with the author of the formula and then with the person who performs it. Once again an object is humanised by attributing a soul and feelings to it. This is not an example of vulgar animism but instead a poetic strategem to encapsulate one's thought, a certain conception of life, in a visual metaphor: the ceremonial canoe is the *tokula* himself who runs fast, shoots over the sea in the search for precious gifts.

Line 3. *Sabwaboileta*: see note 2 in the commentary on *Sabwaboileta*.

Line 4. *yaura*: Baldwin (1939a:649, 665) records the form *yaula*, translated literally as 'gift', but also connected to *youla*, 'procure for'. The author wants to depict the act of offering a gift to someone who fiercely desires one of the two symbolic Kula gifts: the forms "fast-flowing current", "what do you bring me like the breath of the wind?" and "festive canoe" allude to this burning desire.

Line 9. *Bagitorobu*: this is a *vaiyuwa* of considerable length (just like *Bagidudu* in line 5). The form is made up of *bagi-*, literally 'string', 'necklace', and *-torobu* (which can be broken down into *to-robu*) which can be translated as 'to adorn', 'ornament'. Compare the Boyowa *lobu* (Baldwin 1939a:320).

(7) *Monikiniki I*

I

1	<i>Wai'ya ba kewa tupa bodaboda</i>	I'll sail in the festive canoe, against the waves,
2	<i>ba kagudu [(ba)/ni] yagaiyo</i>	I'll thread fragrant leaves as the sky changes at evening,
3	<i>ku busi kamu mokelolu</i>	you come down with your desolate memories,
4	<i>yowadudu towadudu</i>	come out, like the breath of the wind, from the darkening sky,
5	<i>agu bwau i towa uri towa</i>	it's mine the approaching night
6	<i>o daba'na koiya kwaiyu</i>	on the High Mountain: for me and you
7	<i>ura tau Paraura</i>	Paraura, my companion, my man:
8	<i>kenu kenu mimi'gu</i>	lying on the scented mat dream of me,
9	<i>kenu kenu gwasa gwasa'gu</i>	lying on the scented mat be tender to me!
10	<i>kenu kenu doiyo doiyo'gu</i>	lying on the scented mat come, excited, to me!
11	<i>ta'mwasila ta'ulai ta'minigisu'ya</i>	Joyful we men burst into bloom with our changing faces!
12	<i>ta'mwasila ta'ulai</i>	Joyful we men burst into bloom!
13	<i>ta'mwasila ta'ulai ta'minisoba.</i>	Joyful we men burst into bloom with our many-coloured faces!

I

1	<i>Wa-i-ya b-a kewa tupa bodaboda</i> go-LW-at FUT-I sail push crowd.together
2	<i>b-a kagudu [(b-a) / n-i] yaga-i-yo</i> FUT-I thread [(FUT-I) / PAST-it] branch-LW-at

- 3 *ku busi kamu mokelolu*
 you come.down your desolate.memory
- 4 *yowa-dudu towa-dudu*
 go.fast-blow come.out-blow
- 5 *agu bwau i towa uri towa*
 my night it arise my arise
- 6 *o daba' na koiya kwaïyu*
 on head SFX mountain two/me.and.you
- 7 *ura tau Paraura*
 my man Paraura
- 8 *kenu kenu mimi' gu*
 lie.down lie.down dream my
- 9 *kenu kenu gwasa gwasa' gu*
 lie.down lie.down be.tender be.tender my
- 10 *kenu kenu doiyo doiyo' gu*
 lie.down lie.down move.rhythmically move my
- 11 *ta' mwasila ta' ulai ta' minigisu-î-ya*
 we joyful we burst we change-LW-with
- 12 *ta' mwasila ta' ulai*
 we joyful we burst
- 13 *ta' mwasila ta' ulai ta' minisoba.*
 we joyful we burst we coloured.face

Commentary

Line 1. *Waiya ba kewa tupa bodaboda*: a further element typical of a Kula expedition is introduced here, that of the challenge of the adverse forces of nature, represented here by a storm at sea. A ritual voyage always implies a certain amount of physical courage, above all when travelling long distances and there is the danger of a shipwreck. It is precisely these adversities which make the image of a meeting with a companion very welcome, a warmth which is felt throughout the formula. The form *tupa* is found in Baldwin as *tupi*, literally 'push over'.

Line 2. [(ba)/ni]yagaïyo: this is another probable example of *loci corrupti* which I have interpreted as "as the sky changes at evening" instead of the more literal 'to fork, branch', 'to open one of the valves of a shell' (cf. *yaga* in Baldwin 1939a:644). It was Ipaïya who suggested the interpretation I have given here, basing himself on the image of the day 'forking' as evening draws near: it is as if day, after the hours of light, finds itself having to decide between total, sudden darkness and a less bright period. Substantially, the poet wanted to allude to an intermediate, hazy situation, typical of an indistinct colour.

The form *yagaïyo* can be broken down into *yaga-î-yo* in which we have the base component plus the link vowel and the particle *-yo*, a variation on *-ya*, which encapsulates the concept of state of place or indicates movement 'from' or 'to' a place (Baldwin pp.643, 653). The *loci corrupti* is due to the two versions of line 2 which I recorded with Towitara,

one three months after the first, but I must point out that the most coherent with the general sense of the text is *ni yagaiyo*.

Line 3. *mokelolu*: here the image is suggested of a soul oppressed by something, for example the absence of a missed friend. The atmosphere is crepuscular and melancholic, as suggested by “the sky changes at evening” at the end of line 2. The concept of something which oppresses is also found in the Boyowa form *mokaila* (Baldwin 1939a:379).

Line 4. *yowadudu towadudu*: in the first form here we have the components *yowa-*, literally ‘to go fast’, and *-dudu*, ‘gust, hiss of wind’. The second form is made up of *towa-*, literally ‘to come/go out’, ‘to brush against’, and *-dudu*.

Line 6. *kwaiyu*: the classifier *kwai-* (where I have introduced the softener vowel because it is followed by *y*) before the number *yu* indicates that ‘two’ refers to an abstract element (Baldwin 1939a:280, 284) and here alludes to the two companions at a ritual exchange.

Line 7. *Paraura*: this is a man’s name – the companion to whom the formula is dedicated.

Line 8. *kenu kenu mimi’gu*: the verb form *kenu* has also been used by Ipaïya in *Nadubeori VI*, line 4a and with the same meaning. A moment of tenderness between two companions within the ritual exchange is described, veined with a subtle eroticism but intellectualised, I would say blurred, as much as possible. If this can be interpreted as a metaphor of understanding, knowledge and wisdom, the intimate friendship between the two companions can in turn be interpreted as the metaphor for an act of understanding, a further step (with strongly Platonic undertones) towards reaching the goal of wisdom. The form *mimi*, literally ‘dream, to dream’, is often used in various Nowau expressions to allude to a state of total relaxation, when a man’s consciousness is free of any external constraint. It is also the state in which one can make contact with a hero, with a demigod, or with the soul of a dead person.

Line 10. *doiyo*: in Baldwin we find the form *doya*, which he associates, too generically I feel, with ‘paddle a new canoe’. In short, the sense is given of a rhythmical movement which I have rendered as “come, excited, to me!”. See Baldwin (1939a:65).

Line 11. *ta’ulai ta’minigisuïya*: the first form here is made up of the dual exclusive *ta*, literally ‘me and you’, and *ulai*, which Baldwin (1939a:585) suggests translating as ‘burst, to burst’ thus alluding to something (for example, a flower) which opens, blooms. The second form is composed of *mini-gisu-ï-ya* where the infix *-gisu-* is a variation on *gisi* (literally both ‘to appear’ and ‘to see’) and the prefix form *mini*, generally used to indicate ‘people from’ (Baldwin p.369). We thus have ‘people who appear’, ‘people who seem’ but Towitara, much more relevantly, suggested the image of ‘someone who appears different to what they are’, thus determining the interpretation given in the text.

Line 13. *ta’minisoba*: this form is made up of *mini-soba*, where *-soba* alludes to a masked, coloured face.

(8) *Osiyawef’gu*

I

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Tokimadagi vabusi</i> | The man, with shining face, coming down |
| 2 | <i>taiïya bi komudu wa waga</i> | from the festive canoe, will sound the conch-shell |
| 3 | <i>patini bi siwaneku</i> | and the canoes will race from the shore: |

- 4 *kada'gu tokimadagi vabusi*
5 *tauīya bi komudu wa waga.*

my mother's brother, with shining face, coming down
from the festive canoe, will sound the conch-shell.

II

- 1a *Bi sikwoiku buna*
2a *tumwaneī'gu tama'gu*
3a *o takaikai ba sirera*
4a *naudawada ba sidōiya*
5a *senuwa'gu siwarere.*

My father will adorn my black hair
with white shells to make me beautiful.
I shall sit on the high wooden throne
resting my shoulders on the red and black dolphins
yearning for the scented oil!

III

- 1b *Kauīya vinaīya*
2b *kena waīyaīyuna*
3b *agu tanoi Muyuwa*
4b *kanokwasipara bomatu*
5b *ba vani o patapatina*
6b *bi mwainiku gelu guna waga.*

In the woman's round basket
I left the black ebony spatula,
I left my companion on the far island.
Carried away by the north-west wind
I'll plant my foot on the canoe's footboard
and my festive canoe will rock joyfully!

I

- 1 *Tokimadagi vabusi*
man.with.shining.face come.down
2 *tauīya b-i komudu wa waga*
conch-shell FUT-he sound from festive.canoe
3 *patini b-i siwaneku*
fleet FUT-it race
4 *kada' gu tokimadagi vabusi*
mother's.brother my man.with.shining.face come.down
5 *tauīya b-i komudu wa waga.*
conch-shell FUT-he sound from festive.canoe.

II

- 1a *B-i sikwoiku buna*
FUT-he adorn shell
2a *tumwane-ī' gu tama' gu*
make.beautiful-LW my father my
3a *o takaikai b-a sirera*
on wooden.throne FUT-I sit
4a *naudawada b-a sidō-ī-ya*
dolphin FUT-I rest-LW-at
5a *senuwa' gu siwarere.*
scented.oil my yearning

III

- 1b *Kauīya vina-ī-ya*
basket woman-LW-SFX

- 2b *kena wa-î-ya-î-yuna*
 spatula do-LW-with-LW-hand
- 3b *agu tanoi Muyuwa*
 my companion far.island
- 4b *kanokwasi para bomatu*
 carry.away by north-west.wind
- 5b *b-a vani o patapatina*
 FUT-I set.foot at footboard
- 6b *b-i mwa-î-niku gelu guna waga.*
 FUT-it excited-LW-tremble rib my festive.canoe

Commentary

This poetic formula was also performed with variations, above all in terms of phonetics, by Kasiotagina from Kumwagei'ya and with the title *Wosi yawena* (both are divided into one *Watowa* and two *Kavira*). Kasiotagina comes from the same region as Towitara and lives in the same territory. I recorded the formula with Towitara only once, in 1974, while Kasiotagina sung it in both 1976 and 1987. Siyakwakwa was also present on this last occasion and helped me to establish its meaning.

The variations between the two versions of what is probably a single original text (already knowing that neither Towitara nor Kasiotagina was the author), they can be assessed as an example of the influence which a given performance, by a famous singer for example, can have on the text itself. It is true that we are in an extremely homogeneous cultural substratum, as that of the Kula Ring is (so we have a continual recurrence of identical or similar themes, and formulae and forms of expression) but it is equally true that this substratum can be manipulated in different ways. If not, we would not have 'different' poetic formulae dedicated, for example, to the mythical hero Monikiniki – presuming that this hero is unique for all of the authors, and that his gestures are also unique. In any case, I do not think that the singer of a formula can introduce a variation by improvisation, but has to be able to amalgamate it and find a harmony with the already 'composed' text. It is therefore probable that a significant variation is more the result of the manipulation by a poet, even if s/he may not have composed the whole formula. S/he will not be a great poet (in the sense that the *tokabitamu bougwa* in the field of engraving prowboards for the ceremonial canoe is) but will certainly understand the mechanisms of composition (the equivalent of the *tokabitamu*): if a singer introduces a significant variation he can do so because he is also a composer. However, in this specific case, neither Towitara nor Kasiotagina are the authors of the two versions, but just singers (the former very gifted) who repropose two variations on a single text by two different authors.

Line 1. *Tokimadagi vabusi*: in the first term here we have the classifier *to-* followed by *toki-*, literally 'to be full', 'to be strengthened' (Baldwin 1939a:557) and *-madagi*, literally 'beautiful', 'fair' (Baldwin 1939a:344): it seemed right to interpret this as "The man, with shining face...". The second form indicates the act of getting down from/off something.

Line 2. *komudu*: here we have the classifier *ko-*, which is used to convey onto the base component the image of expelling something, of pulling something out (Baldwin 1939a:244) and the suffix form *-mudu* which means 'to blow gently'. Baldwin (p.384) records the same form in pencil but without giving an equivalent in English.

Line 3. *siwaneku*: literally this means 'to be out of one's place', 'not be in the right place', and is made up of *siwa-* (absent) and *-neku* (out of, outside).

Line 1a. *Bi sikwoiku buna*: this is the half-moon shaped decoration of small white shells which fastens a dancer's hair at the nape. This type of decoration is considered very refined and is used in poetic formulae as a metaphor alluding to beauty.

Line 2a. *tumwanei'gu tama'gu*: this can be broken down into *tu-mwane-i*, in which the prefix *tu-* stands for the masculine classifier *to-*, while *-mwane-* is a variation on *mwana* and means 'to make beautiful' (Baldwin 1939a:394) even if the sense it encapsulates is much broader and more complex. It should not be forgotten that we have a reference to ritual and forbidden elements, although here the poet alludes more to beauty as an attribute of the sacred and the ancient.

Line 3a. *o takaikai*: literally this is a high wooden platform, usually located in front of a hut of a high-ranking chief (for example, a member of the subclan *tabalu* of the *Malasi* clan) who uses it as true throne. The fact that it is placed in front of a hut can be deduced clearly from the following line where we find *waudawada*, an iconographic representation, obtained by a process of stylisation and schematisation of dolphins. These are engraved and coloured red and black alternately on the pediments which decorate the facade of the village chief's hut.

Line 4a. *sido'ya*: this is one of the many composite forms which are fascinating because of their morphological structure, which encloses a great complexity and wealth of meaning. We have *si-do-i-ya*, where *si-* functions as an auxiliary verb (from *sisu*, literally 'to be seated'; see Baldwin 1939a:482), *-do*, which indicates an action which happens in the sea (Baldwin p.62) plus the link vowel and the suffix *-ya*, which denotes state of place. It is very likely that the whole form is intended to allude in addition to the fact of 'being seated' to the place (the sea) and the manner (crouching, or leaning slightly on one leg). It could mean, for example, that the position of the village chief is on a symbolic level identical to that of the person in charge of a ceremonial canoe during a Kula expedition.

Line 5a. *senuwa'gu*: this is an equivalent of the Boyowa *bulami* (Baldwin 1939a:35), the ointment made by reducing coconut oil by boiling it. The ointment is then sprayed all over the body with a handful of leaves.

Line 1b. *vina'ya*: the meaning here is very clear, although the morphological structure (we have *vina-i-ya*) seems to have more of a phonetic value, above all in relation to *kai'ya* and *wai'ya'yuana*.

Line 2b. *wai'ya'yuana*: we have *wai'ya (wa-i-ya)-i-yuana* where the prefix corresponds to the Boyowa *waya* or *weya*, literally translated by Baldwin (1939a:637, 638) as 'beat, strike, do'. The suffix can be considered a variation on *yuma* or *yama*, literally 'hand', but it can also be used to allude to an action done with the hand. The author wants to represent the act of leaving the black ebony spatula, used to lift the red *buwa* mixture to the mouth, in the woman's small round basket, as if it were a gesture of abandonment, a farewell. But the subtle erotic streak encapsulated in *wai'ya* must not be ignored: it alludes to a sinuous, excited movement.

Line 3b. *tanoi*: this was interpreted by Towitara as an equivalent of *so'gu*, 'companion in the ritual exchange'.

Line 6b. *bi mwa'niku gelu guna waga*: the first verb form is made up of *mwa-i-niku*, where the concept of 'sinuous' can be deduced from *mwa-* while the sense of 'to sway, undulate'

comes from *-niku*, which is literally the sussultatory movement of the earth (*likuliku* means 'earthquake'; see Baldwin 1939a:313).

(9) *Kaukwa reina*

I

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Kaukwa moreina moreina</i> | Man-dog come step by step, slowly, |
| 2 | <i>natana si kaukwa sagwai</i> | here is the woman-dog of my companions: |
| 3 | <i>kaukwa vivira yeigu Tudava</i> | I am the woman-dog, Tudava the hero, |
| 4 | <i>kaukwakamasawamasawa'ra</i> | sacred dog of pleasure, of the festival, |
| 5 | <i>ra katarakigegila taulava.</i> | let us open our minds to the skill of the red bird! |

I

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | <i>Kaukwa mo-reina</i> | <i>mo-reina</i> |
| | dog PFX-come.step.by.step | PFX-come.step.by.step |
| 2 | <i>na-tana si kaukwa sagwai</i> | |
| | CLA-one their dog companion | |
| 3 | <i>kaukwa vivira yeigu Tudava</i> | |
| | dog woman I Tudava | |
| 4 | <i>kaukwa ka-masawa masawa'ra</i> | |
| | dog PFX-pleasure pleasure SFX | |
| 5 | <i>ra kataraki gegila taulava.</i> | |
| | its skill red.bird open | |

Commentary

Line 1. *Kaukwa moreina moreina*: once again the mythical dog Tudava appears in a formula for the Kula, and once again is represented by a man-dog as well as a woman-dog. This is a metaphorical depiction of creation because Tudava is the mythical hero who makes the land fertile, who teaches man to grow yams successfully (Malinowski 1922, 1935). It is almost the antithesis of the mythical female ancestor-founder of a clan, who is also ambiguously depicted as an androgenous being who self-fertilises and reproduces 'herself'. Eroticism, religiousness, philosophical conception of life and ritual mechanisms are all mixed together with an admirable skill of synthesis which indicates the high level of linguistic competence, above all on a phonetic level, required by an author of this type of poetic formula.

Line 2. *natana si kaukwa sagwai*: this is the same line already used in *Dova*, lines 3 and 4.

Line 4. *kamasawa masawa'ra*: the first form here is made up of *ka-masawa* where the prefix *ka-* is the contracted form of the classifier *kai-* (unless one interprets it as a causative) and by the affix *-masawa*, literally 'entertainment', 'to enjoy oneself' but it is also the general term which classifies a ceremonial canoe. I have chosen to interpret it as referring to *kaukwa*, above all in relation to *masawa'ra*, which reiterates the concept already expressed in the first term. See Baldwin (1939a:98, 354).

Line 5. *kataraki*: literally this is a term used to indicate manual or technical skill (for example, *to-kataraki* means 'a man who is technically skilled') but it can also allude to having sharp

wits, to the ability to manipulate news in order to benefit from it, for example in a ritual exchange. In this sense it is a typical 'art' of the *tokula*.

gegila: this also occurs in *Tobilikova*, line 12 and refers, probably, to a small red parrot which is also one of the totemic animals of the *Malasi* clan. Here it is used above all as a visual metaphor for excitement, enjoyment, joy and erotic pleasure.

taulava: I have interpreted this form as being made up of the masculine classifier *tau-* and the base component *-lava*, literally 'to be upset, disconcerted' or 'to be thrown, put out, freed, free oneself', and thus we have a man who is free, freed or has been opened up by the red bird. Once again an animal, as in the case of *Tudava*, is humanised or, vice versa, a famous *tokula*, a hero, is represented with non-human features. See Baldwin (1939a:306, 307, 326, 542).

3.2.3.2 GIDOU MODIGALOBU, SINGER

(1) *Mwasila kasi duduna*

I

1	<i>A waíya a waíya</i>	I'm streaming toward you, streaming like water,
2	<i>waí'mu Sarupeta</i>	and you too stream toward Sarupeta:
3	<i>tabu'dauligowa</i>	crocodile, ancestor,
4	<i>ku ma ku siu o guyouta</i>	come and rest here in the shade,
5	<i>wa-íya>waíyauta</i>	then like a flowing stream,
6	<i>ku duduma ba duduma.</i>	like the breeze, come near, as I come to you!

I

1	<i>A wa-í-ya a wa-í-ya</i> I go-LW-at I go-LW-at
2	<i>wa-í' mu Sarupeta</i> go-LW your Sarupeta
3	<i>tabu' da uligowa</i> ancestor our crocodile
4	<i>ku ma ku siu o guyouta</i> you come you rest in shade
5	<i>wa-<í-ya> wa-í-ya-uta</i> go-<LW-at> go-LW-at-cut
6	<i>ku dudu-ma b-a dudu-ma.</i> you blow-come FUT-I blow-come

Commentary

Line 1. *A waíya a waíya*: once again the metaphor of water is used to allude to the speed of movement and decision-making, the clarity of ideas and the creativity which a gifted *tokula* must possess. By using "streaming like water", the poet describes the movement of the sinuous, fluid approach of a man and his companion in the ritual exchange, a companion who materialises in line 3 as a "crocodile, ancestor".

Line 2. *Sarupeta*: according to the information collected on Kitawa, this must be a small island (or village on an island) in the Kula Ring and located roughly between Yanaba and Muyuwa. It could be in the Yeguma atoll. Literally it could be translated as 'the small island of the fibre baskets', being composed of *saru-*, corresponding to the Boyowa *salu*, and *-peta*, a form translated by Baldwin (1939a:438) as 'vegetable basket'.

Line 3. *tabu'da uligowa*: the crocodile is one of the ways in which the founding mother of the *Malasi* clan is depicted, so metaphorising the ambiguity of this being. It is no coincidence that it is an animal the sex of which cannot be established at a first glance which represents the ancestor (whether male or female) – essentially an androgenous being. By depicting the crocodile, an animal which slides along the ground and approaches its prey slowly, with cunning, the poet wants to underline the ability of the man who approaches his companion as if the latter were prey to capture. This image continues, with no interruption, the idea introduced at the start of the formula with running water. The slow but relentless movement of the water and the crocodile is used as a prelude to the ultimate conquest of a *mwari* or a *vaiguwa*. See Baldwin (1939a:586).

Line 4. *o guyouta*: according to Siyakwakwa this is the shadow projected onto the beach by the platform which joins the outrigger to the hull. It is a faint shadow which just lets the sunrays through, creating a pleasant, restful sensation.

Line 6. *ku duduma ba duduma*: this verb form is made up of *dudu-ma*, where the first component suggests the movement of a light wind, of a breeze, and the second is literally 'to come'.

(2) *Seina keda tauiya*

I

1	<i>Mwanita munumwanita</i>	Like a sinuous millipede, slowly, longingly,
2	<i>suruma ba susuruma</i>	come towards me as I come to you,
3	<i>derima ba deri</i>	closer still as I come closer!
4	<i>avei tau bi tota o mata'ra deri</i>	Who will stand, gazing intensely?
5	<i>yeigu ba tota o mata'ra deri.</i>	I will stand, gazing intensely!

II

1a	<i>Natana kokoniparawa</i>	Like tiny field mice we go up and down,
2a	<i>parama o wowora munumwenis(i).</i>	up and down, our bodies aroused and yearning with desire.

I

1	<i>Mwanita munu-mwanita</i> millipede PFX-millipede
2	<i>suruma b-a su-suruma</i> come.sinuously FUT-I come.sinuously-come.sinuously
3	<i>deri-ma b-a deri</i> with-come FUT-I with
4	<i>avei tau b-i tota o mata'ra deri</i> who man FUT-he stand in eye SFX with

5 *yeigu b-a tota o mata' ra deri.*
 I FUT-I stand in eye SFX with

II

6 *Na-tana kokoni para-wa*
 CLA-one mouse from-go.up.and.down

7 *para-ma o wowora munu-mweni-s(i).*
 from-come at body PFX-go.festively-PLU

Commentary

Line 1. *Mwanita munumwanita*: the image of the sinuous, excited millipede reappears. Its slow but apparently relentless movement is used to suggest the desired, gradual approach of two companions in the ritual exchange. The slower and more continuous this movement is, the more the encounter will be enjoyed. The very bright black of the millipede is another positive attribute of a *tokula*: it is also found on the *lagimu* and the *tabuya*, on faces painted with smoke dust, in the *sayaku* and *burami* ointments, in the heron and sea swallow depicted on the prowboards and on the outrigger of the ceremonial canoe.

From the phonetic standpoint, the attractive assonance between *mwanita* and *munumwanita* should be noted, with the second term almost softening the first one through *munu-*. See Baldwin (1939a:394).

Line 2. *suruma ba susuruma*: the assonance between one lexeme and another, between one line and another, continues with this line which suggests the image of a continuous, persistent, echo. The verb form is made up of *suru-ma*, where the prefix is a variation on *sula*, translated by Baldwin (1939a:512) as 'go astray', embodying the jerky, waving movement typical of a millipede. The suffix indicates the act of approaching something.

Susuruma this is an abbreviated form of *su(ruma)-suruma* and should be interpreted as a present continuous used to suggest an action which is still happening. See Baldwin (1939a:342).

Line 3. *derima ba deri*: this is an interesting example of how a preposition can be verbalised. In Nowau, *deri* in fact means 'with'. Here we have, in the first case, *deri-ma* which is a conceptual equivalent of 'to come with', while in the second case we have 'I will come with'. See Baldwin (1939a:60, 342).

Line 4. *bi tota o mata'ra deri*: I owe much to Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa for the interpretation of this line, which describes the act of standing in the canoe to examine the awaited landing place, the island where one hopes to meet one's companion for the ritual exchange. All the intensity of the scene, the tension in the gaze, is enclosed in *bi tota*. (Baldwin, 1939a:567, records *toto*, which he translates as 'stand'.)

Line 1a. *kokoni*: this is a small greyish mouse (*Mus musculus*) which nests mainly in the pandanus leaves which cover the hut rooves. It usually comes out at night to search for cooked yams. In the formula it is called affectionately, to underline the intimate relationship between the two companions, an intimacy which can be deduced from *munumwenis(i)*, which concludes the formula in perfect assonance with the first line where we had *mwanita munumwanita*. See Baldwin (1939a:248).

(3) *Mwasila monikiniki II*

I

1	<i>Kamu koma beisa beisa</i>	Your food is here, it's here,
2	<i>kamu tula kamu tula</i>	your fresh water, your fresh water:
3	<i>bo<ugwa> i valova</i>	already he has transfigured,
4	<i>molatabu'gu bo<ugwa> i dova</i>	my ancestor: he has reddened his lips
5	<i>molakada'gu Mobuyai</i>	my ancestor, my mother's brother, Mobuyai:
6	<i>kopuliyemwa</i>	sprinkling the magic fruit he has changed his shape,
7	<i>mwata wa koiya</i>	up the Mountain, into the Sacred Serpent,
8	<i>monikiniki monikiniki</i>	Monikiniki, the Red Winged-Hero.
9	<i>a valikoiya</i>	I left my image on the Mountain:
10	<i>gera vali'gupalapala</i>	my image shone with the lightning.
11	<i>gerabutu'gu</i>	My fame has been extinguished:
12	<i>butu'gutamadudu.</i>	my fame faded with the rumbling thunder!

I

1	<i>Kamu koma beisa beisa</i> your food here here
2	<i>kamu tula kamu tula</i> your fresh.water your fresh.water
3	<i>bo<ugwa> i valova</i> already he transfigure
4	<i>mola-tabu' gu bo<ugwa> i dova</i> root-ancestor my already he redder
5	<i>mola-kada' gu Mobuyai</i> root-mother's.brother my Mobuyai
6	<i>kopuli yemwa</i> sprinkle change.shape
7	<i>mwata wa koiya</i> sacred.serpent in mountain
8	<i>monikiniki monikiniki</i> red.winged-hero red.winged-hero
9	<i>a vali koiya</i> I set.foot/leave.own.image mountain
10	<i>gera vali' gu palapala</i> not set.foot/leave.own.image my lightning
11	<i>gera butu' gu</i> not fame my
12	<i>butu' gu tamadudu.</i> fame my rumbling.thunder.

Commentary

Gidou entitled this formula *Mwasila monikiniki II*, attributing it to the stage in which the *tabuya* is placed in the corresponding groove on the hull. It was therefore performed as if it were a completely different text to *Mwasila monikiniki III*, although there is considerable assonance between the two. The differences between them are, in fact, minimal and, as in other cases, are mainly sonorous and should be analysed on a phonetic and musical level: for a singer the sonority and the way a formula is performed represent his interpretation, even when it is similar or identical to another.

Line 1. *Kamu koma*: the possessive pronoun *kamu*, here in the second person singular, is usually used in reference to food. For example, 'my betel nut' in Nowau is *ura buwa* but if it is the betel nut that I am eating then we have *kagu buwa*. It can, in addition, be used in a metaphorical sense to allude to such close, intimate possession that an analogy has to be adopted with assimilating something into the body: the food becomes the body itself. In poetic formulae for the Kula, it is used in precisely this sense: *Kamu koma* is, then, an act of 'offering oneself' to the person invoked, where the second form also means 'to eat'. See Baldwin (1939a:251).

beisa: this means literally 'is here' or 'is right here'. In Boyowa the form *baisa* or *beisa* is used. See Baldwin (1939a:10, 19).

Line 2. *tula*: this is cool or cold water, usually the water that gushes from a spring. Once again water is used as a metaphor to allude to creativity, to the freshness and purity of ideas and feelings. It alludes to an act of initiation (as, for example, a boy is initiated into the profession of prowboard engraving for ceremonial canoes) or celebrates the creativity of a famous poet and/or singer. In this formula it has the feel of an 'offertory'.

Line 3. *i valova*: literally this means 'to transform, to transform oneself, to change state, to pass from one stage to the following one'. The form is made up of *va-* (which suggests the action of walking, doing, and thus alludes to an effective action) and the suffix *-lova*, translated literally by Baldwin (1939a:326) as 'cast, thrown'. The meaning given in the text, 'changed', derives from the two components.

Line 4. *molatabu'gu*: very probably, and according to the information given by Ipaïya, this is an example of the construction which a poet can effect by exploiting the disyllabic nature of Nowau to produce new terms. In this specific case we have *mola-* and *-tabu* in which the first element recalls anything which is the origin of something or someone, its root, its foundations. The second component, which has already been analysed, literally means the ancestor/ancestress, in short anything that belongs to one's past, and it could therefore be interpreted as reinforcing the meaning of the first. The same mechanism of composition is valid for *molakada'gu* in line 5.

Line 6. *kopuli yemwa*: this is the description of a magic, fairytale moment when the ancient ancestor is transformed into the mythical hero Monikiniki, the winged red snake. This transformation occurs with the iridescent ginger dust which materialises the passage from one body to the other in the air. This act of spraying is given by *kopuli*, a form composed of the classifier *ko-*, indicating an action with the mouth, and by the suffix form *-puli*, 'to crush, to chew and crunch' (see Baldwin 1939a:244, 456). The form *yemwa* indicates the action of transforming or changing oneself.

Line 7. *mwata wa koïya*: here we again have the identification between the mountain and the sacred snake, the mythical hero Monikiniki.

Line 9. *a vali*: this is a form used in many poetic formulae for the Kula, mainly as a verb. It can mean, according to the poetic and linguistic context, 'to leave one's print, image, memory in/on something or someone', or 'to enjoy, to take pleasure from', or 'to rise, to climb up'. In this case, the author wants to allude to the image of a man involved in a ritual exchange.

Line 12. *butu'gu tamadudu*: the poet recalls that it is the fame of a *tokula* which circulates within the Kula Ring. In fact, it is difficult for a man in the whole course of his life to manage to complete the circle of the ritual exchange by canoe but, if anything, it will be his name, his fame, which will complete the circle. Name and fame will circulate with the *mwari* and *vaiguwa*. The image of lightning, *palapala*, and thunder, *tamadudu*, are used as visual metaphors to allude to the sparkling and the 'noise' of the fame of a *tokula*.

(4) *Mwasila monikiniki III*

I

1	<i>Kamu koma beisa beisa</i>	Your food is here, it's here,
2	<i>kamu tula kamu tula</i>	your fresh water, your fresh water:
3	<i>bo<ugwa> i valova</i>	already he has changed his shape
4	<i>molatabu'gu bo<ugwa> i dova</i>	my ancestor: he has reddened his lips,
5	<i>molakada'gu Mobuyai</i>	my ancestor, my mother's brother, Mobuyai:
6	<i>kopuliyemwa</i>	sprinkling the magic fruit he has changed his shape,
7	<i>mwata wa koïya</i>	up the Mountain, into the Sacred Serpent,
8	<i>monikiniki monikiniki</i>	Monikiniki, the Red Winged-Hero,
9	<i>monikiniki koïya</i>	the Sacred Serpent-Mountain.
10	<i>a vali'gu koïya</i>	I left my image on the Mountain:
11	<i>i tatata koïya</i>	the Mountain is trembling,
12	<i>i savina koïya</i>	the Mountain jumps in fear.
13	<i>gala vali'gu</i>	My image has died:
14	<i>vali'gu palapala</i>	my image shone with the lightning,
15	<i>gala butu'gu</i>	my fame has died:
16	<i>(butu'gu) tamadudu...</i>	my fame faded with the rumbling thunder!

I

1	<i>Kamu koma beisa beisa</i> your food here here
2	<i>kamu tula kamu tula</i> your fresh.water your fresh.water
3	<i>bo<ugwa> i valova</i> already he change
4	<i>molatabu'gu bo<ugwa> i dova</i> ancestor my already he redder
5	<i>molakada' gu Mobuyai</i> old.mother's.brother my Mobuyai

- 6 *kopuli yemwa*
sprinkle change.shape
- 7 *mwata wa koiya*
sacred.serpent on mountain
- 8 *monikiniki monikiniki*
red.winged-hero red.winged-hero
- 9 *monikiniki koiya*
red.winged-hero mountain
- 10 *a vali' gu koiya*
I leave.own.image my mountain
- 11 *i tatata koiya*
it tremble mountain
- 12 *i savina koiya*
it jump mountain
- 13 *gala vali' gu*
no/not leave.own.image my
- 14 *vali' gu palapala*
leave.own.image my lightning
- 15 *gala butu' gu*
no/not fame my
- 16 *(butu' gu) tamadudu...*
(fame my) thunder

Commentary

Lines 1 to 8 are as in *Mwasila monikiniki II*. Compared to that version, the sound of this formula is based on Boyowa phonetics (for example, the use of the consonant 'l' instead of the 'r' typical of Nowau).

3.2.3.3 SİYAKWAKWA TEITEL, SINGER

(1) *Tougatu*

I

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Suruma suru suruma</i> | Come close to me, come to me, |
| 2 | <i>derimaderi derima</i> | come closer and closer to me, we'll be together |
| 3 | <i>mwanitamwani mwanita</i> | excited like the sinuous millipede, sinuously |
| 4 | <i>surumasuru suruma</i> | come close to me, come to me, |
| 5 | <i>derimaderi derima</i> | come closer and closer to me, we'll be together |
| 6 | <i>mwanita mwani mwanita.</i> | like the sinuous millipede, sinuously. |

II

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1a | <i>Avei tau bi yaya mata'ra deri</i> | Who will capture our memory in his eyes? |
| 2a | <i>yegwai yakida ba yaya mata'ra deri</i> | I, I who am you, I'll capture our memory in my eyes! |
| 3a | <i>tobwabwate...tobwabwate...</i> | Oh, wise man, man-ancestor... |

III

- 1b *Towatomanaboinamadibwana* Man with shining face come out from the dark hut
 2b *so'gu parawa parama* and go, my companion, and come back:
 3b *a kataviriwara panipani* I'll look in his small basket for the precious gifts
 4b *urakaletau murumwari('gu).* yearning, coming for my companion!

I

- 1 *Suru-ma suru suru-ma*
 come.sinuously-come come.closer come.sinuously-come
 2 *deri-ma deri deri-ma*
 together-come together together-come
 3 *mwanita mwani mwanita*
 millipede go.sinuously millipede
 4 *suru-ma suru suru-ma*
 come.sinuously-come come.sinuously come.sinuously-come
 5 *deri-ma deri deri-ma*
 together-come together together-come
 6 *mwanita mwani mwanita.*
 millipede go.sinuously millipede

II

- 1a *Avei tau b-i yaya mata'ra deri*
 who man FUT-he capture eye SFX with
 2a *yegwai yakida b-a yaya mata'ra deri*
 I you.and.me FUT-I capture eye SFX with
 3a *to-bwabwate... to-bwabwate...*
 CLA-wise/ancestor... CLA-wise/ancestor...

III

- 1b *Towa to-manaboina mwadibwana*
 stand.away CLA-good dark.hut
 2b *so' gu para-wa para-ma*
 companion my to-go from-come
 3b *a kataviriwa ra panipani*
 I search.through his small.basket
 4b *ura kaletau murumwari ('gu).*
 my companion yearn (my)

Commentary

This was performed by Siyakwakwa Teitei (to whom it was given by Gidou Modigalobu) in 1987.

Line 1. *Suruma*: I have interpreted this form as “come close to me”, basing myself on the morphological structure made up of *suru-* (literally ‘something which flies, for example a shooting star or a flying witch’; see Baldwin 1939a:512) and *-ma* ‘to come’. By merging the two forms, the poet wants to allude to the fast, bright passage of a being (the *tokula*-millipede) which appears like a meteor but, at the same time, also has the characteristic of being ‘meteoric’, ephemeral: he leaves behind nothing but a memory just as a shooting star leaves only a trail of luminous particles.

Line 2. *derima*: this is another verb form made up of *deri-* (we have *deli-* in Boyowa; see Baldwin 1939a:60, who translates it as ‘together with, and’) and *-ma*, literally ‘to come’.

Line 3. *mwanita*: I have translated this as “excited like the sinuous millipede” because it refers to one of the personifications of the mythical hero Monikiniki embodied in *mwa-*. The millipede, of a shiny black, is also one of the symbols of the Kula and is often used as a visual metaphor to allude to the long line of *tokula* who (after having spread the black *sayaku* ointment onto their shoulders and painted the ritual symbols on their faces) move towards their companions to charm them and conquer *mwari* and *vaiguwa*.

Line 1a. *bi yaya mata’ra deri?*: I have tried to render the sense given by the poet in Nowau with “Who will capture our memory in his eyes?”, thus not only to suggest the image of someone who gives a piercing look but also the effect of that look. According to Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa, *yaya* expresses an image which fixes itself in the mind indelibly because one has gazed for a long time, almost spied lovingly. A similar interpretation is found (although not rendered with the same finesse as Ipaïya and Siyakwakwa) in Baldwin (1939a:651) where he records ‘spy on’, ‘peep at’.

Line 3a. *tobwabwate*: here we have the classifier *to-* and the base component *-bwabwate* (which is in turn an abbreviation of *bwa(te)-bwate*) which in itself means ‘time’, with particular reference to primordial times, the period of the ancestors, expressed by the particle *wa-* as a variant of *bo-*. This last particle is connected, also according to Baldwin (1939a:27) to *mo-*, *mwa-*.

Line 1b. *tomanaboinamadibwana*: the first form is made up of the classifier *to-* plus the infix *-mana-* (equivalent to the Boyowa *manum*, literally ‘gentle, soft’; see Baldwin 1939a:353) and the suffix *-boina*, literally ‘good, beautiful, pleasing’. The second form, following Gidou, Redimu and Siyakwakwa, indicates a model of a hut – built in the past and considered characteristic of many islands within the Kula Rig – typified by the lack of posts and with longer side walls which, forming a single element with the two roof slopes, start straight out of the ground. Moreover, the opening made in one of the narrower walls was particularly narrow and this detail gives greater significance to the phrase “Man with shining face come out from the dark hut”: the singer sings of a “Man with shining face” which appears brighter because it appears like a light from the darkness typical of the interior of the hut. The term is made up of *madi-* (Baldwin notes it in pencil but without providing any translation, while he recorded *mada*, associating it with ‘pot, pool, the shore at low tide’, and had thus grasped the image of something low, deep; this type of hut gives precisely this idea of sinking into the ground, so someone coming out into the open seems to emerge from the dark, from the deep) and *-bwana*, to be interpreted as a variation on *bwema*, literally ‘hut’.

Line 3b. *a kataviriwa*: this is an extremely ingenious form as it is composed of three elements, to represent the act of examining curiously, rummaging in a container (the small woven fibre basket for keeping *mwari* and *vaiguwa*). In fact, we have *kata-* used to indicate

something sharp, a cutting edge and an action which requires attention, curiosity or perspicacity, and the infix *-viri-*, literally 'to turn, turn round' (*vili* and *vila* are given in Baldwin 1939a:622, 623) and the suffix particle *-wa* which indicates the state of place: we thus have 'to turn, rummage with the hands inside something'.

Line 4b. *kaletau*: this is one of the terms with which one's companion in the ritual exchange is classified; see Baldwin (1939a:142).

3.2.3.4 TOGENUWA MORABABA, SINGER

(1) *Komusiyele*

I

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1 | <i>Ba ragara vavabusi</i> | I'll climb the rock, then down! |
| 2 | <i>ba ragara Komusiyele</i> | I'll climb Komusiyele |
| 3 | <i>balavilobusi Sinaketa</i> | I'll go to Sinaketa, the village in the west, |
| 4 | <i>kagu sikukuli kagu bisila</i> | with my precious ornament, my ritual leaf. |
| 5 | <i>yoyoki daba'gu ba mamata</i> | I'll fall asleep, caressed by the light breeze |
| 6 | <i>o valila Tomasina</i> | at the foot of Tomasina, the laughing rock. |
| 7 | <i>kasi kagaga sagwai</i> | I'll hear the whispering of my companions |
| 8 | <i>wa'isa wa'isa'ra kasi kagaga</i> | who meet together; the whispering voices |
| 9 | <i>sagwai wa'isa wa'isa'ra</i> | of my ritual companions who will sail together, |
| 10 | <i>kasi kagaga sagwai waiwa'isi'ra</i> | the whisperings of my companions who will make the exchange together. |
| 11 | <i>omitiragi' gukomwedona</i> | The brightness of their faces shines on my face! |
| 12 | <i>iresi kwabu nei dudume'isa elisiga</i> | The women will come down with light steps: |
| 13 | <i>kulunaodu kirabwasa kagu kaudiya i kimawe'isa</i> | they will snatch my small basket: they will be ashamed, |
| 14 | <i>kagu bisila bi kakata</i> | but my ritual leaf will shine flashing through the air |
| 15 | <i>yagagu bi yayoyu butu'gu</i> | and my name will be lightning in the air, |
| 16 | <i>wamugwe'iyesa bi salela</i> | following the shining ritual leaf |
| 17 | <i>daba'ra ra daba'ra so'ra</i> | flashing on the head of my companions: |
| 18 | <i>migi soba ku vakaka</i> | you adorn your face with the sign of joy |
| 19 | <i>kagu bisila kipwali pusa.</i> | and the ritual leaf shines on the canoe's carved faces. |

I

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>B-a raga-raga va-vabusi</i> | FUT-I climb-climb PFX-go.down |
| 2 | <i>b-a raga-raga Komusiyele</i> | FUT-I climb-climb Komusiyele |
| 3 | <i>b-a lavilobusi Sinaketa</i> | FUT-I go.to.the.village village.in.the.west |
| 4 | <i>kagu sikukuli kagu bisila</i> | my precious.ornament my ritual.leaf |
| 5 | <i>yoyoki daba'gu b-a mamata</i> | caress head my FUT-I fall.asleep |

- 6 *o valila Tomasina*
at foot laughing.rock
- 7 *kasi kagaga sagwai*
their whispering companion
- 8 *wa-î-sa wa-î-sa' ra kasi kagaga*
go-LW-PLU go-LW-PLU SFX their whispering
- 9 *sagwai wa-î-sa wa-î-sa' ra*
companion go-LW-PLU go-LW-PLU SFX
- 10 *kasi kagaga sagwai wa-î-wa-î-si' ra*
their whispering companion go-LW-go-LW-PLU SFX
- 11 *o mitiragi' gu komwedona*
on brightness/shine my many.people
- 12 *iresi kwabu n-ê-i dudume-î-sa elisiga*
women be.angry PAST-LW-PLU blow-LW-PLU light
- 13 *kulunaodu kirabwasa kagu kawiya i kimaweï-sa*
man snatch my basket they be.ashamed-PLU
- 14 *kagu bisila b-i kakata*
my ritual leaf FUT-it flash
- 15 *yagagu b-i ya-you butu' gu*
I FUT-it CLA-fly fame my
- 16 *wa-mugwe-î-ye-sa b-i salela*
go-already-LW-CLA-PLU FUT-it shine
- 17 *daba' ra ra daba' ra so' ra*
head SFX his/her/its head SFX companion SFX
- 18 *migi soba ku vakaka*
face sign.of.joy you put.on
- 19 *kagu bisila kipwali pusa.*
my ritual.leaf carve face/carved.bow.and.stern

Commentary

This was performed on 17 June 1974 by Togenuwa Morababa from Okabulula on the *bisila* made by pleating a thin pandanus leaf before a ritual expedition to Vakuta, to the south of Kitawa, and Sinaketa.

Line 2. *ba ragaraga Komusiyelu*: the poet introduces us once again to the scenario of the ritual exchange full of mountains and rocks, all visual metaphors alluding to height, to the vertigo one feels on reaching a summit, the home of the heroes. The image of something or someone who towers above is already given in the verb form *ragaraga* (*raga-raga*) which in Boyowa appears as *laga*, associated by Baldwin (1939a:299) with *lagi* and translated as 'fat', capturing the idea of this someone or something increasing in size. However, its most appropriate meaning in the context of this formula is 'to ascend, go up'. The proper name *Komusiyelu* refers to one of the rocks which rise in the territory of Okabulula on the island of Kitawa and which looks towards the west, in the direction of Kiriwina. This direction is

also confirmed by Sinaketa, a village on the west coast of Kiriwina which, together with Wawela on the east coast and Omarakana in the north-east, represents one of the three canonical points of Kiriwina involved in the Kula ritual exchange.

Line 4. *sikukuli*: in translating this as “precious ornament” I have respected the lack of definition in the Nowau term and in the author’s intention. It could be either a *mwari* or a *vaiguwa*: in the first case the singer is taking the precious symbolic gift to one of his companions, in the second case he is going to conquer it.

bisila: here another use of the “ritual leaf” is described, when the long line of *tokula*, going to meet their respective companions for the ritual exchange, is characterised by small, arrow-like ensign fitted into the arm bracelets worn by both men and women.

Line 6. *Tomasina*: here we have a proper name formed by the classifier *to-* and the base component *-masina*, literally ‘to laugh, show happiness’. It recalls the form *mwasila* (as, for example, in *tomwasila*). And so we have “the laughing rock” shaped like a man: this is not the first time we have come across a humanised natural element to which feelings, ideas and desires are attributed. For example, the whole island of Kitawa is dotted with rocks, caves and ravines which in addition to being identified with a man, a woman or a hero, are also venerated as sacred places and often feared. But they may also be looked at with irony and affection, as is probable in the case of *Tomasina*.

Line 7. *kagaga*: I have interpreted this form, on Sīyakwakwa’s suggestion, as a variation on *kaiga-ra* or *kaiga-la* (Baldwin 1939a:116), literally ‘voice’ but also ‘to emit a sound, to whisper’. See also Baldwin (p.98).

Line 8. *waīsa*: this is made up of *wa-î-sa*, where the first component literally means ‘to go’ and the suffix indicates the plural (it is the equivalent of *-sî*). See Baldwin (1939a:632, 634).

Line 12. *iresi kwabu nêi dudumeīsa elisiga*: the line represents a complex scene, even from the point of view of lexis and syntax, which unexpectedly introduces the feminine element (*ire-sî*) in the male world of the ritual exchange. It is an element which disturbs (see line 13) and repropose ambiguously the counterposition between male and female which characterises the matrilinear structure of Nowau society. See Baldwin (1939a:70, 95, 317).

Line 14. *kagu bisila bi katata*: the “ritual leaf” is a metaphor for the victory, the supremacy, of the male world, in turn represented by the shine, the sparkle of the *bisila*, and thus the ritual exchange which privileges the relationship between the two companions. The form *katata* indicates, as I have already pointed out, something sharp and cutting, and alludes in this case to the flash – typical of lightning – produced in the atmosphere, in the air, by the pandanus leaf: a visual metaphor of the fame which precedes the arrival of a *tokula*. See Baldwin (1939a:136).

Line 16. *wagumweīyesa*: this is made up of *wa-mugwe-î-ye-sa*, where the prefix form literally means ‘to go’, and the second is the equivalent of the Boyowa *mugwa*, translated by Baldwin (1939a:385) as ‘previous, early’, while the infix particle *-ye-* is the same as *ya* and classifies something made of fibre (the pandanus leaf). The poet wanted to represent the announcement of the fame encapsulated in the blaze of the *bisila*. See Baldwin (1939a:385, 632, 643 and 649).

Line 18. *soba ku vakaka*: this is another allusion to the symbol painted on the *tokula*’s face, often represented by three horizontal lines painted on the cheeks converging towards the mouth. These lines are painted with the scented black *sayaku*. See Baldwin (1939a:599).

Line 19. *kipwali pusa*: the verb form *kipwali* literally means 'to appear' but here means exactly 'to appear on something' and I have rendered it as "carved faces" as it is followed by *pusa*. This refers to a narrow section which marks the two ends of the top part of the hull of the ceremonial canoe and where a series of designs are carved. This section is classified by the term *pusa*. Given the direction of the canoe, which from the linguistic and poetic context can be deduced as westwards as it is sailing towards Kiriwina, the author refers to the *pusa* carved on the bow, although this term is not particularly appropriate to Nowau marine vocabulary. In fact, the bow and the stern of a ceremonial canoe are distinguishable only by the *tabuya* and not from any structural difference. In addition, the bow of the canoe takes on the function of bow or stern according to the route taken. See Scoditti (1990a); Baldwin (1939a:240).

(2) *Monikiniki II*

I

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1 | <i>Ira gogura i ra gogura</i> | The men are leaving, now they are leaving, |
| 2 | <i>mu kavagara ku busi ku busi</i> | for you the first gift as you come down from the festive canoe |
| 3 | <i>kwavirera kavagara</i> | competing for the first of the gifts. |
| 4 | <i>i ra gogura i ra gogura</i> | The men are leaving, leaving |
| 5 | <i>i ra gogura kavagara</i> | leaving, competing for the first gift, |
| 6 | <i>ku gusi gusi kaivirera</i> | you spray the magic fruit |
| 7 | <i>na magaugau</i> | as I make my way through the thick mist, |
| 8 | <i>so'gukavikavira</i> | you are bright my companion, you flash as lightning |
| 9 | <i>kavikavira so'gu vaiguwa</i> | my companion, my light, my red gift, |
| 10 | <i>so'gu (wa) Dabwadabwa</i> | my ritual companion, Dabwadabwa |
| 11 | <i>tau tolalasi tolalasi</i> | generous man, giver of many gifts, |
| 12 | <i>tau tobwagau koiya kura kanabanibani.</i> | magician:go up the Mountain and cast your spells! |

I

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>I ra gogura i ra gogura</i> | he/she/it go leaving he/she/it go leaving |
| 2 | <i>mu kavagara ku busi ku busi</i> | your soliciting.gift you come.down you come.down |
| 3 | <i>kwavirera kavagara</i> | compete soliciting.gift |
| 4 | <i>i ra gogura i ra gogura</i> | he/she/it go leaving he/she/it go leaving |
| 5 | <i>i ra gogura kavagara</i> | he/she/it go leaving gift/soliciting.gift |
| 6 | <i>ku gusi-gusi kaivirera</i> | you spray-spray magic.fruit |
| 7 | <i>n-a ma gaugau</i> | PAST-I come thick.mist |

- 8 *so' gu kavikavira*
 companion my lightning
- 9 *kavikavira so' gu vaiguwa*
 lightning companion my red.gift
- 10 *so' gu (wa) Dabwadabwa*
 companion my (with) Dabwadabwa
- 11 *tau to-lalasi to-lalasi*
 man CLA-generous man-generous
- 12 *tau to-bwagau koiya kura kanabanibani.*
 man CLA-magician mountain go cast.spell

Commentary

Line 1. *gogura*: this verb form has been interpreted as a present continuous and is thus made up of *go(ra)-gura*, where for vowel harmony the base component has had the 'o' changed into 'u'. Baldwin (1939a:88) recorded the form *gula*, connecting it to *guli*, which he translates generically as 'set up'. But both Ipa'iya and Siyakwakwa had me note that the author of the formula alludes to the moment when a person stands up to leave and uses this gesture as a direct exhortation to his companion.

Line 2. *kavagara*: I have preferred to interpret this as "the first gift", basing myself on the meaning of the base component *-vagara*, a clear echo of the Boyowa *vaga-la*, literally 'appealing gift' (see Baldwin 1939a:98, 597). This is a *vaiguwa* (nominated explicitly in line 9 which here takes on the value of a gift of introduction to the ritual exchange, an explicit invitation to establish a close bond of friendship within the Kula Ring.

Line 6. *ku gusigusi kaivirera*: the magic element which always characterises a ritual exchange is introduced here, to underline the link between a *tokula* and the mythical hero Monikiniki. In this case the magic is given by the use of ginger which is sprayed in dust clouds which explode in the air, casting a spell on it, and which declares to all present that the person covered accepts the initiation to the ritual exchange. Furthermore, it is specified in line 12 that the person sung about is a magician, a sorcerer.

Line 7. *gagau*: this is a mist which envelops (*gau-gau*) the whole scene of the 'approach' of initiate and initiator, where the former is surrounded by the grey mist as if in a state of non-consciousness, as if immersed in the darkness which will be split by his new companion like a stroke of lightning splits a dark sky. Once again the ritual exchange is represented as a passage from a state of non-consciousness (darkness, grey) to one of consciousness (light). See Baldwin (1939a:73).

Line 9. *so'gu vaiguwa*: this line is extremely ambiguous and allusive on a metaphorical level, being probably one of the most beautiful examples in this collection of how, in a single line, a poet can manage to summarise a whole series of symbolic references to the philosophy and mythology of the Kula Ring. For example, *so'gu vaiguwa* immediately offers the image, poetically ambiguous, of a companion who envelops the singer as a red necklace, the *vaiguwa*, surrounds the neck or the body of a young woman. The red necklace can be interpreted as the companion who is invoked, and thus assimilated with the woman on a symbolic level. This last note underlines the ambiguously erotic aspect of the ritual exchange in which one of the two companions metaphorically plays the role of the woman: the

courting, the anxious wait, the excitement, the trembling of the body and the sinuousness of the movements are attitudes and forms of behaviour which recur frequently in poetic formulae for the Kula.

Line 10. *Dabwadabwa*: this is man's name and according to Siyakwakwa was a man who lived on the island of Dobu to the south-west of Kiriwina.

Line 11. *tau tolalasi*: this is an example of an emphatic expression because after *tau-*, literally 'man', we again have the classifier *to-*, so literally we have 'man, you generous man', where the meaning of generosity is given by *-lalasi*. See Baldwin (1939a:561).

Line 12. *tau tobwagau...kanabanibani*: the last line begins with another example of an emphatic phrase in which the companion of the singer is called "magician" and is represented as being ready to cast a spell. Without doubt the most interesting element in this line, from the syntactical and semantic point of view (for understanding an important aspect of the Nowau cognitive philosophy) is the verb form *kanabanibani*, composed of *kana-bani-bani*. The first component can be translated literally as 'to look for, to try to do something', while the second is 'to go to search for someone': both forms are used to suggest the action of someone who goes forwards by trying and testing, and attempts to do something through experiment, without any acquired certainty. In the fullest sense, this is the hypothesising of effects and various attempts are made in order to achieve this effect. Once an attempt has been successful one says, in Kitawa, that it has produced a magic effect, which is after all what the execution of a *megwa* aims to achieve. Spells and enchantment are the results of full-scale experimentation, and someone who has achieved a certain result possesses 'magic', the art of creating an effect. The casting of a spell is thus the proposal of a hypothesis which is experimented with various means which acquire a purely metaphorical value: the use of spring water, betel nuts, the leaf or root of a particular tree, is the equivalent to creating a metaphor for a working hypothesis, a proposal about how to resolve a specific problem. A magician is powerful and feared, in the same way that an experimenter who manages to obtain the predicted results is powerful and feared. See Baldwin (pp.13, 159, 552).

(3) *Monikiniki III*

I

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1 | <i>Kaivana tamadudu kana likuliku</i> | Woven garland, rustling, trembling like the bewitched earth, |
| 2 | <i>kaivana tamadudu kana likuliku</i> | woven garland, rustling, trembling like the bewitched earth! |
| 3 | <i>vaewo bowa vaewo bowa</i> | I shall bring the black unguent, |
| 4 | <i>agu bagi bweri' gu</i> | I shall long for my precious ornament, |
| 5 | <i>ba liku ba liku wai</i> | I shall move joyfully like the sinuous millipede |
| 6 | <i>ba liku ba liku wai</i> | I shall move joyfully like the sinuous millipede, |
| 7 | <i>takova takova mosalela gigilala</i> | I shall streak like a spurting flame. |
| 8 | <i>gera butu' gu vali' gu monikiniki</i> | My fame has passed but my face is Monikiniki, |
| 9 | <i>a vali wa koiya</i> | I'm leaving my image on the Mountain! |
| 10 | <i>i sikaka koiya yaga' gu koiya</i> | The Mountain jumps: I'm the Mountain! |
| 11 | <i>i tatata koiya i yoyu koiya</i> | The Mountain stirs, begins to rise, |
| 12 | <i>butu' gu tamadudu gala vali' gu.</i> | my fame, my image, has faded with the rumbling thunder! |

I

- 1 *Kai-vana tamadudu kana likuliku*
 CLA-garland rumbling.thunder its trembling
- 2 *kai-vana tamadudu kana likuliku*
 CLA-garland rumbling.thunder its trembling
- 3 *vaewo bowa vaewo bowa*
 bring black.unguent bring black.unguent
- 4 *agu bagi bweri' gu*
 my precious.ornament desire my
- 5 *b-a liku b-a liku wai*
 FUT-I joyfully FUT-I tremble go.sinuously
- 6 *b-a liku b-a liku wai*
 FUT-I joyfully FUT-I tremble go.sinuously
- 7 *ta-kova ta-kova mosalela gigilala*
 PFX-fire PFX-fire enjoy laugh
- 8 *gera butu' gu vali' gu monikiniki*
 not fame my leave.own.image my monikiniki
- 9 *a vali koiya*
 I leave.own.image mountain
- 10 *i sikaka koiya yaga' gu koiya*
 it stir mountain I my mountain
- 11 *i tatata koiya i yoyu koiya*
 it tremble mountain it fly mountain
- 12 *butu' gu tamadudu gala vali' gu.*
 fame my rumbling.thunder not leave.own.image my

Commentary

Line 1. *Kaivana tamadudu*: Siyakwakwa has provided a rather elaborate explanation for the form *kaivana*, which is made up of the classifier *kai-* followed by the base component *-vana*, claiming that this was a garland made of *Ocimum basilicum* leaves. Probably he meant not so much a garland as such as the custom of putting handfuls of scented basil into the black armbands worn by both men and women. This last detail should explain the classifier *kai-* as referring to the material, fibre, which the armband is made of. The term *tamadudu* alludes to the rustling of leaves.

Line 2. *kana likuliku*: here the poet wants to depict not only the “rustling” of the garland, the slight movement of the leaves in the air, but also its “trembling” (*liku-liku*) like the earth shaken by a tremor. This image also introduces a sacred element, metaphorised by the earth itself, which shakes as a sign of the power of a divinity or mythical hero. The garland is, then, a visual metaphor for excitement and beauty but also for the sacred and ancient.

Line 3. *bowa*: if interpreted literally, this classifies a type of decoration, formed by two or three long black stripes which men paint on their faces, above all when taking part in a ritual exchange. In this case the black pigment (which can be mixed either with the juice of a young banana or with *burami* ointment) is made by scraping the blackened bottom of an earthenware pot or by burning a coconut shell. See Baldwin (1939a:32).

Line 4. *bweri'gu*: literally this should be translated as 'I prefer (for myself)' or 'I am fond of (for myself)', but here the desire to want or possess should be underlined. For example, *yobweri* is used to indicate a loved, favoured person, and in this sense recurs in *Aesthetic conversations* (Scoditti 1990a) where there is mention of a prowboard engraver's favourite pupil. Baldwin (1939a:654) records the form *yo-bwali* which he translates as 'love, treat well'.

Line 5. *wai*: this again alludes to the sinuous, peristaltic movement of the millipede, or to movement up and down, backwards and forwards.

Line 7. *takova*: this is a verb form which encapsulates the image of someone or something which moves jerkily or someone or something which leaves a luminous trail behind it, a line of fire. It is made up of *ta-kova*, in which the prefix functions as an auxiliary verb (to do, to become) reinforcing the meaning already expressed in the base component of leaving or producing fire, flames or light. See Baldwin (1939a:259, 516).

mosalela gigilala: the first form has been explained as a synonym of *masawa* (enjoyment, to enjoy oneself, to take pleasure), while the second is a variation on *gigira* or *gigila*, literally 'to laugh' (Baldwin 1939a:79). We thus have two verb forms which are used to reinforce the same concept.

Line 10. *i sikaka koiya*: here the mountain is depicted in the moment in which it rises 'on its arms' as if it were human: the form *sikala* is, in fact, used in everyday language to indicate the action of standing up by leaning on one's arms. This act is typical of a *tokula* who has been crouching for hours and hours in a ritual conversation.

3.2.3.5 KROBAI TONUWABU, SINGER

(1) *Museu naganaga*

I

1	<i>Museu naganaga museu naganaga</i>	As the smoke thickens, as the smoke thickens,
2	<i>koiya ni ya i dababana</i>	gathers on the Mountain and then clears,
3	<i>koiya ni ya i dababana</i>	gathers on the Mountain and then clears,
4	<i>ra gibunona i dababana</i>	so his clouded face clears,
5	<i>ra katurakai i dababana</i>	his bitterness clears
6	<i>ra bwarekwa i dababana</i>	his closed mind clears
7	<i>ra kavikuru i dababana</i>	his dark face clears
8	<i>ra katurakai i dababana</i>	his bitterness clears.
9	<i>avei tau bi utu o daba'ra kinana</i>	Who will compose the song riding on the sparrowhawk?
10	<i>so'gu beisa ba kawa o daba'ra kinana</i>	my companion I will compose the song on the sparrowhawk.
11	<i>kavalabila so'gu o daba'ra kinana</i>	Land in land we'll ride on the sparrowhawk
12	<i>so'gu bweta kavalabila o daba'ra kinana</i>	we'll go wreathed, hand in hand, on the sparrowhawk.
13	<i>gera uro takaikai uro takaikai'mu</i>	I leave my wooden throne; my throne is for you,

- 14 *gera uro takaikai uro takaikai' mu* I leave my wooden throne; my throne is for you.
 15 *a utu borogu kapwalela visiga* I sing the red leaves, in the darkness fired by the sun's
 16 *kala dagula kalasi i kayeyesa yagagu Krobai.* first rays, calling out, radiant-faced, my name, Krobai!

I

- 1 *Museu naganaga museu naganaga*
 smoke thickening smoke thickening
- 2 *koiya n-i-ya i dababana*
 mountain PAST-it-go.at it clear
- 3 *koiya n-i-ya i dababana*
 mountain PAST-he/she/it-go.at he/she/it clear
- 4 *ra gibunona i dababana*
 his/her/its clouded.(face) he/she/it clear
- 5 *ra katurakai i dababana*
 his/her/its bitterness he/she/it clear
- 6 *ra bwarekwa i dababana*
 his/her/its closed.(mind) he/she/it clear
- 7 *ra kavikuru i dababana*
 his/her/its dark.(face) he/she/its clear
- 8 *ra katurakai i dababana*
 his/her/its bitterness he/she/it clear
- 9 *avei tau b-i utu o daba' ra kinana*
 who man FUT-he/she/it compose on head SFX sparrowhawk
- 10 *so' gu beisa b-a kawa o daba' ra kinana*
 companion my this FUT-I compose on head SF sparrowhawk
- 11 *kavalabila so' gu o daba' ra kinana*
 go.together companion my on head SFX sparrowhawk
- 12 *so' gu bweta kavalabila o daba' ra kinana*
 companion my garland go.together on head SFX sparrowhawk
- 13 *gera uro takaikai uro takaikai' mu*
 non/not my wooden.throne my wooden.throne yours
- 14 *gera uro takaikai uro takaikai' mu*
 non/not my wooden.throne my wooden.throne yours
- 15 *a utu borogu kapwalela visiga*
 I compose red.leaf darkness become.clear
- 16 *kala dagula kalasi i kayeye-sa yagagu Krobai.*
 his/her/its ray/feather sun they call/see-PLU I/me Krobai

Commentary

This was performed on 11 May 1974. It was sung on a tuft of wild basil leaves before a Kula expedition.

Line 1. *Museu naganaga*: a view of nature, a village scene, is used by the author of the formula to represent a state of mind, to act as a metaphor for the passage from a dark, gloomy period to one in which light penetrates the mind, illuminating it. The “smoke thickens” (*naganaga*), indicating a state of heaviness, of being closed up, is contrasted, as the performance progresses, with the gradual approach of the light of tranquility which explodes in lines 15 and 16:

I sing the red leaves, in the darkness fired by the sun's
first rays, calling out, radiant-faced, my name, Krobai!

Line 2. *ni ya*: this is the only formula in this collection in which we find the verb form *ya*, usually found as a classifier or particle which indicates a state in place, or is used as a prefix for personal pronouns. See Baldwin (1939a:643).

i dababana: the author has constructed this verb form by using the component *daba-* (literally ‘head’, ‘upper part’, ‘at the top’) as a prefix to *-bana* (linked to *bani*, which can be translated as ‘to look for, to try, to try to reach an objective’; see Baldwin 1939a:13). We have, therefore, ‘a head which tries to accomplish a purpose’ but also ‘a head which is trying, which fails in an attempt’ from which I have derived the translation “then clears”, helped by the meaning of line 1.

Line 4. *gibunona*: once again two lexemes are merged to suggest a more complex meaning. On its own, *gibu-* alludes to something heavy or distorted (Baldwin 1939a:78) while *-nuna* stands for *nona* or *nano* and means ‘intellect, intuition, feeling’, in short *gibunona* is a term used to indicate human behaviour characterised by immediacy, by direct thought.

Line 5. *katurakai*: Baldwin (1939a:189) notes a similar form, *katulaki*, translated as ‘refuse, reject, keep from’, which gives the same idea as in my version.

Line 6. *bwarekwa*: I have interpreted this as a term composed of *bware-* (which should be the equivalent of the Boyowa *bwali* given in Baldwin 1939a:50), roughly translatable as ‘to be careful, to pay attention’, and the suffix *-kwa*, which is a variation, for vowel harmony, on *-gwa*, the contracted form of *bougwa*, and which thus attributes the sense of ‘already happened’ to the base component, the sense of an action already performed or a decision already taken. The interpretation proposed in the text has been deduced from the Nowau term which alludes to something (in this case the mind) ‘distant’ or ‘closed’; in short, the author wants to depict a state (represented in the formula by “his...mind”) of closure towards the outside world.

Line 7. *kavikuru*: here again we have the prefix form *kavi-*, which in itself means something sharp or cutting, which ‘penetrates like a blade’ (and could therefore be interpreted as a metaphor for a stubborn attitude, which leaves a mark), followed by the suffix *-kuru*, to be interpreted as a contraction of *kululu*, translated by Baldwin (1939a:271) as ‘look down, low down’, though it could also be the equivalent of the Boyowa *kulu*, literally ‘owl’ (Baldwin p.270). In both cases we have the representation of someone or something which is dark, which likes the darkness, the night, solitude. The poet shows a knowing, refined understanding of the metaphor as one of the Nowau poetical figures.

Line 9. *bi utu*: Ipaïya used the same verb form to express the activity of composing a formula, the ability to distinguish the poet from the mere singer. On the relationship between poet/author and singer/performer see Chapters 1 and 2.

o daba'ra kinana: in interpreting this conceptually rather complex expression I was helped by Ipaïya and Redimu, who identified *kinana* with the Boyowa *kinakina* or *kilakila*, which Baldwin (1939a:233, 237) translates as 'white sea-hawk'. He also notes *kinana* in blue pencil on page 237, but without giving an English equivalent and referring back to *kinakinaka*. This last form is again untranslated.

Line 15. *borogu kapwalela visiga*: the first term here classifies a tree with red leaves, much appreciated for its bright colour and used in making garlands and wreaths, to which the formula is dedicated. The author shows himself to be skilled in contrasting the red of the leaves enhanced by the first rays of the sun to describe the progressive, gentle brightening of the gloomy face of his companion and his relaxing. The dark, gloomy red of the leaf is a clear allusion to the state of mind of a man who promises, however, to 'warm up', to find new life, like smouldering 'drowsy' embers – the dark red.

The feathers of the sun which brighten up the dark red are a metaphor for the companion-singer (the *tokula*). The passage from darkness to light, from night to day, is given by the two forms *kapwalela* and *visiga*.

Line 16. *kala dagula kalasi*: this is the explosion of luminous notes represented by the rays of the sun. The sun then shines like the face of a dancer made beautiful and shiny by the *burami* ointment and his head decorated with a crown of white feathers (*dagula*). We have the sun represented as the face of a dancer and as a symbol of light and creative force (feathers/rays). *Krobai* is a man's name and in this case refers to the singer of the formula.

(2) *Mola ba kewa*

I

1	<i>Kapwalela visigadagulelakalasi</i>	The dying night by the plumed sun's feathers
2	<i>setolisimiga</i>	is penetrated and illumined:
3	<i>nano'rasetolisimiga</i>	his mind is penetrated and illumined,
4	<i>ra kavikuru setoli simiga</i>	his darkened face is penetrated and illumined,
5	<i>ra giburawa setoli simiga</i>	his grim face is penetrated and illumined,
6	<i>ra katurakai setoli simiga</i>	his bitter soul is penetrated and illumined,
7	<i>ra molamola setolisimiga</i>	his thoughts are penetrated and illumined,
8	<i>ra kayusai setoli simiga</i>	his denial is penetrated and illumined,
9	<i>ra kavikuru setoli simiga</i>	his darkened face is penetrated and illumined,
10	<i>ra kapwaligisa setoli simiga</i>	his dolefulness is penetrated and illumined!
11	<i>i dudusa o kadamalaga</i>	And they whisper walking on the village path
12	<i>Inukwai yagagu Krobai</i>	to Inukwai, my name: Krobai!
13	<i>o kadamalaga Krobai</i>	My name, Krobai, walking on the village path
14	<i>i talavaguleigusa o nopou'ra Inukwai.</i>	to Inukwai, they whisper high in the air!

I

1	<i>Kapwalela visiga</i>	<i>dagule-la</i>	<i>kalasi</i>
	darkness	become.clear	feather-SFX sun
2	<i>se-toli</i>	<i>si-miga</i>	
	PFX-penetrate	PFX-desire/face	

- 3 *nano' ra se-toli si-miga*
mind SFX PFX-penetrate PFX-desire/face
- 4 *ra kavikuru se-toli si-miga*
his dark(face) PFX-penetrate PFX-desire/face
- 5 *ra giburawa se-toli si-miga*
his clouded(face) PFX-penetrate PFX-desire/face
- 6 *ra katurakai se-toli si-miga*
his bitterness PFX-penetrate PFX-desire/face
- 7 *ra molamola se-toli si-miga*
his thought PFX-penetrate PFX-desire/face
- 8 *ra kayusai se-toli si-miga*
his denial PFX-penetrate PFX-desire/face
- 9 *ra kavikuru se-toli si-miga*
his dark(face) PFX-penetrate PFX-desire/face
- 10 *ra kapwaligisa se-toli si-miga*
his dolefulness PFX-penetrate PFX-desire/face
- 11 *i dudu-sa o kadamalaga*
they whisper/blow/puff-PLU at village's.main.path
- 12 *Inukwai yagagu Krobai*
Inukwai me Krobai
- 13 *o kadamalaga Krobai*
at village's.main.path Krobai
- 14 *i talavagule-î-gu-sa o nopou' ra Inukwai.*
they throw-LW-my-PLU at inside SFX Inukwai

Commentary

Line 1. *Kapwalela visiga dagulela kalasi*: in *Museu naganaga* the first two forms in this line appear at the end of line 15 and the last two at the beginning of line 16. Moreover, very similar images are depicted in both poetic formulae. But the sonority is completely different and is given, for example, by the position of single lexemes in the lines and also by the use of sonorous techniques which, without changing the essential meaning associated with the form, give it a different sounding value, perceptible only to the sonorous mind: *dagulela* does not sound the same as *dagula*. In the former, one hears a sort of lighter sound which makes the whole word slide into the following one: *dagulela* penetrates, slides into *kalasi* better than *dagula*. I would say that the difference between one formula and another similar or very similar one should be looked for primarily in these differences in sound and phonetics, even when they are performed by the same singer.

Line 2. *setoli simiga*: in the first term here, the prefix *se-* should be interpreted as a variation on *si-* and functions as an auxiliary verb which conveys the sense of 'to do/make' onto the base component, while the latter means 'to enter something forcefully, to break into' and I have rendered it as "is penetrated". For both components see Baldwin (1939a:473, 482).

Apart from the same prefix as in *setoli* (although here we find it in the transcription adopted by Baldwin), the second form is made up of the base component *-miga*, undoubtedly connected to *migi-ra*, literally 'face' but also 'to want, desire, appear'. We thus have a verb form which alludes to something or someone which appears, which shows feeling or desire and which, given the context, I have translated as "illuminated". However, we should not forget the form *sig-la*, recorded by Baldwin on page 484, which can be translated as 'light' and 'to light up, illuminate', all concepts perfectly coherent with the Nowau form, even though the allusion to a face which appears to light up out of a gloomy darkness is encapsulated more strongly in *si-miga*.

Line 5. *gibiruwa*: this recalls *gibunona* in line 4 of *Museu naganaga* and the meaning is repeated here. We thus have the same prefix *gibu-* followed by *-ruwa*, which I have interpreted as a variation on *luwa* or *luva*, literally 'to be reserved', 'to keep to/for oneself', but also 'to close oneself up': in short, the image expressed is of someone who rejects others, who is disdainful.

Line 7. *molamola*: the suggestion to translate this term as "thoughts" came from Siyakwakwa who deduced it from the form *mola*, literally 'fontanel', the most delicate part of a baby's skull. We thus have another example of metaphorical language. We should not however forget the form *molu*, noted by Baldwin (1939a:380), which literally means 'desire, to want'. In this case we would have a present continuous, which should be translated as 'wanting' or 'which desires (at the present moment)': both forms could again be interpreted metaphorically as the activities of the brain or mind.

Line 8. *kayusai*: the prefix *ka-* functions as a verbal causative, while the suffix *-yusai* literally means 'to keep something for oneself' and implies a closure against the outside world. It is likely that this form is related to the Boyowa *yosi* (Baldwin 1939a:649), literally 'to keep' and 'to take'.

Line 10. *kapwaligisa*: this is connected to *kapwalela visiga* in line 1, of which it could be considered a contraction and which here takes on the meaning of 'to darken, become dark'.

Line 12. *Inukwai*: this is a village on the island of Iwa.

Line 14. *talavaguleîgusa*: this breaks down into *ta-la-vagule-î-gu-sa*, in which the prefix functions as an auxiliary verb, the infix *-la* means 'to go', the base component *-vagule/i-* expresses the concept of 'to get up, to send up', while the infix *-gu-* is the first person singular possessive or personal pronoun followed by the plural *-sa*. Literally we have 'they come and throw me up/throw something up for me'. See Baldwin (1939a:516, 597).

3.2.3.6 KASIOTAGINA MATAWALA, SINGER

(1) *Wosi yawena*

I

1	<i>Patini bi siwaneku</i>	The festive canoes will swiftly fly,
2	<i>kada'gutokimadagi vabusi</i>	and my mother's brother with shining face, coming down
3	<i>tauîya bi komudu wa waga</i>	from the festive canoe, will sound the conch-shell:
4	<i>bi sikwoiku buna</i>	my father will wreath my black hair with white shells

- 5 *tumwanei'gu tama'gu*
6 *kaiiya vinaiya.*

to make me beautiful
oh small round woman's basket!

II

- 1a *O tokaikai ba sirera*
2a *wardawada ba sidoiya*
3a *senuye'gu siwarere*
4a *(kaiiya renana)*
5a *kanokwasi para bomatu.*

I shall sit on the high wooden throne
resting my shoulders on the red and black dolphins,
yearning for the scented oil!
(oh watching woman's basket)
blown away by the north-west wind!

III

- 1b *Kena waiyaifuna*
2b *agu tanoi Muyuwa*
3b *kanokwasi para bomatu*
4b *ba vani opatapatina*
5b *bi mwaifiku gelu guna waga.*

I have left the black ebony spatula,
left my companion on the far island,
blown away by the north-west wind,
I'll plant my foot on the canoe's foot-board
and my festive canoe will rock joyfully!

I

- 1 *Patini b-i siwaneku*
fleet FUT-it race
- 2 *kada' gu tokimadagi vabusi*
mother's.brother my man.with.shining.face come.down
- 3 *tauia b-i komudu wa waga*
conch-shell FUT-he sound from festive.canoe
- 4 *b-i sikwoiku buna*
FUT-he adorn(ment) shell
- 5 *tumwane-i' gu tama' gu*
make.beautiful-LW my father my
- 6 *kaiiya vina-i-ya.*
basket woman-LW-SFX

II

- 1a *O tokaikai b-a sirera*
on wooden.throne FUT-I sit
- 2a *wardawada b-a sido-i-ya*
dolphin FUT-I rest-LW-SFX
- 3a *senuye-i' gu siwarere*
scented.oil-LW my yearning
- 4a *(kaiiya renana)*
(basket watch)
- 5a *kanokwasi para bomatu*
carry.away by north-west.wind

III

- 1b *Kena wa-î-ya-î-yuna*
spatula do-LW-with-LW-hand
- 2b *agu tanoi Muyuwa*
my companion far.island
- 3b *kanokwasi para bomatu.*
carry.away by north-west.wind
- 4b *b-a vani o patapatina*
FUT-I set.foot at footboard
- 5b *b-i mwa-î-niku gelu guna waga.*
FUT-it excited-LW-tremble rib my festive.canoe

Commentary

This is the poetic formula which recalls very vividly *Osiyaweî'gu*, performed by Towitara Buyoyu, from the same territory as Kumwageiya to which Kasiotagina Matawala belongs. We thus have two performances-interpretations probably based on a single original text which has been varied. The fact that they are known by different names, one *Wosi yawena* and the other *Osiyaweî'gu* does not change the nature of the problem and neither does it deny the common basis of the text. Various hypotheses can be made about this common single source. We could suppose, for example, that as Towitara and Kasiotagina are both elders who take part in the ritual exchange and belong to the same group of origin (both descend from the first inhabitants of Kumwageiya who arrived on Kitawa from Vakuta, to the south of Kiriwina, Trobriands) could have inherited two interpretations of the same text composed by a poet from Vakuta, and sung by two different companions in the ritual exchange. It remains true that the two versions do not contradict the possibility of the single source but it could have been interpreted not by Towitara or Kasiotagina but probably by two singer-authors (we have an example of a singer who gets close to being an author). In fact, in this specific case, the variations do not concern the phonetic or sound aspects but some lines of the formula; in both cases, however, the formula is divided into a *Watowa* and two *Kavira*, each one made up of the same number of lines.

Line 4a. (*kauiya renana*): this appears with the symbol of *littera incerta* because according to Siyakwakwa it is a spurious line, although Kasiotagina insisted on it being correct. In assessing Siyakwakwa's judgement we should not forget the profound influence which Towitara has had on all of Kitawa culture and in particular on the spheres of artistic expression and the ritual exchange. On any subject, the opinion and judgement given by Towitara was accepted as the authoritative one (and still remembered today with great respect): if Towitara performs a formula for the Kula his execution constitutes a stable, canonic point of reference to which all other performances can be compared, despite knowing that Towitara is not the author. I would say that the performance of Towitara is an example how on Kitawa the correctness of a text can be established: a 'given' execution is the equivalent of the printing of a work. In the specific case of Towitara I would say that it is the personality of a refined, cultured man which is the basis for such a judgement.

3.2.4 POETIC FORMULAE CHANTED BY MAGICIANS

3.2.4.1 ROSIGEGA MOKAPIŪ, PERFORMER

(1) *Tapa*

I

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | <i>Tapana mu'tapa</i> | Streak and flash, |
| 2 | <i>tapa Yanabwa</i> | streak to Yanabwa! |
| 3 | <i>tapa ku tapa</i> | streak and flash: |
| 4 | <i>ka Misima</i> | here is Misima! |
| 5 | <i>ina'guPiritoni</i> | My mother Piritoni, |
| 6 | <i>tama'guTobebesa</i> | my father Tobebesa, |
| 7 | <i>taboda matasi</i> | with blinded eyes |
| 8 | <i>ineisiLalela</i> | are seeking Lalela! |
| 9 | <i>gaugau taboda</i> | In the clouding fog |
| 10 | <i>si patu lova</i> | with fading souls |
| 11 | <i>si boda numura yowayoura</i> | with greying bodies |
| 12 | <i>kapwali matasi</i> | with darkening eyes |
| 13 | <i>ineisiLalela.</i> | they seek Lalela! |

I

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Tapa-na mu' tapa</i> | streak-SFX yours flash |
| 2 | <i>tapa Yanaba</i> | streak Yanaba |
| 3 | <i>tapa ku tapa</i> | streak you streak |
| 4 | <i>ka Misima</i> | here Misima |
| 5 | <i>ina' gu Piritoni</i> | mother my Piritoni |
| 6 | <i>tama' gu Tobebesa</i> | father my Tobebesa |
| 7 | <i>ta-boda mata-si</i> | PFX-assemble eye-PLU |
| 8 | <i>i nei-si Lalela</i> | they search-PLU Lalela |
| 9 | <i>gaugau ta-boda</i> | fog PFX-assemble |
| 10 | <i>si patu lova</i> | their closeness leave.own.image |
| 11 | <i>si boda numura yowayoura</i> | their assemble fog tie |

- 12 *kapwali mata-si*
 dark eye-PLU
- 13 *i nei-si Lalela.*
 they search-PLU Lalela

Commentary

This is the first of a series of 'silent', unheard, poetic formulae which are recited in the mind without being spoken out loud. They belong to the *bwagau* and circulate only among them, transmitted by an elder magician to his only apprentice-initiate. Rosigega gave a voiced form to these formulae in January 1974 and *Tapa* was performed over a small sharp stick soaked in a pulp of poisonous herbs.

Line 1. *Tapana*: this is a body which flies through the air and a dry fluttering of wings which cut through the air like a ray of light. The allusion to a being which flies is obvious: a flying witch (*siwasiwa* and *diu*). The form *tapana* can be broken down into *tapa-na*, recalling the verb forms *tapi* and *tape-la*, respectively translated by Baldwin (1939a:536, 537) as 'light' and 'move from one place to another'.

Line 2. *Yanabwa*: this island is to the south-east of Kitawa and is included in the Kula Ring.

Line 5. *Piritoni*: this is a woman's name and in this case is not the mother of the singer of the formula, Rosigega. It could refer to the mother of the author of *Tapa* or to the mother of the person who gave the formula to Rosigega.

Line 6. *Tobebesa*: this is a man's name.

Line 7. *taboda*: in this case the verb form has been used to indicate the heaping up of something against something else. The presence of *matasi* "eyes", has suggested the use of "blinded". The form is made up of *ta-* and *-boda*. See Baldwin (1939a:518).

Line 9. *gaugau*: I have preferred to translate this simply as "fog", while in *Monikiniki II*, line 7 I used "the thick mist".

Line 10. *si patu lova*: on its own *patu* means something closed, which closes in on itself, while *lova*, as I have already pointed out, means to leave a print, a sign. Ipaïya has added that the line should be interpreted as referring to Piritoni and Tobebesa, and therefore to their souls. See Baldwin (1939a:326).

Line 11. *numura*: literally this is the mist which envelops the early light of dawn, drowning the village in an unreal atmosphere. This same word is used to indicate the dew which collects on a surface. See Baldwin (1939a:422).

Line 12. *kapwali*: again the literal meaning suggests something wrapped up in itself, with a nuance of hostility towards the outside, and impermeable. See Baldwin (1939a:170).

(2) *Kwarakwara*

I

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Kwarakwarakwaivau</i> | Scrape the black pot |
| 2 | <i>kauibuwa navirera</i> | and spit out the intoxicating red fruit, witch! |
| 3 | <i>navigasi salu bi nei</i> | The witch on the black rock will seek |
| 4 | <i>sikatubugiyagasi</i> | their dead names |

- 5 *si katubugia yagasi* their dead names!
 6 *bulumavau yoka nei keda* Your scarce dead soul she'll seek!
 7 *kwaiyumarawema neiya* Rolling over and over she'll seek
 8 *i masawa neiya* sneering she'll seek!
 9 *i ulu neiya* The corpse's stench she'll seek,
 10 *bi kata neiya* darting fire she'll seek,
 11 *kuruwatara bi kata neiya* scattering sparks from her flaming hair,
 12 *popwasa bi kata neiya* lightning on the rotten corpse, she'll seek!
 13 *i rivisi [nagwai] o yosewa* She'll darken the minds of the watching mothers,
 14 *bi mareigusa bouna nasi bougwa* they struggle for me, they want me!
 15 *i rivisi [nagwai] i mareigusa* She'll darken the minds of the mothers: they want me!
 16 *i rivisi [nagwai] i mareigusa* she'll darken the minds of the mothers: they want me!
 17 *bougwa nasi bougwa 'gu* of the mothers, crouching around me!
 18 *i rivisi i meisa [nagwai] walaga* she'll darken the minds of the mothers as they come,
 19 *ku tepa ku tepa 'gu wala wala* and you, lightning witch, be lightning for me!
 20 *i rivisi i meisa [nagwai] ba weiya* she'll darken the minds of the mothers as they come
 21 *i rivisi i meisa [nagwai] o pwalala* she'll darken the minds of the mothers as they come
 22 *i rivisi i meisa [nagwai] o kaiteta* she'll darken the minds of the mothers as they come!
 23 *kwarakwara kwaivau* scrape the black pot
 24 *kai buwa navirera.* and spit out the intoxicating red fruit, witch!

I

- 1 *Kwara-kwara kwai-vau*
scrape-scrape CLA-black
- 2 *kau i buwa na-virera*
spit.out intoxicating.red.fruit CLA-animal
- 3 *na-vigasi salu b-i nei*
CLA-spit.fire rock FUT-she search
- 4 *si katu-bugia yaga-si*
their PFX-dead name-PLU
- 5 *si katu-bugia yaga-si*
their PFX-dead name-PLU
- 6 *buluma-vau yoka nei keda*
soul-black you search path
- 7 *kwai-yumara-wema nei-ya*
CLA-hold.back-go.and.come search-SFX
- 8 *i masawa nei-ya*
she sneer search-SFX
- 9 *i ulu nei-ya*
she stench search-SFX
- 10 *b-i kata nei-ya*
FUT-she dart.fire search-SFX
- 11 *kuruwatara b-i kata nei-ya*
flaming.hair FUT-she dart.fire search-SFX

- 12 *popwasa b-i kata nei-ya*
rotten.corpse FUT-she dart.fire search-SFX
- 13 *i rivisi [nagwai] o yosewa*
she darken [mothers] in space.around.the.hut
- 14 *b-i mare-î-gu-sa bouna nasi bougwa*
FUT-they want.back-LW-my-PLU good sit already
- 15 *i rivisi [nagwai] i mare-î-gu-sa*
she darken [mothers] they want.back-LW-my-PLU
- 16 *i rivisi [nagwai] i mare-î-gu-sa*
she darken [mothers] they want.back-LW-my-PLU
- 17 *bougwa nasi bougwa' gu*
already sit already my
- 18 *i rivisi i me-î-sa [nagwai] wala-ga*
she darken they come-LW-PLU [mothers] only-SFX
- 19 *ku tepa ku tepa' gu wala wala*
you light you light my only only
- 20 *i rivisi i me-î-sa [nagwai] b-a weïya*
she darken they come-LW-PLU [mothers] FUT-I go/sail
- 21 *i rivisi i me-î-sa [nagwai] o pwalala*
she darken they come-LW-PLU [mothers] from open.space
- 22 *i rivisi i me-î-sa [nagwai] o kaiteta*
she darken they come-LW-PLU [mothers] at foot
- 23 *kwara-kwara kwai -vau*
scrape-scrape CLA-black
- 24 *kauï buwa na-virera.*
chew/spit.out intoxicating.red.fruit CLA-animal

Commentary

Again for this 'silent' formula I have tried to respect the rhythmic recital used by the singer and barely perceptible to the ear, as the formula should not be said out loud, let alone listened to. One must imagine listening to it only with the mind.

Line 1. *Kwarakwara*: the scene begins, everything is black but crossed by a cold glitter of lights and the sound of someone 'scraping'. This last image is given by *kwara-kwara*, which should undoubtedly be related to the Boyowa *kwali*, which indicates the action of scratching or scraping (Baldwin 1939a:286). The person who is scraping is a flying witch or a witch, a sorceress, and the object scraped is the burnt bottom of an earthenware container from which the smoke black colouring is obtained (*kwai-vau*).

Line 2. *kauï*: I have preferred to translate this as "spit out" rather than adopt the more literal 'taste, chew' so as to respect the dark, perverse atmosphere which characterises the whole formula. See Baldwin (1939a:203).

navirera: Baldwin (1939a:411) notes *ravivila* which he translates as 'female of animal' and 'bitch'. But the author of the formula wanted to allude to the flying witch who is often depicted as a bat, and this could explain the use of *navirera*, an animal-woman in fact.

Line 3. *navigasi salu bi nei*: the first form is another name for a flying witch, whose ability to spit fire is underlined (*na-vigasi*), where the base component alludes to the lighting of a fire (cf. *vigasisi* in Baldwin 1939a:619). *Salu* literally means 'small island' but here it means "rock": it is one of the three rocks on which the souls of the dead must stop before reaching Tuma. It is probably the first or second rock, as the flying witch still has the power to disturb the soul and to frighten it. This last concept can be deduced from *bi nei*, literally 'will look for, will seek'.

Line 4. *katubugia*: this is composed of *katu-bugia*, where the prefix functions as a causative and the base component indicates obscurity, something which is lifeless. See Baldwin (1939a:28, 184).

Line 6. *bulumavau*: this is the spirit of a person who has just died. It is a form composed of *buluma-vau*, where the first component should be interpreted as a variation on *baloma*, spirit or soul; the second component literally means 'black' and could also allude to the custom of shaving one's body and blackening it with smoke black as a sign of mourning for the deceased. See Baldwin (1939a: 37).

Line 7. *kwaiyumarawema*: this is composed of *kwai-yumara-wema*, in which the infix corresponds to the Boyowa *yomali* (translated by Baldwin, 1939a:659, as 'hold back'), and the suffix (composed of *we/a-ma*) suggests the action of going and returning. The whole form has been used, therefore, to suggest someone who goes back and forth continuously, circling, a movement which seems relevant to me to suggest the acrobatics of the flying witch. See Baldwin (pp.280, 343, 632, 659).

Line 8. *i masawa*: it seemed right to me to interpret this as "sneering" to include the magic element in *masawa*, and not only its meaning of 'enjoyment', 'excitement'. In this case the magic is negative and so the flying witch can only be accompanied by 'sneers' rather than 'laughs'.

Line 9. *i ulu*: literally this is a verb form which, however I have interpreted as a noun. The meaning of 'corpse, smell of death, stench' was suggested by Siyakwakwa and, perhaps, should be related to the Boyowa *koula* (*ko-ula/u*) 'mourning paint, blacking' but also 'a big *sagali* at the end of a period of mourning' (see Baldwin 1939a:257).

Line 11. *kuruwatara*: once again a metaphorical expression is used to suggest a subtler meaning than the literal one. The author wants to allude to the flying witch's fiery hair, which in other descriptions is represented as being similar to the head of Medusa.

Line 13. [*nagwai*]: I have used the symbol of *loci corrupti* because during the various stages of checking I was not able to establish the correct form of the text recited by Rosigega. It is likely that this is a variation on *inagwa*, literally 'my mothers', but it could also be the 'sisters of my mothers' (see Baldwin 1939a:96).

o yosewa: this is the space around a hut where people usually sit and chat or cook out in the open. Here it is used to allude to women who are crouching, waiting for an event. The expression also recalls the image of women who keep watch over a sick or dying person outside a hut.

Line 14. *i mareîgusa*: this form is made up of *mare-î-gusa*, where the base component recalls the Boyowa *mali*, literally 'to give back, go back'. We then have the link vowel followed by first person singular personal pronoun and the sign of the plural. In short, the author wants to express the women's attempt to save the ill or dying person from the flying witch: they want him/her for themselves, they want to keep him/her alive. For *mali* see Baldwin (1939a:350).

nasi bougwa: this is the equivalent of the Boyowa *sisu*, literally 'to be seated, crouched'. See Baldwin (1939a:502).

Line 18. *walaga*: I have interpreted this expression as being made up of *wala-ga*, where the first component expresses the value of 'only, alone, hardly' and the second has the broad additive/adversitive value of the Latin *autem* 'moreover, however, on the contrary'. See Baldwin (1939a:70).

(3) *Sinata*

I

1	<i>Sinata siwa ponu ponu</i>	Oh magic comb, you flash into sea-foam
2	<i>sinata siwa ponu ponu</i>	oh magic comb, you flash into sea-foam!
3	<i>avaka sinatu' mu. Sinatu' mubwagau</i>	What is it for, the magic comb? Bewitchment!
4	<i>ku busi o no pou'ra ku meîya kada'ra</i>	Come down, inside, my mother's brother,
5	<i>ku meîya bi wegu ku meîya kada'ra.</i>	come down so the comb will hiss you, my mother's brother!

I

1	<i>Sinata siwa ponu-ponu</i>	comb flash foam-foam
2	<i>sinata siwa ponu-ponu</i>	comb flash foam-foam
3	<i>avaka sinatu' mu. Sinatu' mu bwagau</i>	what comb yours comb yours bewitchment
4	<i>ku busi o nopou' ra ku me-î-ya kada' ra</i>	you come.down on inside SFX you come-LW-here uncle SFX
5	<i>ku me-î-ya b-i wegu ku me-î-ya</i>	you come.down-LW-here FUT-he hiss you come-LW-here
	<i>kada' ra.</i>	mother's.brother SFX

Commentary

This was performed by Rosigega on 17 January 1974 on a bamboo comb.

Line 1. *Sinata*: this is a comb made from bamboo cane with a very long handle. Men wear it in their hair just above their forehead, parallel to the ground. There are other types of *sinata* made of ebony or of tortoiseshell. The comb is personified in the poetic formula, as if it were a flying witch, and put under a spell by the formula to acquire powers of magic. According to the tale of the *bwagau*, once medicated with the sound-words of the formula, a comb is

thrown onto or stuck into the upper part of the hut (exactly into the small triangle at the joining of the two parts of the roof, the only open space in the top part of the building), where the person one wants to hit lives; it will then drop with a low hiss and flashes of light to dig into the victim's throat, poisoning him or her. See Baldwin (1939a:498).

ponuponu: this indicates the effect produced by the impact of the magic comb with the air and that the author imagines like the frothing of a wave which also produces sparkles of light. The form, analysed earlier, is a doubling of the base component *ponu*.

Line 3. *avaka sinatu'mu*: this is an example of an interrogative construction given by raising the tone of voice on the last syllable of the word which finishes the phrase.

sinatu'mu bwagau: I have not respected the literal meaning of the phrase ('your comb, oh magician' or 'your comb is magical') but have tried to render in words the effect that one expects from the magic comb, in relation to the sense of the question. The form *sinatu* is due to the respect for the laws of vowel harmony so the final *a* has become *u* as it is followed by the consonant *m* of the second person singular possessive pronoun. See Baldwin (1939a:46).

Line 4. *meŷya*: this is made up of *me-ŷya*. The verb form, *me-*, used as a prefix (here again for reasons of vowel harmony the *e* has substituted the standard *a* in *ma*) literally means 'to come', and the suffix specifies the direction of the verb and thus is an adverb of place.

Line 5. *wegu*: the interpretation of this verb form as 'to hiss' was suggested by Ipaŷya and it could probably be a variation (for reasons of sound) of the Boyowa *wewu* which Baldwin (1939a:638) translates as 'cry of distress, expressing great effort'. In any case, the presence of the particle *we-* undoubtedly recalls the movement of something or someone. Baldwin (pp. 632, 634, 637) records not only *wa* (of which *we-* is only a variant) but also the forms *waiki*, literally 'go off to' and *weiki*, literally 'go away to'.

(4) *Sobasa*

I

1	<i>Sobasa ba rawai</i>	With blackened face I'll snake and slide,
2	<i>sobasa baramai</i>	with blackened face I'll snake and slide.
3	<i>magu tau ba yosi</i>	I'll catch my man,
4	<i>magu mwata bayamata</i>	magic serpent I'll quench his life
5	<i>omiyasera bi yasera</i>	tightly coiled he will die
6	<i>omiyamata bi mata.</i>	he will be emptied, his life quenched!

I

1	<i>Sobasa</i>	<i>b-a</i>	<i>ra-wai</i>	
	self-decoration	FUT-I	go-move.sinuously	
2	<i>sobasa</i>	<i>b-a</i>	<i>ra-mai</i>	
	self-decoration	FUT-I	go-come	
3	<i>magu tau</i>	<i>b-a</i>	<i>yosi</i>	
	my	man	FUT-I	catch
4	<i>magu mwata</i>	<i>b-a</i>	<i>yamata</i>	
	my	serpent	FUT-I	dead.by.hand

- 5 *o mi-yasera b-i yasera*
 at come-coil.tightly FUT-he coil.tightly
- 6 *o mi-yamata b-i mata.*
 at come-dead.by.hand FUT-he dead

Commentary

Rosigega sang this poetic formula on two *gibai*, the poisonous tail spine of the *Amphotistius kuhlii*, *koluva* and *vaipulou* in Nowau.

Line 1. *Sobasa*: in general this refers to any type of decoration (in black and white) on the face or body, whether for a man or woman, during the dances for the Milamala festival. On this occasion the decorations must follow canonical models which lay down different symbols for male and female dancers. However, in the late 1980s I noted, and documented with drawings and photographs, that compared to ten years earlier there was greater freedom in interpreting the canonical models and a certain mixing of male and female symbols on the faces of some dancers. With *sobasa*, the author of the formula alludes in particular to the symbols (such as a long vertical black or red stripe which goes from the forehead down to the upper lip) used by the *bwagau* and *siwasiwa* and which visualises their state and function for the village. In this case it refers to a black symbol.

rawai: this is another example of a verb form composed of two other verbs, *ra-wai*. The first (which is recorded by Baldwin, 1939a:298, as *la*) means 'to go', while the second (Baldwin, p.633, notes the same transcription and gives the same meaning as the Nowau) suggests someone moving sinuously, aggressively, and thus a movement typical of the millipede, a metaphor of the mythical hero Monikiniki but also (and this is the case here) the movement of a non-human being endowed with superhuman powers, that is a *bwagau* or *siwasiwa*.

Line 2. *ramai*: here again we have a verb form made up of two parts, *ra-mai*, where the second component is equivalent to *ma* with the addition of the vowel *i* merely for its sound. The whole form suggests someone or something which goes back and forth and I have translated it as "...I'll snake and slide".

Line 3. *magu tau ba yosi*: the first person singular possessive pronoun *magu* is also used in *Da weriya* and *Ruwegwau V*: it underlines forcefully the possession of something or someone. The verb form *yosi* (Baldwin 1939a:663) suggests the action of hunting a prey successfully.

Line 4. *ba yamata*: this is a verb form made with the prefix *ya-*, which functions as an auxiliary verb conveying the sense of an action which produces a given effect (and is thus a variation on *yo-*; see Baldwin 1939a:653). The base component *-mata* suggests something which has been extinguished, which is lifeless. For example, *kova bougwa i mata* is equivalent to 'the fire has gone out'.

Line 5. *o miyasera*: this can be broken down into *mi-ya-sera*, where the prefix is the same as *ma* (Baldwin 1939a:342), for the infix see *yamata*, while the suffix is a variation on *sela/selai*, literally 'to tie together, to squeeze'.

Line 6. *o miyamata*: for *mi-ya-mata*, see notes 4 and 5 above. In addition see Baldwin (1939a:355, 362, 648).

3.2.3.5 KROBAI TONUWABU, PERFORMER

(1) *Samusamu*

I

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Samusamu samusamu</i> | Swallowing and spitting, swallowing and spitting |
| 2 | <i>diu you diu yoyu.</i> | fly bewitched bird, fly bewitched bird! |

I

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Samu-samu</i> | <i>samu-samu</i> |
| | spit/swallow-spit/swallow | spit/swallow-spit/swallow |
| 2 | <i>diu</i> | <i>you diu</i> |
| | bewitched.bird | fly bewitched.bird fly |

Commentary

This was sung by Krobai Tonuwabu on 21 March 1974 on the red paint (made from *buwa*) with which he drew a long perpendicular line on his face before chewing and spitting some ginger berries.

Line 1. *Samusamu*: in interpreting this present continuous form I have stuck to Siyakwakwa's suggestion that the poet wanted to express both the action of both swallowing and spitting at the same time. Finding ourselves in a magic atmosphere and dealing with a flying witch, 'to swallow' and 'to spit' should be referred to the ginger berries.

Line 2. *diu*: this is one of the personifications of the flying witch who can, according to the iconographic description of the inhabitants of Kitawa, transfer her 'negative essence' to a bat.

(2) *Ku busi*

I

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Ku busi ku ra</i> | Come down and go! |
| 2 | <i>ku ra ba kamu</i> | go so I can eat you! |
| 3 | <i>so'gu bweibwai</i> | my ritual companion, tender flesh of coconut, |
| 4 | <i>tavabusi pela kada' gutakalasi</i> | my mother's brother, the shining sun, |
| 5 | <i>kusi mousa o dokala gila(i)si</i> | when, his mind quiet, his light fades, |
| 6 | <i>bi takamu bitamumu.</i> | he will eat and he will drink! |

I

- | | | |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Ku busi</i> | <i>ku ra</i> |
| | you come.down | you go |
| 2 | <i>ku ra b-a kamu</i> | |
| | you go FUT-I | eat |
| 3 | <i>so' gu bweibwai</i> | |
| | companion my | flesh.of.coconut |
| 4 | <i>ta-vabusi</i> | <i>pela kada' gu ta-kalasi</i> |
| | PFX-go.down for | mother's.brother my PFX-sun |

- 5 *kusi mousa o dokala gila(i)si*
 done be.quiet at disappear fade
- 6 *b-i ta-kamu b-i ta-mumu.*
 FUT-he PFX-eat FUT-he PFX-drink

Commentary

I was very uncertain about attributing this formula to the 'silent' genre, performed only in the mind, even though the singer Krobai insisted that this was so. My doubt arose mainly because of the sense of the formula and the presence of the expression *so'gu* "my ritual companion", which occurs above all in compositions performed during the Kula exchanges. On the other hand it did not seem right to reject Krobai's attribution, a meaning reinforced by the great prestige of this famous *bwagau* and *tokula*. Furthermore, Krobai himself told me that *megwa* is 'performed in the mind' before the beginning of the Milamala dances, when a magician performs a series of ritual acts to defend the dancers, who could be hit by the *bwagau* and the *siwasiwa* from other villages.

Line 2. *ba kamu*: if interpreted literally, the verb form does not present any problems, above all if seen in the framework of the magic atmosphere which surrounds the expressions of a magician. If, however, it is attributed to a *tokula* then it should be interpreted metaphorically and is the equivalent of an expression of affection and intimacy.

Line 3. *bwei bwai*: the companion is compared to a "tender flesh of coconut" and this expression again poses the same problem of interpretation. If the formula is attributed to the 'silent' group then we have a teasing but also provocative expression. If however it is attributed to the Kula group then it takes on a completely different meaning and a slightly erotic streak can be glanced. Baldwin (1939a:47) records *bwaibwai*.

Line 4. *pela kada'gu takalasi*: this as an extremely ambiguous way of expressing oneself, in a poetical sense, naturally, in which the maternal aunt is compared to the sun. But this passing reference, only just hinted at, is enough to outline a scenario thick with mythical references, where light and power calm each other gently (cf. line 5).

The form *takalasi* is another example of verbalisation of a lexeme, where the prefix *ta-* underlines the function of the star.

Line 5. *kusi*: Baldwin (1939a:276) attributes this form to Nowau, translating it as 'finished, over, done', and associating it with *wokuva* (p.640) and with *kosi*, literally 'ghost' (p.255).

o dokala gila(i)si: for the first form Baldwin (1939a:64) records *dokaliga*, interpreted on as 'die at sea, disappear', while the second form (transcribed with the *littera incerta* because I was not able to establish whether the infix *-i-* had any audible value) suggests someone or something 'which has been left behind' (Baldwin p.80). In short, the poet wants to depict the sunset, as the last rays of sun sink into the sea.

Line 6. *bi takamu bi tamumu*: we have two verb forms, *kamu* and *mumu*, both preceded by the prefix *ta-*, which functions as an auxiliary verb. See Baldwin (1939a:153, 381).

(3) *Ilamunadili*

I

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|--|
| 1, | <i>Ilamunadili ku roya mu'keda</i> | Follow your path eagerly to Ilamunadili |
| 2 | <i>ba roya ura keda kaiwai</i> | as I eagerly follow my path. |
| 3 | <i>ku busi ba muri</i> | Come down and I'll change paths |
| 4 | <i>ku lausi ba lausi</i> | go straight and I'll go straight, |
| 5 | <i>tobugilama tobugilama</i> | quietly come close, quietly, quietly come close, |
| 6 | <i>ku gilama kwaitara</i> | come close to me, for once come close, |
| 7 | <i>megei mu'tokwai</i> | sing the magic spells for the wood spirit |
| 8 | <i>valiku liku vaseula vaseu.</i> | and trembling, fly, like a breath of wind. |

I

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Ilamunadili ku roya mu' keda</i> | Ilamunadili you follow.a.path yours path |
| 2 | <i>b-a roya ura keda kai-wai</i> | FUT-I follow.a.path my path CLA-go.sinuously |
| 3 | <i>ku busi b-a muri</i> | you go.down FUT-I change.a.path |
| 4 | <i>ku lausi b-a lausi</i> | you go.straight FUT-I go.straight |
| 5 | <i>to-bu-gilama to-bu-gilama</i> | CLA-already-leave.back CLA-already-leave.back |
| 6 | <i>ku gilama kwai-tara</i> | you leave.back CLA-one |
| 7 | <i>megei mu' tokwai</i> | charm your wood.spirit |
| 8 | <i>va-liku liku vaseu-la vaseu.</i> | PFX-trembling trembling fly/breath-SFX fly/breath |

Commentary

Here again there is a strong suspicion that the formula belongs to the Kula group. The suspicion is much greater than for *Ku busi* and due, above all, to the presence of a series of lexical forms such as *keda*, *tobugilama*, *tokwai* and *valiku*, which are usually found in poetic formulae for the ritual exchange (it is true, however, that the magic element is common to all the *megwa*). According to Towitara, to whom I read one of the first transcriptions of this formula, the *megwa* would be performed 'in the mind' by a magician on ginger berries before chewing them and spitting them onto the body of a man or a woman whom a flying witch has struck down with illness.

Line 1. *Ilamunadili*: this is a synonym of Budibudi, one of the small islands of the Nada group, to the east of Muyuwa or Woodlark. In Kula culture, this Group represents the Ultimate Point in the east on the map of the ritual exchange. In the imagination of a *tokula* it represents one of his mythical places, inhabited by heroes, by fish-men and by very powerful flying witches.

ku roya: literally this means 'to jog, trot' and thus slightly stronger than 'to go'. It also alludes to an excited, sinuous way of walking.

Line 2. *kaiwai*: the sinuousness of the movement, introduced with *roya*, is further underlined by this verb, made up of the prefix *kai-* (which could mean that the verb refers to the ceremonial canoe) to which the base component *wai* has been suffixed.

Line 3. *ba muri*: this is a verb form (also recorded by Baldwin, 1939a:386, and translated with the same meaning that I have given in my interpretation), from which the suspicion arises that it could be attributed to the Kula group. In fact, the stress on path which can be changed by the *tokula*-singer is typical, as an expression, of a formula sung during a ritual exchange.

Line 5. *tobugilama*: here we have the classifier *to-*, which suggests a masculine subject for the verb, followed by the adverb particle *bu-* (which I have interpreted as a variation on *bo-*, a contraction in turn of *bougwa*) and the base component *-gilama*, literally 'to leave behind'. In short, we have 'a man who has left something or someone behind' (it could be the flying witch or a companion). See Baldwin (1939a:27, 80, 550).

Line 7. *megeimu'tokwai*: the first verb form here gives us the act of casting a spell, an action aimed at the "wood spirit". The wood spirit, if we interpret the formula as a propitiatory act, assumes a positive nature, thus confirming the image of a being who can play a protective role.

(4) *Ī yai ĩ yai I*

I

1	<i>Ī yai ĩ yai</i>	Hiss and fly
2	<i>Ī yai ĩ yai</i>	hiss and fly,
3,	<i>Ī yai ĩ yai (mea)</i>	hiss and fly evil tongue!
4	<i>tobowau ba girova</i>	The fortunate youth I'll strike,
5	<i>mata' nabagirova</i>	his eyes I'll blind
6	<i>kabusura ba girova</i>	his nose I'll crush,
7	<i>(mea) ba girova</i>	his tongue I'll wrench out,
8	<i>kaitara ba girova</i>	I'll trash him with a club of wood:
9	<i>siwasiva i unu.</i>	these are the witch's threats!

I

1	<i>Ī yai ĩ yai</i>	she hiss/fly she hiss/fly
2	<i>ĩ yai ĩ yai</i>	she hiss/fly she hiss/fly
3	<i>ĩ yai ĩ yai (mea)</i>	she hiss/fly she hiss/fly (evil.tongue)
4	<i>tobowau b-a girova</i>	youth FUT-I strike
5	<i>mata' na b-a girova</i>	eye SFX FUT-I strike

- 6 *kabusura b-a girova*
nose FUT-I strike
- 7 (*mea*) *b-a girova*
(evil.tongue) FUT-I strike
- 8 *kai-tara b-a girova*
CLA-one FUT-I strike
- 9 *siwasiwa i unu.*
flying.witch she threat

Commentary

This is again a singsong poetic formula, almost a malicious nursery rhyme, whose content would seem to justify the silence which envelops the mind of its owner.

Line 1. *Ī yai i yai*: this represents the flight of a winged entity as it shoots through the air, typical of a flying witch. Baldwin (1939a:646) records the same form which he translates as 'set out'.

Line 3. (*mea*): again I have adopted the symbol of *littera incerta* because the term could belong to Dobu (and this is Sīyakwakwa's opinion).

Line 4. *tobowau*: this is a young man at the height of his strength and the expression recalls the warriors of the epic tales recounted by Homeric literature. The person addressed in the formula is therefore a young man famous for his beauty or for his skills as a dancer or singer, or possibly as a musician. The sense of threat is better understood if one considers that on Kitawa anyone who excels in one of the arts or is famous for his beauty or physical ability is potentially the subject of envy and could attract the attention of the forces of evil.

ba girova: here we have a brusque, sudden change in the subject. The flying witch, the "evil tongue", is replaced by the singer (*ba*, represented by the first person singular future) thus revealing that the person who wants the atrocious death of the young man is the *bwagau*-singer. I have translated the same verb form differently in lines 4, 5 and 6 by linking it to the object to which it refers. See Baldwin (1939a:326).

Line 9. *unu*: this is an example of how the same lexical item can be used in two poetic formulae belonging to different groups (here and in *Bôï tayobu IV*, line 3a) to express different non-explicit meanings according to the poetical context. Here *unu* expresses the meaning of 'to threaten', while in *Bôï tayobu* we have 'mind'. The two interpretations are not in contradiction because here *unu* is a form used as a verb and is a verb which presumes will/desire (a mental faculty) of the person who acts, in this specific case a desire to obtain negative results and who 'threatens' in order to reach this goal. It should not be forgotten that a 'silent' formula is performed or sung in the mind because it is considered dangerous – too dangerous to be heard out loud. See Baldwin (1939a:585, 589).

(5) *Mesimesi*

I

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Kolowai ba siwa</i> | Rolling over and over I'll shoot flames. |
| 2 | <i>ba sakapu o tabo'ra</i> | I'll flash out from the throat: |
| 3 | <i>bi kata bi kata</i> | she'll become a tongue of fire, a sharp flame, |

4	<i>o tabo'ra bi kata</i>	her throat will become a sharp flame,
5	<i>wado'ra bi kata</i>	her mouth will become a sharp flame,
6	<i>nopou'ra bi kata</i>	her bowels will become a sharp flame,
7	<i>magi'ra siwasiwa bi kata</i>	her face great witch will become a sharp flame,
8	<i>o nano'ra diu bi kata</i>	her mind small witch will become a sharp flame.
9	<i>bi lulu o tabo'ra</i>	The fire will blaze up in her throat,
10	<i>bi surina matakalu(k)wa</i>	her eyes will leap out of their sockets,
11	<i>teiga'ra bi neinai.</i>	her ears will grow to monstrous size!

I

1	<i>Kolowai b-a siwa</i> rolling FUT-I shoot.flames
2	<i>b-a sakapu o tabo' ra</i> FUT-I flash.out from throat SFX
3	<i>b-i kata b-i kata</i> FUT-she sharp/fire FUT-she sharp/fire
4	<i>o tabo' ra b-i kata</i> from throat SFX FUT-she sharp/fire
5	<i>wado' ra b-i kata</i> mouth SFX FUT-she sharp/fire
6	<i>nopou' ra b-i kata</i> inside SFX FUT-she sharp/fire
7	<i>magi' ra siwasiwa b-i kata</i> wish/face SFX big.witch FUT-she sharp/fire
8	<i>o nano' ra diu b-i kata</i> in mind SFX small.witch FUT-she sharp/fire
9	<i>b-i lulu o tabo' ra</i> FUT-she make.light in/on throat SFX
10	<i>b-i surina mata-kalu-(k)wa</i> FUT-she leap.out eye-socket-from/at
11	<i>teiga' ra b-i nei-nai.</i> ear SFX FUT-it go.around-go.around

Commentary

Line 1. *Kolowai*: this verb form is made up of the prefix *ko-* (which conveys the meaning of someone or something moving onto the base component; see Baldwin 1939a:244) followed by the components *-lo-* (variation on *la*, and therefore 'to go') and *-wai*, analysed earlier. The author wants to suggest something flying through the air with a continuous, sinuous movement, with a certain degree of harmony and I have translated the term as "rolling". Krobai has specified that the formula is performed in order 'to see' a *siwasiwa*.

Line 2. *tabo'ra*: generically this is the oral cavity, although its literal meaning recalls something broad, vast. The suggested translation "throat" came from Redimu and Siyakwakwa after lengthy discussions, much longer than for a Kula text or for any other

type apart from *bwagau* texts. Baldwin (1939a:518) records the term *tabola*, translated as 'wide'.

Line 3. *bi kata*: this verb form suggests something as sharp as a blade, which sparkles because it is sharp. It also suggests the image of an object which cuts through the air, like a tongue of fire. All these are images associated with a flying witch.

Line 6. *nopou'ra*: I have translated this as "bowels" even though the term can refer, in a more classical interpretation, to 'guts, stomach'. It is also true that *nopou'ra* can refer to the seat of intuition, the mind, the intellect, but here the author of the poem means to indicate more the 'site' of the mind rather than the mind itself.

Line 9. *bi lulu o tabo'ra*: we have a first mention of the appearance of the flying witch, represented as having a face of fire which sends out flashes like a gleaming blade on which giant eyes stand out from the eye sockets. The ears are like wings which make a terrifying noise as they move in the night air. This description is not dissimilar to others given by the inhabitants of Kitawa, who imagine a flying witch as similar to a horrible, humanised fire, or like a bat with quasi-human features, or with the terrifying head of a woman whose hair is made of snakes, very much like Medusa. See Baldwin (1939a:332).

Line 10. *bi surina*: Baldwin's dictionary records the form *sulu*, translated as 'flying star, witch, meteor' (p.512) which seems to me the closest to depicting the image I have given in my translation. In fact, the verb form describes something that shoots through the air producing sparks, and the suggestion to interpret it as 'leap out', appropriate to the idea of eyes sticking out threateningly, as red as fire, from a disfigured, incandescent face. The meanings suggested by Baldwin recall some of the features of a flying witch: whether she is represented as a meteor or as a shooting star, these images are all metaphors for something which flies.

matakalu(k)wa: this is composed of *mata-kalu-(k)wa*, where the prefix literally means 'eye' (from *mata'ra* or *mata'la*), and the infix literally suggests the image of the orbit of the sun (therefore, it should be interpreted metaphorically, and I feel it is a suggestive poetic image; Baldwin 1939a:142, 151) and the suffix should be interpreted as an adverb of place. I have used the symbol of *littera incerta* for the consonant *-k-* because it could be just a strategem to vary the sound of the word.

Line 11. *neinai*: this form is made up of *nei-nai*, where the second component is nothing but a variation on the first, which literally means 'to throw oneself, to launch oneself in(to) space'. This is connected to the Boyowa *lailaisi*, which Baldwin (1939a:301) notes as a synonym of *lei*.

(6) *Ku momwau*

I

1	<i>Ku momwau ku momwau</i>	You grow heavy, you grow heavy,
2	<i>ku dakuna ku dakuna</i>	like a stone, like a stone!
3	<i>ava mwau yama'mu</i>	which hand is stone?
4	<i>ava kulu'mu a va'isi</i>	which night watching eye shall I bewitch?
5	<i>a kataviri'mu ava guyau mutu.</i>	I shall ransack your dead body!

I

- 1 *Ku momwau ku momwau*
you grow.heavy you grow.heavy
- 2 *ku dakuna ku dakuna*
you stone you stone
- 3 *ava mwau yama' mu*
which heavy hand your
- 4 *ava kulu' mu a va'isi*
which night.watching.eye your I bewitch
- 5 *a kataviri' mu ava guyau mutu.*
I ransack your which chief dead

Commentary

This is recited in the mind of the *bwagau* to defend dancers during the Milamala festival.

Line 1. *Ku momwau*: this verb form is made up of the prefix *mo-*, which could be interpreted as a reinforcing element, or as a contraction of *mwala* (following the suggestion of Baldwin 1939a:378, 382, 391), which encapsulates the meaning of someone or something which is bewitched – and *mwau*, literally ‘heavy’. The image suggested is, therefore, that of a body which because of a spell is transformed into something heavy.

Line 2. *ku dakuna*: here we have another example of the verbalisation of a noun, *dakuna*. See Baldwin (1939a:57).

Line 3. *ava mwau yama' mu*: the meaning of this expression is very ambiguous and could allude, for example, to the gradual transformation, into a stone or a rock, of the person put under the spell. Here the image of a rock or stone is given by *mwau*.

Line 4. *ava kulu' mu a va'isi*: this is again extremely ambiguous and all turns around the forms *kulu* and *va'isi*. The former refers to a nocturnal bird, probably an owl (Baldwin 1939a:270) and I have translated the phrase as “night watching eye” so as to maintain the magical atmosphere which the author has created in the formula. See Baldwin (1939a:617).

Line 5. *a kataviri' mu*: the same verb form has also been used in *Tougatu*, line 3b where it is transcribed with the suffix *-wa* and translated as “I shall look in his small basket for the precious gifts!”. The translation suggested here does not contradict the version chosen before: in both cases there is the image of something manipulated with the hands, of searching for something with the hands. It is also possible to accept synonyms such as ‘to turn over’ or ‘to rummage’.

(7) *Īyai ĩyai II*

I

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Īyai ĩyai ĩyai</i> | Hissing and hissing she flies, |
| 2 | <i>ĩyai ĩyai memenana</i> | hissing she flies, the witch! |
| 3 | <i>tobowau i bwaretama</i> | She poisons the youth in his beauty, |
| 4 | <i>menana i bwaretama</i> | she poisons the beautiful girl, |
| 5 | <i>dumwa i bwaretama</i> | she poisons the bamboo pipe! |

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|--|
| 6 | <i>[aena]i bwaretama</i> | Oh, evil, poisoner, bird! |
| 7 | <i>[aena]gumu [aena]</i> | Oh, my evil bird, my evil bird! |
| 8 | <i>kemai bwaretama</i> | She poisons the ritual stone axe: |
| 9 | <i>siwasiwai totora</i> | the great witch rises up, |
| 10 | <i>i daguvanu siwasiwa i bugi</i> | he great witch sinks down and casts her spells! |
| 11 | <i>ku towa ku toma</i> | You, come in and out of the darkness! |
| 12 | <i>i yai i yai memenana</i> | Hissing she flies, the witch! |
| 13 | <i>[aena]kemai bwaretama</i> | She poisons the evil bird, the ritual stone axe, |
| 14 | <i>[aena]kemai bwaretama</i> | she poisons the evil bird, the ritual stone axe: |
| 15 | <i>saduwai bwaretama</i> | she poisons the bamboo pipe, |
| 16 | <i>gawirai bwaretama</i> | she poisons the magic fruit, |
| 17 | <i>inamina'gu i bwaretama.</i> | she poisons the beautiful girls of my village! |

I

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Ī yai ĩ yai ĩ yai</i> | she hiss/fly she hiss/fly she hiss/fly |
| 2 | <i>ĩ yai ĩ yai memenana</i> | she hiss/fly she hiss/fly witch |
| 3 | <i>tobowau i bwaretama</i> | youth she poison |
| 4 | <i>menana i bwaretama</i> | girl she poison |
| 5 | <i>dumwa i bwaretama</i> | bamboo.pipe she poison |
| 6 | <i>[aena] i bwaretama</i> | [evil bird] she poison |
| 7 | <i>[aena] gumu [aena]</i> | [evil bird] my [evil bird] |
| 8 | <i>kema i bwaretama</i> | stone.axe she poison |
| 9 | <i>siwasiwa i totora</i> | flying.witch she rise.up |
| 10 | <i>i daguvanu siwasiwa i bugi</i> | she sink.down flying.witch she cast.spells |
| 11 | <i>ku towa ku toma</i> | you come.out.the.darkness you come.in.the.darkness |
| 12 | <i>ĩ yai ĩ yai memenana</i> | she hiss/fly she hiss/fly witch |
| 13 | <i>[aena] kema i bwaretama</i> | [evil bird] stone.axe she poison |
| 14 | <i>[aena] kema i bwaretama</i> | [evil bird] stone.axe she poison |

- 15 *saduwa* *i* *bwaretama*
bamboo.pipe she poison
- 16 *gawira* *i* *bwaretama*
magic.fruit she poison
- 17 *ina-mina'* *gu i bwaretama.*
woman - of.own.village my she poison

Commentary

According to Krobai the poetic formula is performed on the *lagimu* before a ceremonial expedition to protect the canoe and the crew from attacks by the *siwasiwa*.

Line 1. *Īyai*: I have slightly changed the translation of this verb from that given in *Ī yai ĩ yai I*, lines 1 and 2 performed by Krobai himself, chiefly so as to respect the autonomy of each single execution, even when the text is identical. The sense associated with *yai* has been respected, in any case.

Line 2. *memenana*: I have translated this as “witch”, thus specifying the literal ‘she’ indicated by the term, which is thus the equivalent of *menana*. Baldwin (1939a:360) records another similar form, *memena*, which he translates as ‘mash’ and which could allude to the role of all flying witches as ‘mixer’ of poisons.

Line 3. *tobowau i bwaretama*: we go back to the image of a young man in the bloom of youth, struck by witchcraft, already seen in *Ī yai ĩ yai I*: here, however, the spell is expressed by the verb form *i bwaretama*, which when used as a noun classifies a particular type of poisonous tree. I have preferred to translate it as “poisons”, thus respecting the value of the verb form attributed by the author, because the effect of the poisoning could be produced by the leaves or roots of this tree. An example of poisoning through the use of plants is given by the custom of lighting a small fire with these leaves or shrubs under the hut of the designated victim. The smoke rises through the gaps in the wood floor and provokes what I would call a ‘gentle’ death. Baldwin (1939a:50) records the form *bwaleta*, very similar to *bwaretama* and identified with a type of poisonous tree.

Line 5. *dumwa*: this is the bamboo pipe, now completely disappeared from Kitawa as from many other islands of the Kula Ring. The growing of tobacco is also now just a memory of the past. See Baldwin (1939a:67).

Line 6. [*aena*]: the symbol of *loci corrupti* appears here because it was not possible to establish whether this term effectively belongs to archaic Nowau or whether it is a poetical term often used in these poetic formulae. According to Siyakwakwa it comes from Dobu.

Line 7. *gumu*: see also *Nadubeori I*, *Wosi weimuya Ia* and *Wosi weimuya IIa*.

Line 8. *kema*: this is the stone axe which is tied to a wooden handle. It can be of varying sizes and circulates within the Kula Ring. It is not made on Kitawa or on any of the other coral islands of the Marshall Bennetts or Trobriand groups. Some of these axes are of only ritual value. See Baldwin (1939a:223).

Line 10. *i bugi*: the meaning ‘to cast’ was suggested by Ipaïya, who associated it with the night-time activities of a *bwagau*. The verb form thus encapsulates the image of a activity connected to spells cast during night-time rites.

Line 15. *saduwa*: this has been interpreted as a synonym of *dumwa*, pipe. It is equally difficult to establish the origin of this (Dobu?) term.

Line 16. *gawira*: Siyakwakwa and Ipaïya suggested interpreting this term as an equivalent of *lobida*, the fruit or leaf of *Piper methisticum*, which is mixed with areca nuts and calcium powder to make the red *buwa*.

Line 17. *inamina'gu*: this can be broken down into *ina-mina'gu*, where the prefix means 'woman, girl' and the infix 'woman of...', plus the first person singular possessive pronoun. See Baldwin (1939a:368).

(8) *Konakwana*

I

1	<i>Konakwana konamai</i>	Like a moth rolling over and over
2	<i>konakwana konawai</i>	like a moth rolling over and over,
3	<i>ba siu o tabo'ra</i>	I'll crawl into his throat,
4	<i>ba sakapu o tabo'ra</i>	I'll flash out of his throat!
5	<i>kwanikau buwa tabununa</i>	Having swallowed the intoxicating red fruit,
6	<i>tabu'gu sopi</i>	you my female ancestor, my spring,
7	<i>bulumavau yoku i ma</i>	you dead soul, go!
8	<i>ina'gu Silumuwai</i>	You, my mother, Silumuwai
9	<i>i sikera papaïya'gu</i>	sit close to me, side by side,
10	<i>peirara kagu dudu'gu</i>	and whisper for me the song of spite:
11	<i>gera manu yama'gu</i>	the evil bird will never again fly from my hand,
12	<i>bi ra.....bi ra.....</i>	never again will she fly, never will she fly...

I

1	<i>Konakwana konamai</i>	moth	go.and.come
2	<i>konakwana konawai</i>	moth	come.and.go
3	<i>b-a siu o tabora</i>	FUT-I	crawl in throat
4	<i>b-a sakapu o tabora</i>	FUT-I	flash.out from throat
5	<i>kwanikau buwa</i>	<i>ta-bununa</i>	swallow intoxicating.red.fruit PFX-excite
6	<i>tabu' gu sopi</i>	ancestor my	spring.water
7	<i>buluma-vau yoku i ma</i>	soul-black	you he/she/it go
8	<i>ina' gu Silumuwai</i>	mother my	Silumuwai

- 9 *i sikera papa-î-ya' gu*
 she sit.close side-LW-here my
- 10 *peira-ra kagu dudu' gu*
 because-SFX my whisper my
- 11 *gera manu yama' gu*
 not bird hand my
- 12 *b-i ra... b-i ra...*
 FUT-she go FUT-she go

Commentary

This poetic formula was also performed by Krobai in February 1974 on two *gibai* with the intention of killing a man.

Line 1. *Konakwana konomai*: the formula opens immediately with whirlwind rhythm, underlined by the repetition of the same words in line 2 (but varying only the last word in terms of sound while retaining exactly the same meaning). In fact, *konomai* literally means 'to go and come', while *konowai* means 'to come and go': both forms suggest the image of a body which circles back and forth and which I have rendered "rolling over and over" because it is a movement which leads to the capture of the victim. See Baldwin (1939a:244, 250).

Line 3. *ba siu*: the same verb is also used in *Mwasila kasi duduna*, line 4 but is translated in a weaker sense, although the overall meaning is respected. In fact, 'to stop' and 'to crawl' both imply the image of a body in movement towards, or inside, another body.

Line 4. *ba sakapu o tabo'ra*: the same line occurs in *Mesimesi*, line 2.

Line 5. *kwanikau*: the form is made up of *kwani-kau* and expresses simultaneously two stages in the tasting of *buwa*, so much so that they reflect each other lexically: chewing (*kau*) and salivation, or fragmentation (*kwani*). Baldwin (1939a:286, 287) records both *kwali* and *kwani*, considering them synonyms.

tabununa: this is composed of the prefix *ta-* which functions as an auxiliary verb, and of the base component *-bununa*, interpreted as a variation on *bulu*, literally 'to be overexcited', 'to get excited'. The last meaning can be understood better if it is related to the betel nut, which produces a state of euphoria/overexcitement, above all if enchanted with poetic formulae and eaten in a atmosphere laden with magic. See Baldwin (1939a:36).

Line 6. *tabu'gu sopi*: I have used the vocative to respect the tone of the Nowau text. The spring water is presented as an iconographic attribute of the ancestor, as if to underline his pure nature.

Line 7. *bulumavau*: this is a form already used in *Kwarakwara*, line 6.

Line 8. *Silumuwai*: this is a woman's name, and is the mother of the singer, Krobai, who substituted it for the name in the original text, or at least in the text possessed by the person who gave him the poem.

Line 9. *papaîya'gu*: this form is made up of *papa-î-ya*, where the prefix literally means 'side' (and according to *Siyakwakwa* indicates the right-hand side), and the suffix 'here, right here'. See Baldwin (1939a:433).

Line 10. *peirara kagu dudu'gu*: the form *peirara*, which I have interpreted as a causative, suggests that someone (in this case the mother of the singer) is performing an action. *Dudu* alludes not only to the action of blowing, sighing, but also – and I would say above all – an action of blowing in an evil manner. The image that the author had in mind is easy to guess: a being endowed with supernatural powers (which belong to the world of the dead) is invoked and urged to seat itself, invisible, next to the person who invokes so as to be able to blow “the song of spite”. It is a scene from hell. See Baldwin (1939a:436).

Line 11. *manu*: literally this is ‘bird’, any bird, or any being or object which flies. But here it is obvious that the author alludes to a particular bird, to an evil being.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF CONCORDANCES

This list identifies the number of times the same poetic expression has been employed by a composer within the same poetic formula, as well as in other formulae belonging to different poetic forms or genres.

<i>yer ukubobwa /6,</i>	<i>a kalisopu patilei'gu /7,</i>	<i>7-Kagu waliwali</i>
<i>kulu' mu a va'isi? /5,</i>	<i>a kataviri' mu ava guyau mutu</i>	<i>6-Ku momwau</i>
<i>so'gu parawa parama /3b,</i>	<i>a kataviriwa ra pani pani /4,</i>	<i>15-Tougatu</i>
<i>a kaulamuku waga'ra /5a,</i>	<i>a kaulamuku lamilela. /1,</i>	<i>14-Nagega</i>
<i>a vayawa Muyuwa /4a,</i>	<i>a kaulamuku waga'ra /5a, a</i>	<i>13-Nagega</i>
<i>kagu garena /8, a you</i>	<i>a kausi youyou sididi... /</i>	<i>9-Sina ba yasina</i>
<i>a kura masawa /6,</i>	<i>a kura kuruburebu</i>	<i>6-Kaibubura</i>
<i>bougwa rinaiya</i>	<i>a kura masawa /6, a kura</i>	<i>5-Kaibubura</i>
<i>a liku yagama'gu /3,</i>	<i>a liku beku /4, a liku</i>	<i>4-Nagega</i>
<i>a liku mwari /7,</i>	<i>a liku bosu /-II /1a, A</i>	<i>8-Nagega</i>
<i>a liku beku /4,</i>	<i>a liku koulai /5, a liku</i>	<i>5-Nagega</i>
<i>a liku sayaku /6,</i>	<i>a liku mwari /7, a liku</i>	<i>7-Nagega</i>
<i>a liku koulai /5,</i>	<i>a liku sayaku /6, a liku</i>	<i>6-Nagega</i>
<i>Nageganagega wai /2,</i>	<i>a liku yagama'gu /3, a</i>	<i>3-Nagega</i>
<i>putakaiyagina /11,</i>	<i>a papa ba kausi siri didi...</i>	<i>12-Bisila A</i>
<i>Werara /2, kamu vana</i>	<i>arimu /3, ku mwemuya</i>	<i>3-Untitled III</i>
<i>kaukwa bulumwala /8,</i>	<i>a sipu o yeyuna /9, a</i>	<i>9-Dova</i>
<i>a sipu o yeyuna /9,</i>	<i>a siuwali kwasi'ra /10,</i>	<i>10-Dova</i>
<i>A tayou tayou /2,</i>	<i>a tadudu a tayou /3, a</i>	<i>3-Tayou</i>
<i>a tadudu a tayou /3,</i>	<i>a takapoka kwapoka /4, a</i>	<i>4-Tayou</i>
<i>a takapoka kwapoka /4,</i>	<i>a tapela ku pela. /-I /1,</i>	<i>5-Tayou</i>
<i>Nomumusa... /-I /1,</i>	<i>A tayou tayou /2, a tadudu</i>	<i>2-Tayou</i>
<i>tayou /2, a tadudu</i>	<i>a tayou /3, a takapoka</i>	<i>3-Tayou</i>
<i>uro takaikai' mu /15,</i>	<i>a utu borogu kapwalela</i>	<i>16-Museu naganaga</i>
<i>/-I /1, Tama'gu</i>	<i>a vaguri' mu /2, ku</i>	<i>2-Tama'gu</i>
<i>mu? /4, ava kulu' mu</i>	<i>a va'isi? /5, a kataviri' mu</i>	<i>5-Ku momwau</i>
<i>monikiniki /9,</i>	<i>a vali koiya /10, gera vali</i>	<i>10-Mwasila monikiniki I</i>
<i>liku bosu /-II /1a,</i>	<i>A vali Muyuwa /2a, a vatana</i>	<i>10-Nagega</i>
<i>vali' gu monikiniki /9,</i>	<i>a vali wa koiya /10, i</i>	<i>10-Monikiniki III</i>
<i>monikiniki koiya /10,</i>	<i>a vali' gu koiya /11, i</i>	<i>11-Mwasila monikiniki I</i>
<i>A vali Muyuwa /2a,</i>	<i>a vatana Muyuwa /3a, a</i>	<i>11-Nagega</i>
<i>a vatana Muyuwa /3a,</i>	<i>a vayawa Muyuwa /4a, a</i>	<i>12-Nagega</i>
<i>na wetupa o Bweyowa /3a,</i>	<i>a veyuma tama'gu /4a, na</i>	<i>9-Wosi sobala II</i>
<i>guna waga. /-I /1,</i>	<i>A wa'iya a wa'iya /2, wa'i' mu</i>	<i>2-Mwasila kasi duduna</i>
<i>/-I /1, A wa'iya</i>	<i>a wa'iya /2, wa'i' mu</i>	<i>2-Mwasila kasi duduna</i>
<i>mata' na kagu garena /8,</i>	<i>a you a kausi youyou sididi.</i>	<i>9-Sina ba yasina</i>

- aena i bwaretama /7, dumwa i bwaretama /6, yaii yai memenana /13, kema i bwaretama /14, bwaretama /7, aena gumu bowa vaewo bowa /4, yowadudu towadudu /5, agumata'ra bi yowa /6, agu mata'ra gu /7, agu mata'ra Watowa /1, Mwemuyara ina'gu /2a, vadudu II /1a, I visiga migi'ra wa modaweta /4, ku yowa bi yowa /6, kalisopu patilei'gu /7, Kena waiyaiyuna /2, kena waiyaiyuna /3b, Watowa /1, Nayabwema tama'gu /3e, ba vaori kagu bi kivisa /11, na Tariebutu kuma /4, Watowa /1, Teriria /-I /1, Kaitotu waga Watowa /1, Kamidimidi natu'gu /2, na vatoi i kagu /3, uli waga vine ba siponu /-Watowa /1, /5, a kataviri' mu avamwau yama' mu? /4, ku dakuna ku dakuna /3, waga'ra /3, ra /3, Sabwaboileta rayegwai waga'ra /8, siwa ponuponu /3, derima baderi /4, idababana /9, mwanita /-II /1a, /-I /1, Yeru yeru I /1, Yaero yaerog u /6, yaero yaero Bamwena ba mwenawa /2, ba vaori agu vana /4, ba susuruma /3, derima Sawenukaiiya waiyautal /6, ku duduma iyaiimea /4, tobowau aena gumu aena /8, kema i aena i bwaretama /7, aena aena kema i bwaretama /14, aena kema i bwaretama /15, aena /8, kema i agu bagi bweri'gu /5, ba agu bwau i towa uri towa /6, agu garena /5, sidididi... agu garena /7, bi yowa bi agu garena /8, sidididi agu kau'ya /2, ba sivina agu kau'ya /3a, kasana agu kwailova /2a, osikwebu agumata'ra agu garena /5, agumata'ra agu garena /7, agumata'ra agu garena /8, agu tanoi Muyuwa /3b, agu tanoi Muyuwa /4, agu tau /2, kwanarara kaba agu vana /4, ba bweikasa agu vilatumala o nopou'ra agu waga yavi dudu /5, agu waga /2, ba sirara agu waga /2, bougwa i kagu agu waga /2, nei tokasa agu waga /3, na vaoutu agu waga /4, naboiya nuba agu wosi /-Watowa Agu wosi ruwegwau /2, avaguyau mutu. /-I /1, avakulu' mu a vai'si? /5, avamwau yama' mu? /4, avavaka dudune'gu? /4, avaka dudune'gu? /4, yaura avaka dudune'gu? /9, avaka sinata' mu? sinata' mu avei tau bi tota o mata'ra avei tau bi utu o daba'ra Avei tau bi yaya mata'ra avei tau waga'ra? /2, avei tau? /2, waga'ra avei tau? /7, waga'ra ba busi wa tanawa /3, ba bweikasa magu sarewa /5e, baderi /4, avei tau bi ba dou /2, kirara vana baduduma. /-I /1, bagirova /5, mata'na ba 8-I yai i yai II 7-I yai i yai II 14-I yai i yai II 15-I yai i yai II 8-I yai i yai II 5-Monikiniki III 6-Monikiniki I 5-Nipayu 7-Bisila B 8-Kagu waliwali 2-Weponu I 7-Dorai sobala I 5-Lube'gu 5-Nipayu 7-Bisila B 8-Kagu waliwali 16-Wosiyawena 16-Osiyawei'gu 2-Sinata VII 24-Da weriya 11-Kaibubura 5-Mwasila monikiniki I 2-Sinata IV 2-Lukubukwabuiya 2-Untitled II 3-Sinata VI 4-Lukubukwabuiya 32-Da weriya 2-Ruwegwau I 6-Kumomwau 5-Kumomwau 4-Kumomwau 4-Sabwaboileta 4-Mwasila 9-Mwasila 4-Sinata 5-Seina keda tauiya 10-Museu naganaga 9-Tougatu 2-Sabwaboileta 2-Mwasila 7-Mwasila 3-Katulova 25-Da weriya 4-Seina keda tauiya 2-Wosi weimuya IV 7-Mwasila kasi duduna 5-I yai i yai I*

- bagirova /5, mata'na
 bagirova /6, kabusura
 bagirova /7, mea
 bagirova /8, kaitara
 bi muyeŋ'gu /2a, veva
 kewa tupa bodaboda /2,
 ura keda kumunuwa /9,
 o modaweta /10,
 Ku busi ku ra /2, ku ra
 /- Watowa /1,
 kamukai /3, makaina
 apapa
 yeyei /4, tama'gu kausi
 gu you ba you /2, kautu
 kinana? /10, so'gu beisa
 tomadudu /7, waŋya
 gu. /-I /1, Waŋya
 /-I /1, Waŋya
 naboŋya nuba waga waŋya
 da weriya /2, kudukudu
 venu raragau /3, kutuva
 /- Watowa /1,
 ba muri /4, ku lausi
 ragaraga Komusiyelu /3,
 agu bagi bweri'gu /5,
 ba liku ba liku wai /6,
 bweri'gu /5, ba liku
 ba liku wai /6, ba liku
 Kavira /1a, Yaga'gu
 yoyoki daba'gu
 keda kawai /3, ku busi
 buwa... /-I /1,
 /-I /1, Ba mwena
 Na orima vivina /2,
 bodaboda /2, ba kagudu
 Namuyuwa Nabwai'kasa /2,
 ragaraga vavabusi /2,
 yavana. /-I /1,
 ba rawai /2, sobasa
 ra. /-I /1, Sobasa
 Kavira /1a,
 /- Watowa /1,
 waga. /- Watowa /1,
 ku roya mu' keda /2,
 Kolowai ba siwa /2,
 ba si'u o tabo'ra /4,
 ba sirera /2a, waudawada
 ba sirera /4a, waudawada
 bagirova /6, kabusura ba
 bagirova /7, mea ba
 bagirova /8, kaitara ba
 bagirova /9, siwasiwa i
 ba kabi'ya /3a, tataba gumu
 ba kagudu ba /ni yagaŋyo /3,
 ba kalipwasiga o modaweta /10
 ba kalisopu putakaiyagina /11
 ba kamu /3, so'gu
 Bakariyadeori /2, ba
 ba kataŋyada ma waga. /-
 ba kausi siri didi... /-
 ba kausi /5, gera ura
 ba kautu /3, gera ura
 ba kawa o daba'rakinana /11,
 ba kewa butu'ra Krobai
 ba kewa tupa bodaboda /2,
 ba kewa tupa bodaboda /2,
 ba kewa /5, butu'ra
 bakikasa /3, mi vana i ra
 ba kimawei /-Kavira /1a,
 Ba kivi bweta i kivisi /2,
 balausi /5, tobugilama
 balavilobusi Sinaketa /4,
 ba liku ba liku wai /6, ba
 ba liku ba liku wai /7,
 ba liku wai /6, ba liku ba
 ba liku wai /7, takova
 ba maira /2a, kaba'gu
 ba mamata /6, o valila
 bamuri /4, ku lausi ba
 Ba mwena ba mwenawa /2, ba
 bamwenawa /2, ba busi wa
 ba nei keda Bweyowa /3, i
 ba /ni yagaŋyo /3, ku busi
 ba noi'ya keda banoma /3c,
 baragaraga Komusiyelu /3,
 Ba ragaraga vavabusi /2,
 ba ramai /3, magu tau ba
 ba rawai /2, sobasa ba
 Ba roki gioveka /2a, ku
 Ba roki Nabwai'kasa /2, i
 Ba roki Nadubeori /2,
 ba roya ura keda kawai /3,
 ba sakapu o tabo'ra /3, bi
 ba sakapu o tabo'ra /5,
 basidoŋya /3a, senuyeŋ'gu
 basidoŋya /5a, senuwa'gu
 6-ŋyai i yai I
 7-ŋyai i yai I
 8-ŋyai i yai I
 9-ŋyai i yai I
 7-Nadubeori I
 3-Monikiniki I
 10-Bisila A
 11-Bisila A
 3-Ku busi
 2-Nadubeori V
 4-Tokwai
 12-Bisila A
 5-Bisila A
 3-Sina ba yasina
 11-Museu naganaga
 8-Lukubukwabuiya
 2-Monikiniki I
 2-Mwasila monikiniki I
 5-Lukubukwabuiya
 3-Da weriya
 4-Nadubeori I
 2-Nadubeori VI
 5-Ilamunadili
 4-Komusiyelu
 6-Monikiniki III
 7-Monikiniki III
 6-Monikiniki III
 7-Monikiniki III
 6-Ruwegwau I
 6-Komusiyelu
 4-Ilamunadili
 2-Katulova
 2-Katulova
 3-Dorai sobala II
 3-Monikiniki I
 15-Da weriya
 3-Komusiyelu
 2-Komusiyelu
 3-Sobasa
 2-Sobasa
 5-Nadubeori II
 2-Nadubeori IV
 2-Nadubeori II
 3-Ilamunadili
 3-Mesimesi
 5-Konakwana
 10-Wosi yawena
 11-Osiyawef'gu

- Tuma'gu kagurobu /2,
 na. /- Watowa /1,
 Bweiyowa /5f, vine
 Teri'ri'agu waga /2,
 Ikwane'gu sirara /2,
 II /1a, O tokaikai
 tama'gu/3a, o takaikai
 konokwanakonawai /3,
 agu kauliya /2,
 kagu kauliya /2,
 /-I /1, Kolowai
 Gawa /-Kavira /1a,
 Watowa III /1b,
 munumwanita/2, suruma
 kwagonu'guruwai /2,
 kununumata, naboiya
 bougwa kwalikava
 mata'ra deri? /5, yeigu
 VII /1f,
 para bomatu /4,
 para bomatu /5b,
 mukou'iyatama'gu /3e,
 kamuyora /2, deni
 Watowa /1, Ra vadudu
 i rivisi i meisa nagwai
 ba yosi /4, magu mwata
 Watowa I /1, Wosina
 Watowa /1, Wosina
 tabari o kunu'gu /3a,
 deri? /2a, yegwai yakida
 sina'gu yeyei
 Bakari yadeori /2,
 ba ramai /3, magu tau
 I /1, Sina'gu you
 bowa vaewo bowa /4, agu
 Kauliya veka ku degi /2a,
 yaura dudune'gu /5,
 avaka dudune'gu? /9,
 sivina /3a, nei kasisa
 ba noiya keda
 rimwatu /3, kaigayobu
 koiya takubu ku
 XII /1m, Ku
 kaiketa ku bara /2, ku
 ku bara /2, ku bara ku
 Ku bara kaiketa ku
 rakinana? /10, so'gu
 /-I /1, Kamu koma
 basiki kadenena /3,
 Ba siki varu Iwa /2, venu
 ba siponu agu wosi /-
 ba sirara vivina /3, we
 ba sirara wa waga /3, ra
 ba sirera /2a, waudawada ba
 ba sirera /4a, waudawada ba
 ba siu o tabo'ra /4, ba
 ba sivina Budibudi /3,
 ba sivina Budibudi /3,
 basiwa /2, ba sakapu o
 Ba suiya bweta i masawa /2a,
 Ba suiya bwita bougwa i
 basusuruma /3, derima ba
 ba suyaboda gunaugwa /3,
 ba tai ura waga! /-I /1,
 ba titatuvu /5, bougwa
 batota o mata'raderi /
 Ba valapula kadamalaga /2,
 ba vani o patapatina /5b,
 ba vani o patapatina /6,
 ba vaori agu vana /4, ba
 ba veramu /3, o kainenana
 ba wa /2, i bwadi'gu
 ba weiya /21, i rivisi i
 bayamata /5, o miyasera
 bayaruwa /2, nei kasisa
 bayaruwa /2, nei kasisa o
 bayaviyamwagana /4a, bi
 bayaya mata'raderi /3a,
 ba yeyei /4, tama'gu kausi
 ba yobu rurugonu. /-
 ba yosi /4, magu mwata
 ba you /2, kautu ba
 bagi bweri'gu /5, ba liku
 bagidouna vitevata /3a,
 Bagidudududune'gu /6,
 Bagitorobududune'gu. /-
 banoma boboyeta /4a, nei
 banoma /3c, tama'gu nano'ra
 banoma /4, kayo'ra nona
 baraguniu /6, koli gubai
 bara kaiketa ku bara /2,
 bara ku bara tatumu. /-I /1
 bara tatumu. /-I /1,
 bara /2, ku bara ku bara
 beisa bakawa o daba'ra
 beisa beisa /2, kamu tula
 3-Ruwegwau VII
 2-Nadubeori I
 32-Da weriya
 3-Sinata IV
 3-Sinata II
 9-Wosiyawena
 10-Osiyawei'gu
 4-Konakwana
 3-Weponu I
 3-Wosi sobala II
 2-Mesimesi
 6-Nadubeori VI
 10-Da weriya
 3-Seina keda tauiya
 3-Wosi weimuya II
 3-Tama'gu
 4-Kaibubura
 6-Seina keda tauiya
 20-Lube'gu
 18-Wosiyawena
 18-Osiyawei'gu
 24-Da weriya
 3-Ruwegwau VI
 2-Wosi sobala IIIa
 21-Kwarakwara
 5-Sobasa
 2-Bayaruwa
 2-Weponu II
 8-Nadubeori VI
 10-Tougatu
 4-Bisila A
 3-Nadubeori V
 4-Sobasa
 2-Sina ba yasina
 5-Monikiniki III
 7-Untitled I
 6-Mwasila
 10-Mwasila
 9-Weponu II
 15-Da weriya
 4-Wosi sobala I
 6-Mwasila monikiniki I
 35-Lube'gu
 36-Lube'gu
 36-Lube'gu
 35-Lube'gu
 11-Museunaganaga
 2-Mwasila monikiniki I

- /-I/1, Kamu koma
 I/1, Kamu koma beisa
 I/1, Kamu koma beisa
 yagamā gu /3, a liku
 o vegasi /2, mwaigini o
 Ura waga Meutu /2,
 wosi ruwegwau /2, Rumei
 Ina bubuwou /2, yeigu
 kaba' gu rogaroga /3a,
 Weipunu kunu' gu /2,
 bietewamigi' gu /3,
 kivi bweta i kivisi /2,
 kagu bisila
 /-Watowa /1,
 ba sakapu o tabo' ra /3,
 i ulu neiya /10,
 neiya /11, kuruwatara
 kata neiya /12, popwasa
 o tabo' ra /3, bi kata
 bikata /4, o tabo' ra
 ra bi kata /5, wado' ra
 ra bi kata /6, nopou' ra
 magi' rasiwasiwa
 kata /8, o nano' ra diu
 bi kausi /8, bi yowa
 gu bi yowa /3, sina' gu
 gu bi kausi /4, sina' gu
 agu garena /7, bi yowa
 magusarewa /5e,
 ba yavi yamwagana /4a,
 meiyesa /10, bougwa kagu
 vabusi /5, tauiya
 vabusi /2, tauiya
 vabusi /3, tauiya
 ku mwaiki koiya waga
 nano' ra diu bi kata /9,
 nagwai o yosewa /14,
 yasera /6, o miyamata
 kauiya ra wamwana /3g,
 munabeŋ' gunatu' gu /4,
 Kavira /1a, Nuvidu
 kunumesa /3b, da sarewa
 vanio patapatina /6,
 vanio patapatina /5b,
 I/1, Sesero sesero
 ra Inukwai. /-I /1,
 Bi na bi nawa /2,
 /-I /1, Bi na
- beisa beisa /2, kamu tula
 beisa /2, kamu tula kamu
 beisa /2, kamu tula kamu
 beku /4, a liku koulai /5,
 berana /3, reiyava
 betoderibuna' ra /3,
 bidauma /3, werova miratu
 bidoyei' gu /3, na ma
 bi dudu Neiruma /4a, ra
 bietewamigi' gu /3, bi
 bigamuya vivina. /-
 bigeda kagu vana /3,
 bi kakata /15, yagagu bi
 Bi kasa duduori /2, migi'
 bi kata bi kata /4, o tabo
 bi kata neiya /11,
 bi kata neiya /12, popwasa
 bi kata neiya /13, i rivisi
 bikata /4, o tabo' ra bi
 bikata /5, wado' ra bi
 bikata /6, nopou' ra bi
 bikata /7, magi' ra
 bikata /8, o nano' ra diu
 bikata /9, bi lulu o tabo
 bi kausi. /-I /1,
 bikausi /4, sina' gu bi
 bikausi /5, ku yowa bi
 bikausi /8, bi yowa bi
 bi kautu ku magu /-
 bi kenu vina /5a, bi yobu
 bi kivisa /11, agu
 bi komudu wa waga /-
 bi komudu wa waga /3,
 bi komudu wa waga /4, bi
 bi kota. /-I /1, Sina'
 bi lulu o tabo' ra /10, bi
 bi mareigusa bounanasi
 bi mata. /-I /1,
 bimunabeŋ' gu natu' gu /4,
 bi munumwenisa ponu ponu /5g,
 bimuyeŋ' gu /2a, veva ba
 bimwaŋduku /-Watowa
 bi mwaŋniku gelu guna waga. /
 bi mwaŋniku gelu guna waga. /
 bi mwanoŋna /2, sesero
 Bi na bi nawa /2, bi na bi
 bi na bi nawa /3, yatana
 binawa /2, bi na bi
- 2-Mwasila monikiniki I
 2-Mwasila monikiniki I
 2-Mwasila monikiniki I
 4-Nagega
 3-Ruwegwau IV
 3-Sinata I
 3-Ruwegwau I
 3-Bōi tayobu IV
 8-Ruwegwau I
 3-Sinata V
 4-Sinata V
 3-Nadubeori VI
 15-Komusiyelu
 2-Nadubeori VIII
 4-Mesimesi
 11-Kwarakwara
 12-Kwarakwara
 13-Kwarakwara
 4-Mesimesi
 5-Mesimesi
 6-Mesimesi
 7-Mesimesi
 8-Mesimesi
 9-Mesimesi
 9-Bisila B
 4-Bisila B
 5-Bisila B
 8-Bisila B
 26-Daweriya
 9-Nadubeori VI
 10-Kaibubura
 6-Osiyawei' gu
 3-Osiyawei' gu
 4-Wosiyawena
 9-Tokwai ku busi
 10-Mesimesi
 15-Kwarakwara
 7-Sobasa
 36-Daweriya
 37-Daweriya
 6-Nadubeori I
 12-Daweriya
 19-Osiyawei' gu
 19-Wosiyawena
 2-Mwanoŋna
 2-Kagu waliwali
 3-Kagu waliwali
 2-Kagu waliwali

- Bi na bi nawa /2, bi na /11, teiga'ra navigasi salu Boyowa /3d, masi kwabu tama'gunano'ra manu yama'gu /12, bi ra gera manuyama'gu /12, /-Watowa /1, muya nano'gu ku semeisa /6a, tua'gu gu /16, wamugweyesa Watowa /1, Ina'gu wawaga /-II /1a, bi komudu wa waga /4, inena Weirara /-I /1, Patini wawaga /3, patini bi lulu o tabo'ra /10, tugonu /2, ku miya ku ramasi piya baderi /4, avei tau Watowa /1, Nagudimuya i dababana /9, avei tau kada'ra /5, ku mefiya yamata /5, o miyasera II /1a, Avei tau bi kakata /15, yagagu bi kenu vina /5a, ura kawala /6, siliyou bi yowa bi kausi /8, mata'ra agugarena /7, /-I /1, Sina'gu gu bi yowa /2, sina'gu gu bi kausi /5, ku yowa Biga'ratama'gu /2, ra ra bwadi inegwai /5a, kwailova /-III /1b, i kimaweisa /14, kagu soba ku vakaka /19, kagu binawa /3, yatana kasi kagusikukuli kagu o dokala gilaisi /6, gilaisi /6, bi takamu Kavira /1a, Ku gabu yaruwa /2, nei kasisa o yaruwa /2, nei kasisa nei kasisa banoma yoyu kwailova /2, teitu binawa /3, yatana kasi bi neinai. /-I /1, Ku binei /4, si katubugia bi ponusa /-Watowa VI /1e bi puroru /-Watowa V /1d, bira... /1, ina'gu bi ra bira... /1, ina'gu Birara Nageyobu /2, yaga' bi rikasi. /-Watowa /1, birivisi /7a, ra buni bisalela /17, daba'rara bi siki o Sarewa /2, ponu Bi sikwoiku buna /2a, bi sikwoiku buna /5, bi sivina /3a, nei kasisa bi siwaneku /2, kada'gu bi siwaneku /4, kada'gu bisurinamatakalukwa. /11, bitanoi'gu /3, puroru bitaweiyu /4, ku ruruwai bi tota o mata'ra deri? /5, bi towoi /2, kara rimwatu bi utu o daba'rakinana? /10, bi wegu ku mefiya kada'ra. / bi yasera /6, o miyamata bi yaya mata'ra deri? /2a, bi yayoyu butu'gu /16, bi yobu kagu vana. /- bi you busi momwau. /- bi yowa bi kausi. /-I /1, bi yowa bi kausi /8, bi bi yowa /2, sina'gu bi bi yowa /3, sina'gu bi bi yowa /6, agu mata'ra biga kwailova /-IV /1c, biga'ra Bweyowa ku Biga'ratama'gu /2, ra bisila bi kakata /15, bisila kipwali pusa. /- bisila /4, sagwai bisila /5, yoyoki daba'gu bi takamubi' tamumu. /- bi tamumu. /-I /1, boboeta /2a, toutu boboyeta /3, nei wori'gu boboyeta /3, nei worisa boboyeta /4a, nei wori'gu bobu kwailova /-VI /1e, 3-Kagu waliwali 12-Mesimesi 4-Kwarakwara 20-Da weriya 16-Da weriya 13-Konakwana 13-Konakwana 2-Ruwegwau II 4-Weponu IIa 11-Ruwegwau I 17-Komusiyelu 2-Weponu IIa 8-Osiyawei'gu 5-Wosi yawena 8-Weponu II 2-Wosi yawena 4-Osiyawei'gu 11-Mesimesi 3-Nadubeori VII 4-Tokwai ku busi 5-Seina keda tauiya 2-Wosi sobala IIa 10-Museu naganaga 6-Sinata 6-Sobasa 9-Tougatu 16-Komusiyelu 10-Nadubeori VI 7-Katulova 9-Bisila B 8-Bisila B 2-Bisila B 3-Bisila B 6-Bisila B 9-Lube'gu 10-Ruwegwau I 8-Lube'gu 15-Komusiyelu 20-Komusiyelu 4-Kagu waliwali 5-Komusiyelu 7-Ku busi 7-Ku busi 6-Ruwegwau VI 3-Weponu II 3-Bayaruwa 9-Weponu II 15-Lube'gu*

- si patulova /11, si youra. /-I /1, /-I /1, Boda reina reina boda reina /2, reina /2, boda tetana Waïya ba kewa tupa Waïya ba kewa tupa avaka dudune' gu? /4, gudirova /3, ramuduwosi Wosi tayayusa /2, Kavira /1a, Kamu kagonu kanokwasi para kanokwasi para kanokwasi para kauriya' na da agu kauriya /3a, kasana kumeïya uni takai kai mu /15, a utu a liku mwari /7, a liku bougwanasi valova /4, molatabu' gu valova /4, molatabu' gu III /1b, Ba suiya bwita waga agu waga /2, waga /2, bougwa i kagu kamu tula kamu tula /3, kamu tula kamu tula /3, i meïyesa /10, karia vila sasa' gu /3, kayamabwada' gu /2, tomwana /3, bwada' gu yaunuwenu nei mesa /3a, gu /-Kavira /1a, gu. /-Watowa /1, kavikavira buwa /4, nagwai i mareïgusa /17, Revagumï gu tauïya /2, gu tauïya wakasa /2a, ba titatuva /5, tanibwisa /2, imimeïsa bi mareïgusa bouna nasi yosewa /14, bi mareïgusa sigusagwai /2, manu' mu kwailova /-V /1d, mwanoina. /-I /1, /-I /1, Bowa duku kana likuliku /3, vaewo vaewo bowa vaewo boda numura yowayoura /12, Boda reina bodareina /2, bodareina /2, boda tetana bodatetanabodatetana /3, bodatetana /3, sina' gu bodaboda /2, ba kagudu ba / bodaboda /2, yeïguta daba' bogisayawa dudune' gu! /-bôï tayobu. /-Watowa /1, bôï tayobu kasiponu /3, bôï tayobu /2a, kamu bomatu /-III /1b, Kena bomatu /4, ba vani o bomatu /5b, ba vani o boporu /-Kavira /1a, Na boporu. /-Watowa /1, boporu /3a, ni meïya borogu kapwalela visiga /16, bosu /-II /1a, A vali bougwa' gu /18, i rivisi i bougwa i dova /5, molakada bougwa i dova /5, molakada bougwa i kagonu /2, bougwa i kagu bougwa i bougwa i kagu /3, uli waga bougwa i valova /4, bougwa i valova /4, bougwa kagu bi kivisa /11, bougwakavikavira. /-I /1, bougwa kavikavira buwa... / bougwa kavikavira buwa /4, bougwa komapusa ruwai. / Bougwa kwagonu' gu bwe' i Bougwa kwagonu' gu ruwai /2, bougwa kwalikava ba bougwa nasi bougwa 'gu /18, bougwa nei yeru nano' gu /3, bougwa nei yeru nano' gu /3a, bougwa rinaiya a kura bougwaveitaki /3, rêï bougwa /15, i rivisi nagwai bouna nasi bougwa /15, i bouna sagwai sigusagwai / Bova yoyu kwailova /2, Bowa duku bowa duku /2, bowa duku /2, gera kagu bowa vaewo bowa /4, agu bowa /4, agu bagi bwerï*
- 12-Tapa
 2-Bisila A
 2-Bisila A
 3-Bisila A
 3-Bisila A
 2-Monikiniki I
 2-Mwasila monikiniki I
 5-Sabwaboï leta
 4-Bôï tayobu I
 3-Bôï tayobu V
 7-Bôï tayobu V
 13-Wosi yawena
 17-Wosi yawena
 17-Osiyaweï gu
 5-Wosi weïmu ya Ia
 8-Dorai sobala I
 6-Naduboori II
 16-Museu naganaga
 8-Nagega
 18-Kwarakwara
 5-Mwasila monikiniki I
 5-Mwasila monikiniki I
 10-Da weriya
 3-Lukubukwabuiya
 3-Lukubukwabuiya
 4-Mwasila monikiniki I
 4-Mwasila monikiniki I
 10-Kaibubura
 4-Bo<ugwa> kavikavira
 3-Kaliboda
 3-Kaibubura
 8-Wosi weïmu ya II
 6-Wosi weïmu ya II
 2-Wosi weïmu ya II
 4-Kaibubura
 18-Kwarakwara
 3-Dorai I
 7-Dorai I
 5-Kaibubura
 3-Bôï tayobu III
 15-Kwarakwara
 15-Kwarakwara
 18-Lube' gu
 14-Lube' gu
 2-Tobilikova
 2-Tobilikova
 4-Monikiniki III
 4-Monikiniki III

- ponu ponu /5g, kuravagigi
mu taumigi' mu we nona
na weitupa o
gu /2, wamugweŵeŵesa
sivine' gu o
nêi kaneŵ' gu weikana
nêivamwana
/- Watowa /1, Ina
sipa tayoura youra /6,
/- Watowa /1, Bwita
vana /4, nêi vaponusa
mi vana i ra Budibudi
vana /4, nêi vaponusa
ponu ponu /3a, ta derisa
vana /5a, nêi vaponusa
kikasa /3, mi vana i ra
pitamuyâra
kauŵiya /2, ba sivina
kauŵiya /2, ba sivina
kamidoŵiya
worisa /2a, nêi worisa
pitamuya /2a, na rourama
ganaugwa /5, karimwana
i daguvanu siwasiwa i
govavivila /15, si laka
kagubulukwa /3, kagu
bowa duku /2, gera kagu
si katubugiyagasi /6,
tabu' gu sopi /7,
Tudavakaukwa
kagu bulukwa
waga Meutu /2, betoderi
II /1a, Bi sikwoiku
wa waga /4, bi sikwoiku
tua' gu bi rivisi /7a, ra
taweŵiya guŵiya taweŵiya
yeiguta daba' gukawala
urakeda kaiwai /3, ku
ba /ni yagaŵyo /3, ku
mu kavagara ku
yoyu. /-I /1, Ku
/-I /1, Tokwai ku
siliyou bi you
sinata' mubwagau /4, ku
mwena ba mwenawa /2, ba
mu kavagara ku busi ku
gala butu' gu /16,
gera butu' gu /12,
- Boyowa /-I /1,
Boyowa /2, migi' mu
Boyowa /3a, kaveyuma tama'
Boyowa /3d, masi kwabu bi
Boyowa /4, kaimwatu nubo'
Buburei /- Watowa III /1b,
Buburei /7a, gumu robu
bubuŵou /2, yeigu bi doyeŵi
budakai tayoura youra /7,
budegwai /2, ra kudu magu
Budibudi /-Kavira /1a,
Budibudi /- Watowa II /1a,
Budibudi /- Watowa II /1a,
Budibudi. /- Watowa /1,
Budibudi. /- Watowa /1,
Budibudi Budibudi /-
Budibudi /3, senupeŵi' gu
Budibudi /3, sivine' gu o
Budibudi /3, sivine' gu o
Budibudi /3a, ku valisa
Budibudi /3a, nêi kaneŵ' gu
Budibudi /3a, semwaneŵ' gu
Budibudi /6, kamunovasi
bugi /11, ku towa ku
bulubwalimila /16, si laka
bulukwa buluwoweŵiya /4,
bulukwa /3, kagu bulukwa
bulumavau yoka nei keda /7,
bulumavau yoku i ma /8,
bulumwala /8, a sipu o
buluwoweŵiya /4, gera ura
buna' ra /3, tokasema Meutu
buna /2a, tumwaneŵ' gutama'
buna /5, tumwaneŵ' gutama'
buni varamu osimwana. /-
bununa da wabu' ra. /-I /1
buraku /3, yaga' gu daba' na
busi ba muri /4, ku lausi
busikamu mokelolu /4,
busi ku busi /3, kwavirera
busi ku ra /2, ku ra ba
busi ku simwa /2, ku you
busi momwau. /-I /1,
busi o nopou' ra ku meŵiya
busi wa tanawa /3, kaitara
busi /3, kwavirera
butu' gu tamadudu... /-
butu' gu tamadudu. /-I /1,
- 38-Da weriya
22-Da weriya
8-Weponu I
19-Da weriya
4-Weponu I
9-Bayarua
12-Wosi weimuya Ia
2-Bôŵi tayobu IV
7-Kara vagia
2-Ruwegwau V
5-Weponu II
4-Da weriya
5-Bayarua
9-Bôŵi tayobu V
11-Weponu II
4-Da weriya
3-Wosi weimuya Ia
3-Weponu I
3-Wosi sobala II
8-Bôŵi tayobu III
8-Bayarua
8-Wosi weimuya Ia
6-Weponu Ia
11-Ī yai i yai II
16-Dova
4-Tobilikova
3-Tobilikova
7-Kwarakwara
8-Konakwana
8-Dova
4-Tobilikova
3-Sinata I
8-Osiyaweŵ' gu
5-Wosi yawena
12-Ruwegwau I
9-Mwasila monikiniki I
3-Mwasila monikiniki I
4-Ilamunadili
4-Monikiniki I
3-Monikiniki II
2-Ku busi
2-Tokwai ku busi
7-Katulova
5-Sinata
3-Katulova
3-Monikiniki II
17-Mwasila monikiniki I
13-Mwasila monikiniki I

- koiya i yoyu koiya /12,
 gigilala /8, gera
 Mwagula rakaraka /6,
 ra Krobai rakaraka /8,
 gu palapala /11, gera
 gu palapala /15, gala
 yagagu bi yayoyu
 waga waïya ba kewa /5,
 waïya ba kewa
 bougwa kavikavira
 kwaïvau /24, kauri
 kwaïvau /2, kauri
 o tabo'ra /5, kwanikauri
 gera kagu buwa /11, kagu
 yabukwabu /10, gera kagu
 gu bougwa kavikavira
 i ramwana tomwana /3,
 I /1, Kayawa kayama
 bi dudu Neiruma /4a, ra
 Ra vadudu ba wa /2, i
 sinata' mu? sinata' mu
 gu /-Kavira /1a, Na
 idababana /6, ra
 inaminã gu i
 aena kema i
 aenakema i
 bwaretama /15, saduwa i
 bwaretama /16, gawira i
 memenana /3, tobowau i
 bwaretama /4, menana i
 i bwaretama /5, dumwa i
 i bwaretama /6, aena i
 gumu aena /8, kema i
 ku you ku ra o
 towadudu /5, agu
 gu /-Kavira /1a, Na
 Bougwa kwagonu' gu
 i nekudu /2, kakagonu
 ku ra ba kamu /3, so' gu
 Budibudi /6, kamunovasi
 vaori agu vana /4, ba
 Vina rimwatu /2,
 yaburesi /5a, yabweina
 yaburesi /2, yabweina
 gu natu' gu /4, vanoêga
 agu waga /2, nêi tokasa
 vaewo bowa /4, agu bagi
 Watowa /1, Ba kivi
- butu' gu tamadudu gala vali'
 butu' gu vali' gu monikiniki /9
 butu' gu yeigu Towitara
 butu' gu yeigu Towitara
 butu' gu /12, butu' gu
 butu' gu /16, butu' gu
 butu' gu /16, wamugweïyesa
 butu' ra Mwagula rakaraka /6,
 butu' ra Krobairakaraka /8,
 buwa... /-I /1, Ba
 buwa navirera /-I /1,
 buwanavirera /3, navigasi
 buwatabununa /6, tabu' gu
 buwa uwara /12, da gegila
 buwa /11, kagu buwa
 buwa /4, bougwa kwalikava
 bwada' gu bougwa kavikavira
 bwada' gu /2, bougwa
 bwadi inegwai /5a, biga' ra
 bwadi' gu vina /3, nêi
 bwagau /4, ku busi o nopou
 bwaïdeimagudikesa /2a, na
 bwarekwa i dababana /7, ra
 bwaretama /-I /1,
 bwaretama /14, aena kema i
 bwaretama /15, saduwa i
 bwaretama /16, gawira i
 bwaretama /17, inamina' gu i
 bwaretama /4, menana i
 bwaretama /5, dumwa i
 bwaretama /6, aena i
 bwaretama /7, aena gumu
 bwaretama /9, siwasiwa i
 bwarita /3, ku ramasi piya
 bwau i towa uri towa /6, o
 bwedema gudikesa /2a, na
 bwe' irara /2a, yaunuwenu
 bwe' i ruwai /3b, gunebiu
 bweïbwai /4, tavabusipela
 bweïguna. /- Watowa /1,
 bweïkasa magu sarewa /5e,
 bweïna da rimwatu /3,
 bweïvatoi. /- Watowa /1,
 bweïvatoi /3, yabweitapa
 Bweiyowa /5f, vine ba
 bwenita /3, kwawenu' gu
 bweri' gu /5, ba liku ba
 bweta i kivisi /2, bi geda
- 13-Monikiniki III
 9-Monikiniki III
 7-Luku bukwabuiya
 9-Luku bukwabuiya
 12-Mwasilamonikiniki I
 16-Mwasila monikiniki I
 16-Komusiyelu
 6-Luku bukwabuiya
 8-Luku bukwabuiya
 3-Kaliboda
 25-Kwarakwara
 3-Kwarakwara
 6-Konakwana
 12-Tobilikova
 11-Tobilikova
 3-Kaibubura
 3-Kaibubura
 2-Kaliboda
 9-Ruwegwau I
 3-Wosi sobala IIIa
 4-Sinata
 7-Weponu I
 7-Museunaganaga
 18-Ï yai ï yai II
 14-Ï ai ï yai II
 15-Ï yai ï yai II
 16-Ï yai ï yai II
 17-Ï yai ï yai II
 4-Ï yai ï yai II
 5-Ï yai ï yai II
 6-Ï yai ï yai II
 7-Ï yai ï yai II
 9-Ï yai ï yai II
 3-Tokwai ku busi
 6-Monikiniki I
 7-Wosi sobala II
 6-Wosi weimuya II
 12-Ba yaruwa
 4-Ku busi
 7-Weponu Ia
 25-Da weriya
 3-Wosi sobala I
 10-Bôï tayobu II
 3-Bôï tayobu II
 31-Da weriya
 3-Untitled II
 5-Monikiniki III
 2-Nadubeori VI

- Kavira /1a, Ba suiya
 ra kinana /12, so' gu
 baveramu /3, o kainena
 kaiiya dou /2, nunuwa o
 digeriwa /4a, o kainena
 inegwai /5a, biga' ra
 ku neisa /4, imu
 /- Watowa /1, Guma
 gu yorikasi /3, doba' na
 Kavira /1a, Vadudu o
 vivina /2, ba nei keda
 vaori /2, kavaorisi o
 gumu robu /2, robu' na o
 vadudu /2, ra kasani o
 na wetupa o
 sivine' gu o
 nakikasa /5a, na kagonu
 Watowa III /1b, Ba suiya
 /- Watowa /1,
 /- Watowa /1,
 gudirova /4, kaiiya' na
 kagu buwa uwara /12,
 gunebiu kagu yagina /4,
 siki o Sarewa /2, ponu
 Vina rimwatu /2, bweina
 kabobura kunumesa /3b,
 mu Sarupeta /3, tabu'
 guiya tawefiya bununa
 na keponu keponuna
 I /1, Tutusa vana
 koiya ni ya i
 koiya ni ya i
 ra gibunona i
 ra katurakai i
 ra bwarekwa i
 ra kavikuru i
 ra katurakai i
 kagu bisila /5, yoyoki
 bodaboda /2, yeiguta
 i towa uri towa /6, o
 buraku /3, yaga' gu
 avei tau bi utu o
 so' gu beisa ba kawa o
 kavalabila so' gu o
 so' gu bwetakavalabila o
 bisalela /17,
 salela /17, daba' ra ra
 Watowa /1, Dobi yaruwa
 bweta i masawa /2a, tabari
 bweta kavalabila o daba' ra
 Bweyowa /-Kavira /1a,
 Bweyowa. /- Watowa /1,
 Bweyowa. /- Watowa /1,
 Bweyowa kusemefsa /6a, tua
 Bweyowa ku veyuma /-
 Bweyowa Werara /2, kamu
 Bweyowa yoriruwa. /-
 Bweyowa /2a, rimwatu
 Bweyowa /3, i katudou waga
 Bweyowa /3, kasiurasi
 Bweyowa /3, kwautumasi
 Bweyowa /3, re muyeif' gu
 Bweyowa /3a, a veyuma tama'
 Bweyowa /4, karimwatu nuboo
 bwibwitoka /6a, nei vamwana
 bwita bougwa i kagonu /2,
 Bwita budegwai /2, ra kudu
 Bwita yaburesi /2,
 da boporu /-Kavira /1a,
 dagegilataluma. /-I /1,
 da kaiyobu o wamwana. /-
 da kaiyobu /3, muya nano'
 da rimwatu /3, kaigayobu
 da sarewa bi mwaif' duku /-
 da uligowa /4, ku ma ku
 da wabu' ra. /-I /1,
 da wanugwa. /- Watowa /1,
 da weriya /2, kudukudu ba
 dababana /3, koiya ni ya i
 dababana /4, ra gibunona i
 dababana /5, ra katurakai
 dababana /6, ra bwarekwa i
 dababana /7, ra kavikuru i
 dababana /8, ra katurakai
 dababana /9, avei tau bi
 daba' gu ba mamata /6, o
 daba' gu kawala buraku /3,
 daba' na koiya kwaiyu /7,
 daba' na Tariebutu ku ma /4,
 daba' ra kinana? /10, so' gu
 daba' ra kinana /11,
 daba' ra kinana /12, so' gu
 daba' ra kinana /13, gera
 daba' ra ra daba' ra so' ra /18,
 daba' ra so' ra /18, migi
 dabe' gu /2, yobwekasema
 6-Nadubeori VI
 13-Museunaganaga
 4-Ruwegwau VI
 3-Nadubeori III
 9-Ruwegwau VI
 10-Ruwegwau I
 5-Bôï tayobu V
 2-Untitled III
 4-Weponu A
 6-Ruwegwau IV
 3-Dorai sobala II
 3-Weponu Ia
 3-Wosi weimuya IIa
 3-Dorai sobala I
 8-Wosi sobala II
 4-Wosi sobala II
 11-Wosi weimuya Ia
 10-Da weriya
 2-Ruwegwau V
 2-Bôï tayobu II
 5-Wosi weimuya Ia
 13-Tobilikova
 14-Ba yaruwa
 3-Weponu IIa
 3-Wosi sobala I
 12-Da weriya
 4-Mwasila kasi duduna
 9-Mwasila monikiniki I
 10-Wosi sobala II
 2-Da weriya
 3-Museunaganaga
 4-Museunaganaga
 5-Museunaganaga
 6-Museunaganaga
 7-Museunaganaga
 8-Museunaganaga
 9-Museunaganaga
 6-Komusiyelu
 3-Mwasila monikiniki I
 7-Monikiniki I
 4-Mwasila monikiniki I
 10-Museunaganaga
 11-Museunaganaga
 12-Museunaganaga
 13-Museunaganaga
 18-Komusiyelu
 18-Komusiyelu
 2-Dorai II

- gu vaiguwa /10, so'gu wa visiga /16, kala I /1, Kapwalela visiga siwasiwa i totora /10, i momwau ku momwau /2, ku momwau /2, ku dakuna ku ruwegwau /2, Rumei bi bougwaveitaki /3, rêi Watowa /1, Kauïya ku Kauïya veka ku Vina kamu youra /2, yeï gu ba tota o mata'ra suru suruma /2, derima suru suruma /5, derima suruma ba susuruma /3, Suruma suru suruma /2, suruma suru suruma /5, suruma /2, derima deri suruma /5, derima deri keïwori ponuponu /3a, ta Aveïtau bi yaya mata'ra yakida bayaya mata'ra susuruma /3, derima ba tau bi tota o mata'ra a papa ba kausi siri inegwai /3a, ku muya bi kata /8, o nano'ra Samusamu samusamu /2, samusamu /2, diu you dubemeïsa /4, kaiyaderi Budibudi /3a, ku valisa vivina /3, ku weïya wosi waponu /3a, ku gisi tama'gu yorikasi /3, gwana. /-Watowa /1, Nuratu /3, tokasema ra /11, ra giburuwa ina sirara wa waga /3, ra tanibwi'sa /2a, kami gwasa'gu /10, kenu kenu gu /10, kenu kenu doiyo kusi mousa o rimwatu Nabouma /3a, Sawenu kauïya ba Kauïya kauïya molatabu'gu bou gwa i molatabu'gu bou gwa i kadudu ina'gu /2, kagu Dabwadabwa /11, tau dagula kalasi i kayeyesa dagulelakalasi /2, setoli daguvanu siwasiwa i bugi /11, dakuna ku dakuna /3, ava dakuna /3, ava mwau yama' dauma /3, werova miratu' dawai dubemeïsa /4, degi /2, remuyega nuwa' degi /2a, bagidouna deni ba veramu /3, o deri /-II /1a, Natana deriderima /3, mwanita deri derima /6, mwanita derima baderi /4, avei derima deri derima /3, derima deri derima /6, derima /3, mwanita mwani derima /6, mwanita mwani derisa Budibudi. /-deri? /2a, yegwai yakida ba deri /3a, tobwabwate... deri /4, avei tau bi tota deri? /5, yeï gu ba tota o didi... /-I /1, Kayawa digeriwa /4a, o kainena diubi kata /9, bi lulu o diu you diu yoyu. /-I /1, Ku diudewenu /-Kavira /1a, diweiyami /4a, ku tatesa doba weïmapu /-Kavira /1a doba weïmapu. /-Watowa /1 doba' na Bweyowa yoriruwa. / Dobi yaruwa dabe'gu /2, dobobu. /-Watowa /1, Dobu /12, kaukwa kimwa' dodou kaisai. /-Watowa /1 doiya Budibudi /3a, ku doiyo doiyo'gu /11, ta' doiyo'gu /11, ta' mwasila ta dokalagilaisi /6, bi' domweta o kwadeu. /-dou /2, kirara vana dou /2, nunuwa o Bweyowa. / dova /5, molakada'gu dova /5, molakada'gu dovira nuguta /3f, vaimaneï 11-Monikiniki II 17-Museunaganaga 2-Mola ba kewa 11-Ï yai i yai II 3-Ku momwau 3-Ku momwau 3-Ruwegwau I 4-Bôï tayobu III 2-Untitled I 6-Untitled I 3-Ruwegwau VI 6-Seïna keda tauïya 3-Tougatu 6-Tougatu 4-Seïna keda tauïya 3-Tougatu 6-Tougatu 3-Tougatu 6-Tougatu 9-Bôï tayobu V 9-Tougatu 10-Tougatu 4-Seïna keda tauïya 5-Seïna keda tauïya 12-Bisila A 8-Ruwegwau VI 9-Mesimesi 3-Samusamu 3-Samusamu 5-Bôï tayobu III 9-Bôï tayobu III 4-Wosi weïmuya IV 8-Wosi weïmuya IV 4-Weponu A 2-Dorai II 4-Sinata III 12-Dova 4-Sinata II 8-Bôï tayobu III 11-Monikiniki I 11-Monikiniki I 6-Ku busi 8-Ruwegwau IV 2-Wosi weïmuya IV 2-Nadubeori III 5-Mwasila monikiniki I 5-Mwasila monikiniki I 29-Da weriya*

- bubuwou /2, yeigu bi
 veitaki /3, rêi dawai
 gubai saïya guïya /7,
 Ine'gu ponu ponu /2, re
 kaba'gurogaroga /3a, bi
 okudumuiya /2, wa
 gu /10, peirara kagu
 ku duduma ba
 waïya waïyauta /6, ku
 iresi kwabu nêi
 gu? /4, bogisayawa
 gu? /9, Bagitorobu
 waga'ra /3, avaka
 Sabwaboileta avaka
 dudune'gu? /4, yaura
 dudune'gu /5, Bagidudu
 waga'ra /8, avaka
 Watowa /1, Bi kasa
 setolisimiga /11, i
 ku ma /4, agu waga yavi
 /-I /1, Bowa
 Yorinuya yokigeda
 I /1, Bowa duku bowa
 menana i bwaretama /5,
 iresi kwabu nêi dudumeïsa
 Weïpunu kunu'gu /2, bi
 kavamwana ma vanu'
 Kavira /1a, Na
 Kavira /1a, Ku
 II /1a, Ra kuduma i nêi
 vali'gu palapala /15,
 butu'gutamadudu
 i savina koiya /13,
 bietewamigi'gu /3, bi
 kayof'ra nona wa
 rûku tovina wa
 Munaya /4, kakagonu
 Toderi vina wa
 agu mata'ra agu
 agu mata'ra agu
 kagumata'nakagu
 gu /7, agu mata'ra agu
 i neisi Lalela /9,
 kaivirera /7, na ma
 vana /3, puyumi namuro
 saduwa i bwaretama /16,
 bweta i kivisi /2, bi
 /-Watowa /1, Vina i
 doyeï'gu /3, na ma waïno
 dubemeïsa /4, kaïyaderi
 dudu ku wai i toina Muyuwa /8
 dudumidabe'gu /3, re gwau
 dudu Neïruma /4a, ra bwadi
 dudutama'gu yorikasi /3,
 dudu'gu /11, gera manu yama
 duduma. /-I /1,
 duduma baduduma. /-I /1,
 dudumeïsa elisiga /13,
 dudune'gu! /-I /1,
 dudune'gu. /-I /1,
 dudune'gu? /4, bogisayawa
 dudune'gu? /4, yaura
 dudune'gu /5, Bagidudu
 dudune'gu /6, yaero yaero
 dudune'gu? /9, Bagitorobu
 duduori /2, migi'ragunu
 dudusa o kadamalaga /12,
 dudu /5, koiya takubu ku
 duku bowa duku /2, gera
 dukuduku /2a, inena Weïrara
 duku /2, gera kagu
 dumwa i bwaretama /6, aena
 elisiga /13, kulunaodu
 etewamigi'gu /3, bi
 ga. /-Watowa /1, Nêi
 gabema pitamuya /2a, na
 gabu boboeta /2a, toutu
 gabu /2a, kara vana we
 gala butu'gu /16, butu'gu
 gala vali'gu. /-I /1,
 gala vali'gu /14, vali'gu
 gamuya vivina. /-
 gana. /-Watowa /1,
 gana. /-Watowa /1,
 ganaugwa /5, karimwana
 gana /2a, tokasa wosi
 garena /5, sidididi...
 garena /7, bi yowa bi
 garena /8, a you a kausi
 garena /8, sidididi tatata
 gaugau taboda /10, si patu
 gaugau /8, so'gu
 Gawa /-Kavira /1a, Ba
 gawira i bwaretama /17,
 geda kagu vana /3, puyumi
 gedeï'gu /2, Yaunuwenu
 3-Bôï tayobu IV
 4-Bôï tayobu III
 8-Mwasila monikiniki I
 3-Ruwegwau III
 8-Ruwegwau I
 3-Weponu A
 11-Konakwana
 7-Mwasila kasi duduna
 7-Mwasila kasi duduna
 13-Komusiyelu
 5-Sabwaboileta
 10-Mwasila
 4-Sabwaboileta
 4-Mwasila
 5-Mwasila
 6-Mwasila
 9-Mwasila
 2-Nadubeori VIII
 12-Mola bakewa
 5-Mwasila monikiniki I
 2-Tobilikova
 7-Weponu II
 2-Tobilikova
 6-Ï yai ï yai II
 13-Komusiyelu
 3-Sinata V
 6-Wosi weïmuya IIa
 7-Wosi weïmuya Ia
 6-Ruwegwau VI
 6-Da weriya
 16-Mwasila monikiniki I
 13-Monikiniki III
 14-Mwasila monikiniki I
 4-Sinata V
 5-Wosi sobala I
 8-Wosi weïmuya III
 5-Weponu Ia
 6-Wosi weïmuya IV
 5-Nipayu
 7-Bisila B
 8-Sina ba yasina
 8-Kagu waliwali
 10-Tapa
 8-Monikiniki II
 4-Nadubeori VI
 17-Ï yai ï yai II
 3-Nadubeori VI
 2-Bôï tayobu I

- kagu buwa uwara /12, da
 ra /5, ra kataraki
 bimwañniku
 bimwañniku
 kaba'gu /3, makaina
 mosalela gigilala /8,
 vali'gu palapala /11,
 ura wotuno waibitu /8,
 Bowa duku bowa duku /2,
 yekwesi yabukwabu /10,
 kagu dudu'gu /11,
 bulukwa buluwowe'ya /4,
 kautu ba kautu /3,
 ura waga goragora /7,
 gu kausi ba kausi /5,
 ura kedagoragora /5,
 katakewa katalagaga /6,
 o daba'ra kinana /13,
 uro takai kai' mu /14,
 a vali koiya /10,
 ni ya i dababana /4, ra
 kaukwa kimwa'ra /11, ra
 setoli simiga /5, ra
 takova takova mosalela
 kusi mousa o dokala
 tobugilama /6, ku
 taumwasila ta' ulai
 nupiaku gisigisi /2,
 Kavira /1a, Ba roki
 kwarouto kwarouto /7,
 yaimea /4, tobowau ba
 girova /5, mata' naba
 girova /6, kabusura ba
 bagirova /7, mea ba
 girova /8, kaitara ba
 wosi waponu /3a, ku
 /- Watowa /1, Ra
 Nutavisi nuraora nupiaku
 kadamalaga /2, veru i
 pusa. /-I /1, I ra
 kavagara /4, i ra
 i ra gogura /5, i ra
 I /1, I ra gogura i ra
 i ra gogura i ra
 ura keda /4, ura keda
 ura waga /6, ura waga
 ura waga /6, ura waga
 gimusau /14, si laka
 gegila taluma. /-I /1,
 gegilataulava. /-I /1,
 gelu guna waga. /-I /1,
 gelu guna waga. /-I /1,
 geori. /- Watowa I /1,
 gera butu' guvali' gu
 gera butu' gu /12, butu' gu
 gera guna yekwesi /9, ura
 gera kagu bulukwa /3, kagu
 gera kagu buwa /11, kagu
 gera manu yama' gu /12, bi
 geraura katakewa /5, ura
 gera ura keda /4, ura keda
 gera ura keda /8, ura keda
 gera ura waga /6, ura waga
 gera ura waga /6, ura waga
 gera ura wotuno /7, ura
 gera uro takai kai uro
 gera uro takai kai uro
 gera vali' gu palapala /11,
 gibunonai dababana /5, ra
 giburuwa ina Dobu /12,
 giburuwa setoli simiga /6,
 gigilala /8, gera butu' gu
 gilaisi /6, bi' takamubi'
 gilama kwaitara /7, megei
 gimusau /14, si laka
 gine pwalaigusi kwañidinidi
 gioveka /2a, ku me'ya uni
 girigiri kaike' mu /8, ku
 girova /5, mata' naba
 girova /6, kabusura ba
 girova /7, mea ba girova /8
 girova /8, kaitara ba
 girova /9, siwasiwa i unu.
 gisi doba weimapu. /-
 gisi nei ma kada' gu /2,
 gisigisi /2, gine
 gisigusi /- VIII /1g,
 gogura i ra gogura /2, mu
 gogura i ra gogura /5, i
 gogura kavagara /6, ku
 gogura /2, mu kavagara ku
 gogura /5, i ra gogura
 goragora /5, gera ura
 goragora /7, gera ura
 goragora /7, kagu mata' na
 govavivila /15, si laka
 13-Tobilikova
 6-Kaukwa reina
 19-Osiyawei' gu
 19-Wosiyawena
 4-Sinata VII
 9-Monikiniki III
 12-Mwasila monikiniki I
 9-Tobilikova
 3-Tobilikova
 11-Tobilikova
 12-Konakwana
 5-Tobilikova
 4-Sina ba yasina
 8-Bisila A
 6-Bisila A
 6-Sina ba yasina
 7-Tobilikova
 14-Museunaganaga
 15-Museunaganaga
 11-Mwasila monikiniki I
 5-Museunaganaga
 12-Dova
 6-Mola ba kewa
 8-Monikiniki III
 6-Ku busi
 7-Ilamunadili
 14-Dova
 24-Lube' gu
 5-Nadubeori II
 8-Tokwai ku busi
 5-Ì yayi yayi I
 6-Ì yayi yayi I
 7-Ì yayi yayi I
 8-Ì yayi yayi I
 9-Ì yayi yayi I
 8-Wosi weimuya IV
 2-Wosi weimuya III
 23-Lube' gu
 21-Lube' gu
 2-Monikiniki II
 5-Monikiniki II
 6-Monikiniki II
 2-Monikiniki II
 5-Monikiniki II
 5-Sina ba yasina
 7-Bisila A
 7-Sina ba yasina
 15-Dova*

- urakaletamurumwari'
 /4, bogisayawa dudune'
 gu tamadudu gala vali'
 /9, Bagitorobu dudune'
 yamitagana kunu'
 kaimwatunubob'
 karimwatu nubob'
 dauma/3, werovamiratu'
 we mapu' gu tua'
 wa ridorida kaika'
 kave yuma tama'
 ra gwau segwau'
 tatumu. /-I/1, Tama'
 Kavira /1a, Yaga'
 bisila/5, yoyoki daba'
 daba' rakinana? /10, so'
 gu bi yowa /3, sina'
 gu bi kausi /4, sina'
 kaifoyu /3, muya nano'
 ku semeisa /6a, tua'
 /-Watowa /1, Ina'
 kota. /-I/1, Sina'
 gu bi yowa /2, sina'
 ivalova /4, molatabu'
 ivalova /4, molatabu'
 tomwana /3, bwada'
 Bougwa kwagonu'
 ku ra ba kamu /3, so'
 odaba' rakinana /12, so'
 kawala buraku /3, yaga'
 raBudibudi /3, senupef'
 yokapisi /3, sokamef'
 ibwaretama /17, inamina'
 tunisa' gu /2, i wa kuwa'
 Budibudi /3a, semwanef'
 o Bweyowa /3, re muyef'
 /-Watowa /1, Tuma'
 o boboyeta /3, nei wori'
 boboyeta /4a, nei wori'
 yeyei bayeyei /4, tama'
 na ma gaugau /8, so'
 yeiguta daba'
 i sikaka ko'ya yaga'
 ko'ya /10, a vali'
 ra /11, o mitiragi'
 rara Nageyobu /2, yaga'
 /-Watowa /1, Ina'
 i dova /5, molakada'
- gu. /-I /1, Guna
 gu! /-I /1, Kaukwa
 gu. /-I /1, Museu
 gu. /-I /1, Wa'ya ba
 gu /-Kavira /1a, Bougwa
 gu /-Kavira /1a, Na
 gu /-Kavira /1a, Na
 gu /-Kavira /1a, Yaga'
 gu. /-Watowa /1,
 gu. /-Watowa /1,
 gu. /-Watowa /1,
 gu. /-Watowa /1, Vina
 gu a vagun' mu /2, ku
 gu ba maira /2a, kaba' gu
 gu ba mamata /6, o valila
 gu beisa ba kawa o daba' ra
 gu bi kausi /4, sina' gu bi
 gu bi kausi /5, ku yowa bi
 gu bi rikasi. /-Watowa /1,
 gu bi rivisi /7a, ra buni
 gu bi siki o Sarewa /2,
 gu bi yowa /2, sina' gu bi
 gu bi yowa /3, sina' gu bi
 gu bougwa i dova /5,
 gu bougwa i dova /5,
 gu bougwa kavikavira buwa /4,
 gubwe' i rara /2a,
 gubweibwai /4, tavabusi
 gu bweta kavalabila o daba'
 gu daba' na Tariebutu kuma /4
 gu gudirova /4, kau'ya' na
 gu gumu varumu. /-
 gu i bwaretama. /-I /1,
 gu i katapata /-XI /11,
 gu kagu kau'ya /4a, na
 gu kagu robu /-Kavira /1a
 gu kagu robu /2, ba siki
 gu kagu vana /4, nei
 gu kagu vana /5a, nei
 gu kausi ba kausi /5, gera
 gu kavikavira /9,
 gu kawala buraku /3, yaga'
 gu ko'ya /11, i tatata
 gu ko'ya /11, i tatata
 gu komwedona /12, iresi
 gu kwatuvia /3, ureri
 gu mesiki o kudumuiya /2,
 gu Mobuyai /6, kopuli
- 16-Tougatu
 5-Sabwaboileta
 13-Monikiniki III
 10-Mwasila
 4-Wosi weimuya II
 5-Weponu I
 5-Wosi sobala II
 4-Ruwegwau I
 4-Sinata IV
 4-Wosi weimuya I
 9-Weponu I
 5-Ruwegwau V
 2-Tama' gu
 6-Ruwegwau I
 6-Komusiyelu
 11-Museu naganaga
 4-Bisila B
 5-Bisila B
 4-Weponu IIa
 11-Ruwegwau I
 2-Weponu IIa
 2-Bisila B
 3-Bisila B
 5-Mwasila monikiniki I
 5-Mwasila monikiniki I
 3-Kaibubura
 6-Wosi weimuya II
 4-Ku busi
 13-Museu naganaga
 4-Mwasila monikiniki I
 4-Wosi weimuya Ia
 4-Wosi sobala IIa
 18-'yai i yai II
 30-Lube' gu
 9-Wosi weimuya Ia
 4-Dorai sobala I
 2-Ruwegwau VII
 4-Weponu II
 10-Weponu II
 5-Bisila A
 9-Monikiniki II
 3-Mwasila monikiniki I
 11-Monikiniki III
 11-Mwasila monikiniki I
 12-Komusiyelu
 3-Ruwegwau II
 2-Weponu A
 6-Mwasila monikiniki I

- i dova* /5, *molakada'*
gerabutu' gu vali'
l-Watowa /1, *Tabu'*
keda banoma /3c, *tama'*
wamwana /3g, *bi munabeŋ'*
nuguta /3f, *vaimaneŋ'*
Budibudi /3, *sivine'*
Budibudi /3, *sivine'*
kavalabila so'
koiya /10, *gera vali'*
galavali' gu /14, *vali'*
madibwana /2, *so'*
ka Misima! /5, *ina'*
l-Watowa /1, *Ine'*
gu ba maira /2a, *kaba'*
Bougwa kwagonu'
yoku i ma /8, *ina'*
Watowa /1, *I kwane'*
basidoiya /5a, *senuwa'*
basidoiya /3a, *senuyeŋ'*
buwa tabununa /6, *tabu'*
tavabusi pela kada'
gerabutu' gu /12, *butu'*
galabutu' gu /16, *butu'*
i yoyu koiya /12, *butu'*
buna /2a, *tumwaneŋ'*
buna /5, *tumwaneŋ'*
Kavira /1a, *Re vagumi'*
Watowa /1, *Re vagumi'*
gu Piritoni /6, *tama'*
bi siwaneku /2, *kada'*
bi siwaneku /4, *kada'*
vivina /3, *we mapu'*
kavikaviraso'
gigilala /8, *gera butu'*
kiyaya /2, *ponu'*
ba wa /2, *i bwadi'*
bwenita /3, *kwawenu'*
so' gu vaiguwa /10, *so'*
unata /3, *re vadudu'*
ku tepa ku tepa'
vivina /3, *rogiyameŋ'*
Budibudi /3a, *nēi kaneŋ'*
rakaraka /8, *butu'*
rakaraka /6, *butu'*
boda tetana /3, *sina'*
wa dudu tama'
l-I /1, *Sina'*
gu Mobuyai /6, *kopuli*
gu monikiniki /9, *a vali*
gu mukwa tugonu /2, *ku*
gunano'ra bi puroru l-
gunatu' gu /4, *bi*
gunatu' gu /4, *vanoēga*
gu o Boyowa /4, *kaimwatu*
gu o Bweyowa /4, *karimwatu*
gu o daba'ra kinana /12, *so*
gu palapala /11, *gera butu'*
gu palapala /15, *gala butu'*
gu parawaparama /3b, *a*
gu Piritoni /6, *tama' gu*
gu ponu ponu /2, *re dudu*
gu rogaroga /3a, *bi dudu*
guruwai /2, *ba suyaboda*
gu Silumuwai /9, *i sikera*
gu sirara /2, *ba sirara wa*
gusiwarere l-III /1b,
gu siwarere /4a, *kaiyiya*
gu sopi /7, *bulumavau yoku*
gu takalasi /5, *kusi mousa*
gu tamadudu. l-I /1,
gu tamadudu... l-I /1,
gu tamadudu gala vali' gu. l
gutama' gu /3a, *o takai kai*
gutama' gu /6, *kaiyiya*
gu tauyiya wakasa /2a,
gutauyiya /2, *bougwa nēi*
gu Tobebesa /7, *taboda*
gu tokimadagi vabusi /3,
gu tokimadagi vabusi /5,
gu tua' gu. l-Watowa /1,
gu vaiguwa /10, *so' gu wa*
gu vali' gumonikiniki /9,
gu veramu /3, *rimwatu*
gu vina /3, *nēi yogibu nēi*
gu vivina. l-Watowa /1,
gu wa Dabwadabwa /11, *tau*
gu wa keda /4, *wa rirorida*
gu wala wala /20, *i rivisi*
gu waponu l-Kavira /1a,
gu weikana Buburei l-
gu yeigu Towitara tomadudu. l
gu yeigu Towitara tomadudu /7
gu yeyei ba yeyei /4, *tama*
gu yorikasi /3, *doba' na*
gu you ba you /2, *kautu ba*
6-Mwasila monikiniki I
9-Monikiniki III
2-Nadubeori VII
16-Da weriya
36-Da weriya
30-Da weriya
4-Weponu I
4-Wosi sobala II
12-Museu naganaga
11-Mwasila monikiniki I
15-Mwasila monikiniki I
14-Tougatu
6-Tapa
2-Ruwegwau III
7-Ruwegwau I
2-Wosi weimuya II
9-Konakwana
2-Sinata II
12-Osiyaweŋ' gu
11-Wosi yawena
7-Konakwana
5-Ku busi
13-Mwasila monikiniki I
17-Mwasila monikiniki I
13-Monikiniki III
9-Osiyaweŋ' gu
6-Wosi yawena
6-Dorai I
2-Dorai I
7-Tapa
3-Wosiyawena
5-Osiyaweŋ' gu
4-Sinata IV
10-Monikiniki II
9-Monikiniki III
3-Untitled IV
3-Wosi sobala IIIa
4-Untitled II
11-Monikiniki II
4-Dorai II
20-Kwarakwara
4-Wosi weimuya III
9-Ba yaruwa
9-Luku bukwabuiya
7-Luku bukwabuiya
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 28-Da weriya
 6-Dorai sobala I
 18-I' yai i yai II
 2-Ruwegwau III
 7-Ruwegwau VI
 9-Ruwegwau I
 8-Weponu II
 15-Mola ba kewa
 13-Mola ba kewa
 1-Kaibubura
 1-Kaibubura
 13-Komusiyelu
 13-Da weriya
 10-Lube' gu
 2-Nadubeori I
 25-Lube' gu
 1-Tayou
 1-Mwasila kasi duduna
 1-Katulova
 1-Komusiyelu
 1-Kagu waliwali
 1-Bisila A
 1-Tobilikova
 1-Mwasilasulumoiya
 1-Monikiniki II
 1-I' yai i yai II

<i>liku vaseula vaseu. /-</i>	<i>I /1, I yai i yai /2, i</i>	<i>1-Ī yai i yai I</i>
<i>takamubi' tamumu. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Ilamunadili ku roya</i>	<i>1-Ilamunadili</i>
<i>siwasiwa i unu. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kagu waliwali yatana</i>	<i>1-Nipayu</i>
<i>bougwakavikavira. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kaitotu waga agu</i>	<i>1-Lukubukwabuiya</i>
<i>kura kanabanibani. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kaivana tamadudu</i>	<i>1-Monikiniki III</i>
<i>wowora munumwenisi. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kamu koma beisa</i>	<i>1-Mwasila monikiniki I</i>
<i>butu' gutamadudu. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kamu koma beisa</i>	<i>1-Mwasila monikiniki I</i>
<i>yagagu Krobai. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kapwalela visiga</i>	<i>1-Mola bakewa</i>
<i>si laka gura viri. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Karia karia yobwa</i>	<i>1-Bo<ugwa>kavikavira</i>
<i>dagegilataluma. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kaukwa moreina</i>	<i>1-Kaukwareina</i>
<i>dudune' gu! /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kaukwa reina reina /2</i>	<i>1-Dova</i>
<i>kausi siri didi... /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kayawa kayama bwada'</i>	<i>1-Kaliboda</i>
<i>tatata Nomumusa. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kolowai ba siwa /2,</i>	<i>1-Mesimesi</i>
<i>gu i bwaretama. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Konakwana konamai /2,</i>	<i>1-Konakwana</i>
<i>diu you diu yoyu. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Ku busi ku ra /2,</i>	<i>1-Ku busi</i>
<i>teiga' rabi neinai. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Ku momwau ku</i>	<i>1-Ku momwau</i>
<i>ba tai ura waga! /-</i>	<i>I /1, Ku ruruwai kai koiya</i>	<i>1-Ku ruruwai</i>
<i>kuravagigi Boyowa. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kwaibikibiki</i>	<i>1-Lube' gu</i>
<i>ineisi Lalela. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Kwarakwara kwaivau /2</i>	<i>1-Kwarakwara</i>
<i>gala val' gu. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Museu naganaga museu</i>	<i>1-Museunaganaga</i>
<i>duduma ba duduma. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Mwanita</i>	<i>1-Seina keda tauiya</i>
<i>bi yowa bi kausi. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Nagega nagega wai /2,</i>	<i>1-Nagega</i>
<i>a tapela ku pela. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Patini bi siwaneku /2</i>	<i>1-Wosi yawena</i>
<i>o miyamata bi mata. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Samusamu samusamu /2,</i>	<i>1-Samusamu</i>
<i>Towitara tomadudu. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Sesero sesero bi</i>	<i>1-Mwanoina</i>
<i>koiya waga bi kota. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Sina' gu bi yowa /2,</i>	<i>1-Bisila B</i>
<i>bi you busi momwau. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Sina' gu you ba you /2</i>	<i>1-Sina ba yasina</i>
<i>kau buwa navirera. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Sinata siwa</i>	<i>1-Sinata</i>
<i>kumejya kada' ra. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Sobasa ba rawai /2,</i>	<i>1-Sobasa</i>
<i>bununa da wabu' ra. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Suruma suru suruma /2</i>	<i>1-Tougatu</i>
<i>bara ku bara tatumu. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Tama' gu a vaguri'</i>	<i>1-Tama' gu</i>
<i>gelu guna waga. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Tapanu mu' tapa /2,</i>	<i>1-Tapa</i>
<i>ulai ta' minisoba. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Tokimadagi vabusi /2,</i>	<i>1-Osiyawef' gu</i>
<i>lumasisa tavekuyo. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Tokwai ku</i>	<i>1-Tokwai</i>
<i>youyou sididi... /-</i>	<i>I /1, Tokwai ku busi ku</i>	<i>1-Tokwai ku busi</i>
<i>kataiyadama waga. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Tokwasi tayoura</i>	<i>1-Karavagia</i>
<i>o wamwana. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Tutusa vana da</i>	<i>1-Da weriya</i>
<i>dudune' gu. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Wa'ya ba kewa tupa</i>	<i>1-Monikiniki I</i>
<i>butu' gu tamadudu... /-</i>	<i>I /1, Wa'ya ba kewa tupa</i>	<i>1-Mwasila monikiniki I</i>
<i>geori. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Wosina ba yaruwa /2,</i>	<i>1-Ba yaruwa</i>
<i>gegila taulava. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Yaero yaero avei tau</i>	<i>1-Mwasila</i>
<i>o nopou' ra leiyava. /-</i>	<i>I /1, Yeru yeru avei tau</i>	<i>1-Sabwaboileta</i>
<i>tapa ku tapa /4,</i>	<i>kaMisima! /5, ina' gu</i>	<i>5-Tapa</i>
<i>Yaga' gubamaira /2a,</i>	<i>kaba' gurogaroga /3a, bi</i>	<i>7-Ruwegwau I</i>
<i>agu tau /2, kwanarara</i>	<i>kaba' gu /3, makaina geori.</i>	<i>3-Sinata VII</i>
<i>bi muyef' gu /2a, veva ba</i>	<i>kabiya /3a, tataba gumu</i>	<i>7-Nadubeori I</i>
<i>bougwa i kagonu /2,</i>	<i>kabobura kunumesa /3b, da</i>	<i>11-Da weriya</i>
<i>diweiyami /4a, ku tatesa</i>	<i>kaborura. /-</i>	<i>10-Bôï tayobu III</i>
	<i>Watowa /1,</i>	

- mata' na ba girova /6,
 tavabusi pela
 Patini bi siwaneku /2,
 patini bi siwaneku /4,
 Ra gisi nêi ma
 Watowa V /1d, Tokasana
 yagagu Krobai /13, o
 simiga /11, i dudusa o
 VII /1f, Ba valapula
 ku meŷya bi wegu ku meŷya
 busi o nopou' ra ku meŷya
 kagurobu /2, ba siki
 Watowa VII /1f, Ra
 waŷsa waŷsa' ra /10, kasi
 Tomasina /7, kasi
 waŷsa waŷsa' ra kasi
 Kavira /1a, Kamu
 kiutu na kikasa /5a, na
 Ba suiŷya bwita bougwa i
 imeŷyesa /10, bougwa
 kaiŷya ikimaweŷsa /14,
 migi soba ku vakaka /19,
 kagusikukuli
 agu waga /2, bougwa i
 gera kagu bulukwa /3,
 duku bowa duku /2, gera
 gera kagu buwa /11,
 yabukwabu /10, gera
 Ra kadudu ina' gu /2,
 papai' ya' gu /10, peirara
 kagumata' na
 kulunaodu kirabwasa
 rivana. /- Watowa /1,
 Watowa /1, Mwemuyara
 semwaneŷ' gu
 ura waga goragora /7,
 wosi. /- Watowa /1,
 Bweyowa /3, re muyeŷ' gu
 Watowa /1, Tuma' gu
 tumegwai /2a, yeigu
 nêi weimuya
 lavilobusi Sinaketa /4,
 midabe' gu /3, re gwau
 kenu vina /5a, bi yobu
 ikivisi /2, bi geda
 boboyeta /3, nêi worisa
 nêi wori' gu
 nêi wori' gu
- kabusura ba girova /7, mea
 kada' gutakalasi /5, kusi
 kada' gu tokimadagi vabusi /3,
 kada' gu tokimadagi vabusi /5,
 kada' gu /2, rûku vapana
 kada' gu /2, wamugweŷyesa
 kadamalaga Krobai /14, i
 kadamalaga /12, Inukwai
 kadamalaga /2, veru i
 kada' ra. /- I /1,
 kada' ra /5, ku meŷya bi
 kadenena /3, kainenu i
 kadudu ina' gu /2, kagu
 kagagasagwai waiwaŷsi' ra /11
 kagaga sagwai /8, waŷsa
 kagaga /9, sagwai waŷsa
 kagonu bôŷi tayobu /2a, kamu
 kagonu bwibwitoka /6a, nêi
 kagonu /2, kabobura
 kagu bi kivisa /11, agu
 kagu bisila bi kakata /15,
 kagu bisila kipwali pusa. /
 kagu bisila /5, yoyoki
 kagu bougwa i kagu /3, uli
 kagu bulukwa buluwoweŷya /4,
 kagu bulukwa /3, kagu
 kagu buwa uwara /12, da
 kagu buwa /11, kagu buwa
 kagu dovira nuguta /3f,
 kagu dudu' gu /11, gera manu
 kagu garena /8, a you a
 kagu kaiŷya i kimaweŷsa /14,
 Kagu kaiŷya yorikasi /2,
 kagu kaiŷya /2, ba sivina
 kagu kaiŷya /4a, na kiutu
 kagu mata' na kagu garena /8,
 Kagu rimatu vaori /2,
 kagu robu /- Kavira /1a,
 kagu robu /2, ba siki
 kagurobu /3a, ponu unu
 kagurobu /5, kavamwana ma
 kagu sikukuli kagu bisila /5,
 kagu vana. /- Watowa /1,
 kagu vana. /- Watowa /1,
 kagu vana /3, puyumi
 kagu vana /4, nêi vaponusa
 kaguvana /4, nêi vaponusa
 kaguvana /5a, nêi vaponusa
- 7-ŷi yai i yai I
 5-Ku busi
 3-Wosi yawena
 5-Osiyawewi' gu
 2-Wosi weimuya III
 18-Da weriya
 14-Mola ba kewa
 12-Mola ba kewa
 20-Lube' gu
 6-Sinata
 5-Sinata
 3-Ruwegwau VII
 28-Da weriya
 11-Komusiyelu
 8-Komusiyelu
 9-Komusiyelu
 7-Bôŷi tayobu V
 11-Wosi weimuya Ia
 10-Da weriya
 10-Kaibubura
 15-Komusiyelu
 20-Komusiyelu
 5-Komusiyelu
 3-Lukubukwabuiya
 4-Tobilikova
 3-Tobilikova
 12-Tobilikova
 11-Tobilikova
 29-Da weriya
 11-Konakwana
 8-Sina ba yasina
 14-Komusiyelu
 2-Wosi weimuya Ia
 2-Wosi sobala II
 9-Wosi weimuya Ia
 8-Sina ba yasina
 2-Weponu Ia
 4-Dorai sobala I
 2-Ruwegwau VII
 7-Bôŷi tayobu IV
 5-Wosi weimuya IIa
 5-Komusiyelu
 4-Ruwegwau III
 10-Nadubeori VI
 3-Nadubeori VI
 4-Ba yaruwa
 4-Weponu II
 10-Weponu II

- i unu. /-I /1, weimuya nub'o'gu /2, /-Watowa /1, bwe'i ruwai /3b, gunebiu tupa bodaboda /2, ba bougwa i kagu bougwa i /-I /1, Ku ruruwai taweijo /4, ku ruruwai i kugwa'isa mina bôitayobu kasiyonu /3, bwe'ina darimwatu /3, waponu /3, wa ridorida kwarouto /7, girigiri XII /1m, Ku bara sivine'gu o Boyowa /4, deni ba veramu /3, o kumuyadigeriwa /4a, o basiki kadenena /3, wa waga /3, ra dodou wajana /2, katuyobu meabagirowa /8, ba busi wa tanawa /3, sigililigilivaki /5, i rivisi i me'isa nagwai o kavikavira. /-I /1, /-I /1, kana likuliku /2, ku gusigusi baroya ura keda rêidawaidubeme'isa /4, kagu yagina /4, da o Sarewa /2, ponu da ku yusa kamu Kakiuto i nekudu /2, kasiurasiMunaya /4, kagu bisila bi Watowa III /1b, kapwalela visiga /16, visiga /16, kala dagula Kapwalela visiga dagulela rapanipani /4, ura yerukubobwa /3, keda kumunuwa /9, ba yerukubobwa /6, a o modaweta /10, ba ye'igu Tudava /4, kaukwa Tamurovataniw'isa /2a, /-Watowa /1, Kagu waliwali yatana si kagu we'imapu waponu /3, wa Kagu weimuya nub'o'gu /2, kagu yagina /4, da ka'iyobu kaguduba /ni yaga'yo /3, kagu /3, uli waga agu kai koiya katatagwara /2, kai koiya /5, ku rurubusi Kaibutu /9, mina kaigawenu ku neisa /4, imu kaigayobu banoma /4, kayo' kaika'gu. /-Watowa /1, kaika' mu /8, ku mwaiki kaiketa ku bara /2, ku kaimwatu nub'o'gu /-kainena Bweyowa /-kainena Bweyowa. /-kainenu i yueura. /-kaisai. /-Watowa /1, kaisai /3, vanu Rubegau. / kaitarabagirowa /9, kaitarasi kawala sagwai /4, kaitaurakawala /6, kaiteta /23, kwarakwara Kaitotu waga agu waga /2, Kaivana tamadudukana kaivana tamadudukana kaivirera /7, na ma kaiwai /3, ku busi ba kaiyaderi diudewenu /-ka'iyobu o wamwana. /-ka'iyobu /3, muya nano'gu kai /3, makaina ba kakagonu bwe' i ruwai /3b, kakagonuganaugwa /5, kakata /15, yagagu bi Kakiuto i nekudu /2, kala dagula kalasi i kalasi i kayeyesa yagagu kalasi /2, setoli simiga /3 kaletau murumwari'gu. /-kalipwala wa modaweta /4, kalipwasiga o modaweta /10, kalisopu patile'gu /7, kalisopu putaka'iyagina /11, kamasawa masawa'ra /5, ra kami doiya Budibudi /3a, ku Kamidimidi agu waga /2, 2-Nipayu 3-Wosi weimuya I 2-Wosi weimuya I 13-Ba yaruwa 3-Monikiniki I 3-Lukubukwabuiya 2-Ku ruruwai 5-Tokwai ku busi 8-Kaibubura 4-Bôitayobu V 4-Wosi sobala I 4-Wosi weimuya I 8-Tokwai ku busi 35-Lube'gu 5-Weponu I 4-Ruwegwau VI 9-Ruwegwau VI 4-Ruwegwau VII 4-Sinata II 3-Wosi sobala Ia 9-Ïyayi yayi I 4-Katulova 6-Katulova 23-Kwarakwara 2-Lukubukwabuiya 2-Monikiniki III 3-Monikiniki III 7-Monikiniki II 3-Ilamunadili 5-Bôitayobu III 14-Ba yaruwa 3-Weponu IIa 3-Tokwai 12-Ba yaruwa 5-Weponu Ia 15-Komusiyelu 11-Bayaruwa 17-Museu naganaga 17-Museu naganaga 2-Mola ba kewa 16-Tougatu 4-Nipayu 10-Bisila A 7-Kagu waliwali 11-Bisila A 5-Kaukwa reina 8-Bôitayobu III 2-Untitled II*

- veyuma /-Kavira /1a,
tokaiyesa /2, ku yusa
kagonu bôî tayobu /2a,
/-I /1,
tamadudu. /-I /1,
niyagaïyo /3, ku busi
koma beïsa beïsa /2,
koma beïsa beïsa /2,
beïsa /2, kamu tula
beïsa /2, kamu tula
Guma Bweyowa Werara /2,
/-Watowa /1, Vina
karimwana Budibudi /6,
busi ku ra /2, ku ra ba
I /1, Kaivana tamadudu
kaivana tamadudu
tau togobwau koïya kura
worisa Budibudi /3a, nêi
kaiyiya renana /5a,
agu tanoi Muyuwa /3b,
agu tanoi Muyuwa /4,
Krobai. /-I /1,
mu /15, a utu borogu
numurayowayoura /12,
setoli simiga /10, ra
Watowa VIII /1g,
Nagudimuya bi towoi /2,
kuduma i nêi gabu /2a,
/-Watowa /1, Ba
gura viri. /-I /1,
karia yobwa karia /2,
viri. /-I /1, Karia
I /1, Karia karia yobwa
kakagonuganaugwa /5,
sivine' gu o Bweyowa /4,
/-Watowa /1, Bi
vadudu agu kaiyiya /3a,
vaponu re vadudu /2, ra
na bi nawa /3, yatana
waïsa waïsa' ra /10,
o valila Tomasina /7,
waïsa waïsa' ra
nêi yeru nano' gu /3a,
nêi yeru nano' gu /3,
yayusa /2, bôî tayobu
bi sivina /3a, nêi
bayaruwa /2, nêi
bayaruwa /2, nêi
Kamu kagonu bôî tayobu /2a,
kamukai /3, makaina ba
kamu keïwori ponu ponu /3a,
Kamu koma beïsa beïsa /2,
Kamu koma beïsa beïsa /2,
kamu mokelolu /4, yowadudu
kamu tula kamu tula /3,
kamu tula kamu tula /3,
kamu tula /3, bougwa i
kamu tula /3, bougwa i
kamu vana a rimu /3, ku
kamu youra /2, deni ba
kamunovasi bweïguna. /-
kamu /3, so' gu bweïbwai /4,
kanalikuliku /2, kaivana
kanalikuliku /3, vaewo
kanabanibani. /-I /1,
kaneï' gu weikana Buburei /
kanokwasi para bomatu /-
kanokwasi para bomatu /4,
kanokwasi para bomatu /5b,
Kapwalela visiga dagulela
kapwalelavisiga /16, kala
kapwali matasi /13, i neisi
kapwaligisa setoli simiga /11
Kara kaiyiya tama' gu /2,
kara rimwatu yoka pisi /3,
kara vana we nubeï' gu /3a,
kari yadeori /2, ba yobu
Karia karia yobwa karia /2,
karia vila sasa' gu /3,
karia yobwa karia /2,
karia /2, karia vila sasa'
karimwana Budibudi /6,
karimwatu nubo' gu /-
kasa duduori /2, migi' ra
kasana boporu. /-
kasani o Bweyowa /3, re
kasi bisila /4, sagwai
kasi kagaga sagwai waïwaïsi'
kasi kagaga sagwai /8,
kasi kagaga /9, sagwai
kasi veyara i gwana. /-
kasi veyara unata /-
kasiponu /3, kaigawenu ku
kasisabanoma boboyeta /4a,
kasisa boboyeta /3, nêi
kasisa o boboyeta /3, nêi
7-Bôî tayobu V
3-Tokwai
8-Bôî tayobu V
2-Mwasila monikiniki I
2-Mwasila monikiniki I
4-Monikiniki I
3-Mwasila monikiniki I
3-Mwasila monikiniki I
3-Mwasila monikiniki I
3-Mwasila monikiniki I
3-Untitled III
2-Ruwegwau VI
7-Weponu Ia
3-Ku busi
2-Monikiniki III
3-Monikiniki III
13-Monikiniki II
9-Ba yaruwa
13-Wosi yawena
17-Wosi yawena
17-Osiyaweï' gu
2-Mola ba kewa
16-Museum naganaga
13-Tapa
11-Mola ba kewa
34-Da weriya
3-Wosi sobala IIa
7-Da weriya
2-Nadubeori V
2-Bo<ugwa> kavikavira
3-Bo<ugwa> kavikavira
2-Bo<ugwa> kavikavira
2-Bo<ugwa> kavikavira
6-Weponu Ia
5-Wosi sobala II
2-Nadubeori VIII
8-Dorai sobala I
3-Dorai sobala I
4-Kagu waliwali
11-Komusiyelu
8-Komusiyelu
9-Komusiyelu
8-Dorai I
4-Dorai I
3-Bôî tayobu V
9-Weponu II
3-Ba yaruwa
3-Weponu II

- kavaorisi o Bweyowa /3, sakapu o tabo'ra /3, bi i ulu neiya /10, bi neiya /11, kuruwatara bi neiya /12, popwasa bi kamukai /3, makaina ba ura katakewa /5, ura gera ura ura katakewa gu /2, i wa kuwa'gu i masawa'ra /5, ra Ku ruruwai kai koiya kulu' mu a vaisi? /5, a gu parawa parama /3b, a tabo'ra /3, bi kata bi kata /4, o tabo'ra bi bikata /5, wado'ra bi bikata /6, nopou'ra bi magi'ra siwasiwa bi o nano'ra diu bi salu bi nei /4, si katubugia yagasi /5, si nei keda Bweyowa /3, i kwaigatugatu /2, i i dababana /5, ra i dababana /8, ra setolisimiga /6, ra Nêi waigana /2, kwarakwara kwaivau /24, Kwarakwarakwaivau /2, Watowa /1, Sawenu /-Watowa /1, Kaiiya kulunaodukirabwasa kagu /-Watowa /1, /-Watowa /1, vana. /-Watowa /1, Karakaiya tama'gu /2, senuye' gusiwarere /4a, Watowa VIII /1g, Kara veka /-Kavira /1a, Muyuwa /-Kavira /1a, tumwane' gutama'gu /6, siwarere /-III /1b, /-Watowa /1, Kagu senupe' gu gudirova /4, Mwemuyara agu Mwemuyara kagu ina'gu /2a, vadudu agu kasiurasi Munaya /4, kata bi kata /4, o tabo'ra kata neiya /11, kuruwatara kata neiya /12, popwasa bi kata neiya /13, i rivisi kataiyadama waga. /-I /1 katakewa katalagaga /6, katakewa /5, ura katakewa katalagaga /6, gera ura katapata /-XI /11, Mu kataraki gegilataulava. / katatagwara /2, gura waga kataviri' mu ava guyau mutu. / kataviriwa ra panipani /4, kata /4, o tabo'ra bi kata /5, wado'ra bi kata /6, nopou'ra bi kata /7, magi'ra siwasiwa kata /8, o nano'ra diu bi kata /9, bi lulu o tabo' katubugia yagasi /5, si katubugia yagasi /6, katudou waga' na. /- katupweniniya yeyuna katurakai i dababana /6, katurakai i dababana /9, katurakai setoli simiga /7, katuyobu kaisai /3, vanu kaudi buwa navirera. /- kaudi buwanavirera /3, kaiiya badou /2, kirara kaiiya dou /2, nunuwa o kaiiya ikimaweisa /14, Kaiiya kaiiya dou /2, Kaiiya ku degi /2, Kaiiya o vegasi /2, kaiiya rawamwana /3g, bi kaiiya renana /5a, kaiiyatama'gu /2, kaiiya Kaiiya tumegwai /2a, yeigu Kaiiya veka ku degi /2a, kaiiyavinafiya /-II /1a, Kaiiya vinafiya /2, kena kaiiyayorikasi /2, kaiiya' na da boporu /- kaiiya /2, ba sivina kaiiya /2, ba sivina kaiiya /3a, kasana boporu. /*
- 4-Weponu Ia
 4-Mesimesi
 11-Kwarakwara
 12-Kwarakwara
 13-Kwarakwara
 4-Tokwai
 6-Tobilikova
 5-Tobilikova
 6-Tobilikova
 30-Lube'gu
 6-Kaukwa reina
 2-Ku ruruwai
 6-Ku momwau
 15-Tougatu
 4-Mesimesi
 5-Mesimesi
 6-Mesimesi
 7-Mesimesi
 8-Mesimesi
 9-Mesimesi
 5-Kwarakwara
 6-Kwarakwara
 4-Dorai sobala II
 3-Lube'gu
 6-Museunaganaga
 9-Museunaganaga
 7-Mola ba kewa
 3-Wosi sobala Ia
 25-Kwarakwara
 3-Kwarakwara
 2-Wosi weimuya IV
 2-Nadubeori III
 14-Komusiyelu
 2-Nadubeori III
 2-Untitled I
 2-Ruwegwau IV
 35-Da weriya
 12-Wosiyawena
 34-Da weriya
 6-Bôitayobu IV
 6-Untitled I
 7-Wosiyawena
 14-Osiyawei'gu
 2-Wosi weimuya Ia
 5-Wosi weimuya Ia
 2-Weponu I
 2-Wosi sobala II
 7-Dorai sobala I

- semwanei' gu kagu
 urakauwa /7, Tudava
 vivira yeigu Tudava /4,
 a siuwali kwasi' ra /10,
 gibururuwa ina Dobu /12,
 taluma. /-I /1,
 Kaukwa reina reina /2,
 dudune' gu! /-I /1,
 moreina /2, natana si
 moreina /3, natana si
 sagwai /4, natana si
 si kaukwa sagwai /3,
 si kaukwa sagwai /5,
 natana yeigu ura
 kaulamuku waga'ra /5a, a
 a vayawa Muyuwa /4a, a
 bikausi /8, bi yowa bi
 bayeyei /4, tama' gu
 a papa ba
 kagu garena /8, a you a
 bi yowa /3, sina' gu bi
 tama' gu kausi ba
 bikausi /4, sina' gu bi
 garena /7, bi yowa bi
 Sina' gu you ba you /2,
 magusarewa /5e, bi
 you ba you /2, koutu ba
 i ra gogura /2, mu
 ku busi /3, kwavirera
 gogura /5, i ra gogura
 kinana /12, so' gu bweta
 o daba' rakinana /11,
 weimuya kagu robu /5,
 Kagurimatua vaori /2,
 na weitupa o Boyowa /3a,
 vilasasa' gu /3, bougwa
 bwada' gu /2, bougwa
 bwada' gu bougwa
 so' gu kavikavira /9,
 na ma gaugau /8, so' gu
 idababana /7, ra
 setoli simiga /9, ra
 ra setoli simiga /4, ra
 sei' na navalamu /-
 puyumi namuro Gawa /-
 yamitagana kunu' gu /-
 Bweyowa ku veyuma /-
 na ma wa'no veka /-
- kauiya /4a, na kiutu na
 kaukwa bulumwala /8, a
 kaukwa kamasawa masawa' ra /5,
 kaukwa kimwa' ra /11, ra
 kaukwa kimwa' ra /13,
 Kaukwa moreina moreina /2,
 kaukwa moreina moreina /3,
 Kaukwa reina reina /2,
 kaukwasagwai /3, kaukwa
 kaukwasagwai /4, natana
 kaukwasagwai /5, kaukwa
 kaukwa vivira yeigu Tudava /4
 kaukwa vivira /6, natana
 kaukwa /7, Tudava kaukwa
 kaulamuku lamilela. /1,
 kaulamuku waga'ra /5a, a
 kausi. /-I /1, Nagega
 kausi ba kausi /5, gera
 kausi siri didi... /-I /1
 kausi youyou sididi... /
 kausi /4, sina' gu bi
 kausi /5, gera ura waga /6,
 kausi /5, ku yowa bi
 kausi /8, bi yowa bi kausi
 koutu ba koutu /3, gera
 koutu ku magu /-Watowa
 koutu /3, gera ura keda /4,
 kavagara ku busi ku busi /3,
 kavagara /4, i ra gogura i
 kavagara /6, ku gusigusi
 kavalabila o daba'ra
 kavalabilaso' gu o daba'ra
 kavamwanama vanu' ga. /-
 kavaorisi o Bweyowa /3,
 kaveyuma tama' gu. /-
 kavikavira. /-I /1,
 kavikavira buwa... /-I /1
 kavikavira buwa /4, bougwa
 kavikavira so' gu vaiguwa /10,
 kavikavira /9, kavikavira
 kavikuru i dababana /8, ra
 kavikuru setoli simiga /10,
 kavikuru setoli simiga /5,
 Kavira /1a, Ba roki
 Kavira /1a, Ba suiya bweta
 Kavira /1a, Bougwa kwagonu'
 Kavira /1a, Kamu kagonu boi
 Kavira /1a, Kauiya
- 9-Wosi weimuya Ia
 8-Dova
 5-Kaukwa reina
 11-Dova
 13-Dova
 2-Kaukwa reina
 3-Dova
 2-Dova
 3-Kaukwa reina
 4-Dova
 5-Dova
 4-Kaukwa reina
 6-Dova
 7-Dova
 14-Nagega
 13-Nagega
 9-Bisila B
 5-Bisila A
 12-Bisila A
 9-Sina ba yasina
 4-Bisila B
 5-Bisila A
 5-Bisila B
 8-Bisila B
 3-Sina ba yasina
 26-Da weriya
 3-Sina ba yasina
 3-Monikiniki II
 4-Monikiniki II
 6-Monikiniki II
 13-Museunaganaga
 12-Museunaganaga
 6-Wosi weimuya IIa
 3-Weponu Ia
 9-Weponu I
 4-Bo<ugwa> kavikavira
 3-Kaliboda
 3-Kaibubura
 10-Monikiniki II
 9-Monikiniki II
 8-Museunaganaga
 10-Mola ba kewa
 5-Mola ba kewa
 4-Nadubeori II
 5-Nadubeori VI
 5-Wosi weimuya II
 6-Bôï tayobu V
 5-Bôï tayobu IV

- sikeigwai Muyuwa /-
o kainena Bweyowa /-
kaimwatu nubō'gu /-
karimwatu nubō'gu /-
kaiyia'na da boporu /-
rogiyamei' gu waponu /-
kutuva ba kimawei /-
kasi veyara unata /-
kaiyaderi diudewenu /-
weiyadoba weimapu /-
reiyava mirumeru /-
muyeī' gu kagu robu /-
werova miratu'gu /-
re meyeisa /-
vaponusa Budibudi /-
roki Nabwaikasa /2, i
/10, so'gu beisa ba
yeiguta daba'gu
tanawa /3, kaitara si
vaki /5, kaitara ura
/-I /1, Kayawa
didi... /-I /1,
kala dagula kalasi i
kaiyayobu banoma /4,
setoli simiga /8, ra
Nabwaikasa /2, ba noiya
orima vivina /2, ba nei
gera ura keda /4, ura
mu' keda /2, ba roya ura
gera ura keda /8, ura
/-Watowa /1, Ura
Ilamunadili ku roya mu'
ba kautu /3, gera ura
re vadudu'gu wa
bulumavau yoka nei
goragora /7, gera ura
bōitayobu /2a, kamu
iyaimemenana /13, aena
ibwaretama /14, aena
aena gumu aena /8,
bomatu /-III /1b,
Kaiyia vinaiyu /2,
gwasagwasa'gu /10, kenu
kenumimi'gu /9, kenu
kenu gwasagwasa'gu /10,
kenu kenumimi'gu /9,
ura tau Paraura /8,
tau Paraura /8, kenu*
- Kavira /1a, Kaiyia veka ku
Kavira /1a, Ku gabu
Kavira /1a, Na bwaideima
Kavira /1a, Na bwedema
Kavira /1a, Na gabema
Kavira /1a, Nūku vadudu
Kavira /1a, Nuvidu bi muyeī
Kavira /1a, Re vagumi'gu
Kavira /1a, Tamurova
Kavira /1a, Toderi vina wa
Kavira /1a, Vadudu o
Kavira /1a, Veyuma ina'
Kavira /1a, Yaga'gu ba
Kavira /1a, Yamatamata
Kavira /1a, Yorinuya
kawa iguterei /-
kawa o daba'rakinana /11,
kawala buraku /3, yaga'gu
kawala sagwai /4, sigili
kawala /6, siliyou bi you
kayama bwada'gu /2, bougwa
Kayawa kayama bwada'gu /2,
kayeyesa yagagu Krobai. /
kayoī'ra nona wagana. /
kayusai setoli simiga /9,
keda banoma /3c, tama'gu
keda Bweyowa /3, i katudou
kedagoragora /5, gera ura
keda kaiwai /3, ku busi ba
keda kumunuwa /9, ba
keda vaosa /2, makedana
keda /2, ba roya ura keda
keda /4, ura keda
keda /4, wa rirorida waga'
keda /7, kwaiyumarawema
keda /8, ura keda
kei'wori ponu ponu /3a, ta
kema ibwaretama /14, aena
kema ibwaretama /15,
kema ibwaretama /9,
Kena waīyayūna /2, agu
kenawaīyayūna /3b, agu
kenu doiyō doiyō'gu /11, ta
kenu gwasagwasa'gu /10,
kenu kenu doiyō doiyō'gu /11,
kenu kenu gwasagwasa'gu /10,
kenu mimi'gu /9, kenu kenu
kenu mimi'gu /9, kenu kenu*
- 5-Untitled I
5-Ruwegwau VI
6-Weponu I
6-Wosi sobala II
6-Wosi weimuya Ia
5-Wosi weimuya III
5-Nadubeori I
5-Dorai I
6-Bōi tayobu III
5-Wosi weimuya IV
5-Ruwegwau IV
5-Dorai sobala I
5-Ruwegwau I
5-Bōi tayobu II
6-Weponu II
3-Nadubeori IV
11-Museunaganaga
3-Mwasilamonikiniki I
4-Katulova
6-Katulova
2-Kaliboda
2-Kaliboda
17-Museunaganaga
5-Wosi sobala I
9-Mola ba kewa
15-Da weriya
3-Dorai sobala II
5-Sina ba yasina
3-Ilamunadili
9-Bisila A
2-Sinata III
2-Ilamunadili
4-Sina ba yasina
4-Dorai II
7-Kwarakwara
8-Bisila A
8-Bōi tayobu V
14-Ī yai ī yai II
15-Ī yai ī yai II
9-Ī yai ī yai II
15-Wosi yawena
15-Osiyawei'gu
11-Monikiniki I
10-Monikiniki I
11-Monikiniki I
10-Monikiniki I
9-Monikiniki I
9-Monikiniki I*

- yavi yamwagana /4a, bi
 a veyumatama' gu /4a, na
 tama' gu/4a, na keponu
 tomadudu/7, waíya ba
 /-I /1, Waíya ba
 /-I /1, Waíya ba
 nuba waga waíya ba
 weriya /2, kudukudu ba
 kauíya /4a, na kiutu na
 raragau /3, kutuva ba
 kirabwasa kagu kauíya i
 kwasi' ra /10, kaukwa
 inaDobu /12, kaukwa
 avei tau bi utu o daba' ra
 beisa ba kawa o daba' ra
 so' gu o daba' ra
 kavalabila o daba' ra
 vakaka /19, kagu bisila
 elisiga/13, kulunaodu
 kauíya ba dou /2,
 gu kagu kauíya /4a, na
 /-Watowa /1, Ba
 bougwa kagu bi
 Ba kivi bweta i
 Watowa /1, Weinuguta
 gu koíya /11, i tatata
 I /1, Ku ruruwai kai
 tau togobwau
 uri towa /6, o daba' na
 museu naganaga /2,
 ni ya i dababana /3,
 agu waga yavi dudu /5,
 kaiké' mu /8, ku mwaiki
 wa koíya /10, i sikaka
 monikiniki
 monikiniki /9, a vali
 a vali wa
 koíya /10, a vali' gu
 i sikaka koíya yaga' gu
 i tatata koíya i yoyu
 gu koíya /11, i tatata
 koíya /12, i savina
 ku ruruwai kai
 yemwa /7, mwata wa
 yemwa /7, mwata wa
 II /1a, Natana
 ku bara guniu /6,
 Nomumusa. /-I /1,
- kenu vina /5a, bi yobu kagu
 keponu keponuna da wanugwa. /
 keponuna da wanugwa. /-
 kewa butu' ra Krobai
 kewa tupa bodaboda /2,
 kewa tupa bodaboda /2, ba
 kewa /5, butu' ra Mwagula
 kikasa /3, mi vana i ra
 kikasa /5a, na kagonu
 kimawei /-Kavira /1a,
 kimaweisa /14, kagu bisila
 kimwa' ra /11, ra giburuwa
 kimwa' ra /13, taumwasila ta
 kinana? /10, so' gu beisa ba
 kinana /11, kavalabila so'
 kinana /12, so' gu bweta
 kinana /13, gera uro
 kipwali pusa. /-I /1,
 kirabwasa kagu kauíya i
 kirara vana vivina /3, ku
 kiutu na kikasa /5a, na
 kivi bweta i kivisi /2, bi
 kivisa /11, agu vilatumala
 kivisi /2, bi geda kagu
 kiyaya /2, ponu' gu
 koíya i yoyu koíya /12,
 koíya katatagwara /2, gura
 koíya kura kanabanibani. /
 koíya kwaiyu /7, ura tau
 koíya ni ya i dababana /3,
 koíya ni ya i dababana /4,
 koíya takubu ku bara guniu /6
 koíya waga bi kota. /-
 koíya yaga' gu koíya /11, i
 koíya /10, a vali' gu
 koíya /10, gera vali' gu
 koíya /10, i sikaka koíya
 koíya /11, i tatata
 koíya /11, i tatata koíya i
 koíya /12, butu' gutamadudu
 koíya /12, i savina
 koíya /13, gala vali' gu /14,
 koíya /5, ku rurubusi
 koíya /8, monikiniki
 koíya /8, monikiniki
 kokoni parawa /2a, parama o
 koli gubai saíya guíya /7,
 Kolowai ba siwa /2, ba
- 9-Nadubeori VI
 10-Wosi sobala II
 10-Wosi sobala II
 8-Lukubukwabuíya
 2-Mwasila monikiniki I
 2-Monikiniki I
 5-Lukubukwabuíya
 3-Da weriya
 10-Wosi weimuya Ia
 4-Nadubeori I
 14-Komusiyelu
 11-Dova
 13-Dova
 10-Museunaganaga
 11-Museunaganaga
 12-Museunaganaga
 13-Museunaganaga
 20-Komusiyelu
 14-Komusiyelu
 3-Wosi weimuya IV
 10-Wosi weimuya Ia
 2-Nadubeori VI
 10-Kaibubura
 2-Nadubeori VI
 2-Untitled IV
 12-Monikiniki III
 2-Ku ruruwai
 13-Monikiniki II
 7-Monikiniki I
 3-Museunaganaga
 4-Museunaganaga
 6-Mwasila monikiniki I
 9-Tokwai ku busi
 11-Monikiniki III
 10-Mwasila monikiniki I
 10-Mwasila monikiniki I
 10-Monikiniki III
 11-Mwasila monikiniki I
 11-Monikiniki III
 12-Monikiniki III
 12-Mwasila monikiniki I
 13-Mwasila monikiniki I
 5-Tokwai ku busi
 8-Mwasila monikiniki I
 8-Mwasila monikiniki I
 8-Seina keda tauíya
 7-Mwasila monikiniki I
 2-Mesimesi

- I/1, Kamu koma beisa beisa /2, kamu*
-I/1, Kamu koma beisa beisa /2, kamu
nêi mesa /3a, bougwa komapusaruwai. /-
vabusi /5, tauiya bi komudu wa waga /-II /1a,
vabusi /2, tauiya bi komudu wa waga /3, patini
vabusi /3, tauiya bi komudu wa waga /4, bi
ba ragaraga Komusiyelu /3, ba
ra /11, o mitiragi' gu komwedona /12, iresi kwabu
i bwaretama. /-I /1, Konakwana konamai /2,
/-I/1, Konakwana konamai /2, konokwana
Konakwana konamai /2, konawai /3, ba si'u o tabo'
Konakwana konamai /2, konokwana konawai /3, ba
kopitaka /2, tatumu ku kopita ku kopitaka /-
XI /11, Mu moi ku kopita ku kopitaka /-
tatumu ku kopita ku kopitaka /-XII /1m, Ku
Mu moi ku kopita ku kopitaka /2, tatumu ku
molakada' gu Mobuyai /6, kopuliyemwa /7, mwata wa
molakada' gu Mobuyai /6, kopuliyemwa /7, mwata wa
/-Watowa /1, Na kopwemanatu' gu /2, na
ku mwaiki koiya waga bi kota. /-I/1, Sina' gu
a liku beku /4, a liku koulai /5, a liku sayaku /6
kalasi i kayeyesa yagagu Krobai. /-I /1,
waïya ba kewa butu' ra Krobai rakaraka /8, butu'
Inukwai yagagu Krobai /13, o kadamalaga
Krobai /13, o kadamalaga Krobai /14, i
dudu /5, koiya takubu ku bara guniu /6, koli
kopitaka /-XII /1m, Ku bara kaiketa ku bara /2,
kaiketa ku bara /2, ku bara ku bara tatumu. /-
ku bara /2, ku bara ku bara tatumu. /-I /1,
XII /1m, Ku bara kaiketa ku bara /2, ku bara ku
ura kedakawai /3, ku busi ba muri /4, ku
ba /ni yagaïyo /3, ku busi kamu mokelolu /4,
gogura /2, mu kavagara ku busi ku busi /3,
diu yoyu. /-I /1, Ku busi ku ra /2, ku ra ba
/-I /1, Tokwai ku busi ku simwa /2, ku
sinata' mubwagau /4, ku busi o nopou' ra ku meïya
mu kavagara ku busi ku busi /3, kwavirera
Ku momwau ku momwau /2, ku dakuna ku dakuna /3,
ku momwau /2, ku dakuna ku dakuna /3, ava mwau
Watowa /1, Kaiïya ku degi /2, remuyega nuwa'
Kavira /1a, Kaiïya veka ku degi /2a, bagidouna
waïya waïyauta /6, ku duduma ba duduma. /-
Kavira /1a, Ku gabu boboeta /2a, toutu
tobugilama /6, ku gilama kwaïtara /7,
tokasa wosi waponu /3a, ku gisi doba weïmapu. /-
ra gogura kavagara /6, ku gusi gusi kaivirera /7,
kukopitaka /2, tatumu ku kopita ku kopitaka /-
XI /11, Mu moi ku kopita ku kopitaka /2,
- 2-Mwasila monikiniki I*
2-Mwasila monikiniki I
8-Wosi weimuya II
6-Osiyawef' gu
3-Osiyawef' gu
4-Wosiyawena
3-Komusiyelu
12-Komusiyelu
2-Konakwana
2-Konakwana
3-Konakwana
3-Konakwana
33-Lube' gu
32-Lube' gu
33-Lube' gu
32-Lube' gu
7-Mwasila monikiniki I
7-Mwasila monikiniki I
2-Sinata VI
9-Tokwai ku busi
5-Nagega
17-Museu naganaga
8-Luku bukwabuiya
13-Mola ba kewa
14-Mola ba kewa
6-Mwasila monikiniki I
35-Lube' gu
36-Lube' gu
36-Lube' gu
35-Lube' gu
4-Ilamunadili
4-Monikiniki I
3-Monikiniki II
2-Ku busi
2-Tokwai ku busi
5-Sinata
3-Monikiniki II
3-Ku momwau
3-Ku momwau
2-Untitled I
6-Untitled I
7-Mwasila kasi duduna
6-Ruwegwau VI
7-Ilamunadili
8-Wosi weimuya IV
7-Monikiniki II
33-Lube' gu
32-Lube' gu

- tatumu ku kopita
 XI /11, Mu moi ku kopita
 vadudu Namulova /2a,
 ku busi ba muri /4,
 tavekuyo ware ware /6,
 tabu'da uligowa /4,
 sarewa /5e, bi kautu
 yaga' gu daba' na Tariebutu
 ra ku meŷya kada' ra /5,
 ra /5, ku meŷya bi wegu
 ku busi o nopou'ra
 Ba roki gioveka /2a,
 gu mukwa tugonu /2,
 bineinai. /-I /1,
 /-I /1, Ku momwau
 toutu inegwai /3a,
 girigiri kaike' mu /8,
 kamu vana a rimu /3,
 kasiponu /3, kaigawenu
 Tama' gu a vagurĩ mu /2,
 kwapoka /4, a tapela
 Ku busi ku ra /2,
 ku simwa /2, ku you
 you ku ra o bwarita /3,
 /-I /1, Ku busi
 I /1, Ilamunadili
 ruruwai kai koiya /5,
 ura waga! /-I /1,
 piya bitaweiyu /4,
 biga'ra Bweyowa
 I /1, Tokwai ku busi
 da uligowa /4, ku ma
 tapa Yanabwa /3, tapa
 ku valisa diweiyami /4a,
 meŷsa nagwai walaga /19,
 walaga /19, ku tepa
 /-I /1, Tokwai
 i bugi /11, ku towa
 siwasiwa i bugi /11,
 ra so'ra /18, migi soba
 kamidoiya Budibudi /3a,
 neisa /4, imu Bweyowa
 saiya guŷya /7, dudu
 kirara vana vivina /3,
 ku busi ku simwa /2,
 sina' gu bi kausi /5,
 Tokwai ku tokaiyesa /2,
 IV /1c, Yagina
- ku kopitaka /-XII /1m,
 kukopitaka /2, tatumu ku
 ku laivi kweita leiyyava /3a,
 ku lausi ba lausi /5,
 ku lumasisa tavekuyo. /-
 ku ma ku siu o guyouta /5,
 ku magu /-Watowa VII /1f,
 ku ma /4, agu waga yavi
 ku meŷya bi wegu ku meŷya
 kumeŷya kada' ra. /-I /1,
 ku meŷya kada' ra /5, ku
 ku meŷya uni boporu /3a, ni
 ku miya bi tanoĩ gu /3,
 Ku momwau ku momwau /2, ku
 ku momwau /2, ku dakuna ku
 kumuyadigeriwa /4a, o
 ku mwaiki koiya waga bi kota
 ku mwemuya valamu. /-
 ku neisa /4, imu Bweyowa
 ku nunumata, naboiya ba tai
 kupela. /-I /1,
 ku ra ba kamu /3, so' gu
 ku ra o bwarita /3, ku
 ku ramasi piya bi taweiyu /4,
 kura /2, ku ra ba kamu /3,
 ku roya mu' keda /2, ba
 ku rurubusi Mwadowa /6,
 Ku ruruwai kai koiya
 ku ruruwai kai koiya /5,
 ku semeisa /6a, tua' gu bi
 ku simwa /2, ku you ku ra
 ku siu o guyouta /5, waiya
 ku tapa /4, ka Misima! /5,
 ku tatesa kaborura. /-
 ku tepa ku tepa' gu wala
 ku tepa' gu wala wala /20, i
 ku tokaiyesa /2, ku yusa
 kutoma /12, i yai i yai
 ku towa ku toma /12, i yai
 kuvakaka /19, kagu bisila
 ku valisa diweiyami /4a, ku
 ku veyuma /-Kavira /1a,
 ku wai i toina Muyuwa /8,
 ku weiya doba weimapu /-
 ku you ku ra o bwarita /3,
 ku yowa bi yowa /6, agu
 ku yusa kamu kai /3,
 kubu kwailova /2, osikwebu
- 33-Lube' gu
 32-Lube' gu
 7-Wosi weimuya III
 5-Ilamunadili
 7-Ku ruruwai
 5-Mwasila kasi duduna
 26-Da weriya
 4-Mwasila monikiniki I
 6-Sinata
 6-Sinata
 5-Sinata
 6-Nadubeori II
 3-Nadubeori VII
 2-Ku momwau
 2-Ku momwau
 8-Ruwegwau VI
 9-Tokwai ku busi
 4-Untitled III
 4-Bôï tayobu V
 3-Tama' gu
 5-Tayou
 3-Ku busi
 3-Tokwai ku busi
 4-Tokwai ku busi
 2-Ku busi
 2-Ilamunadili
 6-Tokwai ku busi
 2-Ku ruruwai
 5-Tokwai ku busi
 10-Ruwegwau I
 2-Tokwai ku busi
 5-Mwasila kasi duduna
 4-Tapa
 10-Bôï tayobu III
 20-Kwarakwara
 20-Kwarakwara
 2-Tokwai
 12-Ĵ yai i yai II
 12-Ĵ yai i yai II
 19-Komusiyelu
 9-Bôï tayobu III
 5-Bôï tayobu V
 8-Mwasila monikiniki I
 4-Wosi weimuya IV
 3-Tokwai ku busi
 6-Bisila B
 3-Tokwai
 11-Lube' gu

- Bwita budegwai /2, ra vana da weriya /2, Watowa II /1a, Ra Ina' gu mesiki o kurunukoli lamila /8, i mwayama' mu? /4, ava dudumeisa elisiga /13, ura keda /8, ura keda mina Kaibutu /9, mina gunaugwa /3, yamitagana Watowa /1, Weipunu imasawa /2a, tabari o yabweiponu o vitevata /3a, uyauyauna gu /3a, sibweipaiya o i kagonu /2, kabobura tau togobwau koiya a kura masawa /6, a bougwa rinaiya a ponu ponu /5g, kura masawa /6, a kura kurunukoli /7, waga'ra a kura kuruburebu bi kata neiya /11, kada' gutakalasi /5, venu raragau /3, i wa tunisa' gu /2, i wa Boyowa /3d, masi gu komwedona /12, iresi Nabouma /3a, domweta o i katupweniniya yeyuna nei yogibu nei ma /4, Kavira /1a, Bougwa Watowa /1, Bougwa Boyowa. /-I /1, I /1, Kwaibikibiki kwailova /2a, osikwebu ratama' gu /2, ra biga kwailova /2, teitu bobu kwailova /2, osikwebu IV /1c, Yagina kubu V /1d, Bova yoyu I visiga migi' ra agu pwalaigusi kwainidinidi gine pwalaigusi lulugemwa lulugemwa Lugemwa lulugemwa kugilama kudu magu vana /3, ra yami kudukudu ba kikasa /3, mi kuduma i nei gabu /2a, kara kudumuiya /2, wa dudu tama kugwa'isa mina Kaibutu /9, kulu' mu a va'isi? /5, a kulunaodu kirabwasa kagu kumunuwa /9, ba Kumwageiya i meiyesa /10, kunu' gu /-Kavira /1a, kunu' gu /2, bi etewa migi' kunu' gu /3a, ba yavi kunu' gu /3a, sibweipaiya o kunu' gu /4a, namakiki kunu' gu /4a, yavamwana kunumesa /3b, da sarewa bi kura kanabanibani. /-I /1 kura kuruburebu kurunukoli /7 kura masawa /6, a kura kuravagigi Boyowa. /-I /1 kuruburebukurunukoli /7, kurunukolilamila /8, i kurunukoli /7, waga'ra kuruwatara bi kata neiya /12, kusi mousa o dokala kutuva ba kimawei /-kuwa' gu i katapata /-kwabu bi ponusa /-Watowa kwabu nei dudumeisa kwadeu. /-Watowa /1, kwadoiya /-II /1a, I kwageyeisa wosi. /-kwagonu' gu bwe' i rara /2a, kwagonu' guruwai /2, ba Kwaibikibiki kwaigatugatu /2, kwaigatugatu /2, i kwailova /-III /1b, kwailova /-IV /1c, kwailova /-VI /1e, kwailova /-V /1d, Bova kwailova /2, osikwebu kwailova /2, teitu bobu kwailova /2a, osikwebu kwainidinidi /-IX /1h, kwainidinidi kwainidinidi / kwainidinidi lugemwa /-kwainidinidi lugemwa /2, kwa'itara /7, megei mu'*
- 3-Ruwegwau V
 3-Da weriya
 6-Da weriya
 2-Weponu A
 8-Kaibubura
 5-Ku momwau
 14-Komusiyelu
 9-Bisila A
 9-Kaibubura
 4-Wosi weimuya II
 2-Sinata V
 7-Nadubeori VI
 7-Bô'i tayobu II
 8-Untitled I
 8-Bô'i tayobu II
 11-Da weriya
 13-Monikiniki II
 6-Kaibubura
 5-Kaibubura
 38-Da weriya
 6-Kaibubura
 7-Kaibubura
 6-Kaibubura
 12-Kwarakwara
 6-Ku busi
 4-Nadubeori I
 30-Lube' gu
 20-Da weriya
 13-Komusiyelu
 8-Ruwegwau IV
 3-Lube' gu
 5-Wosi sobala IIIa
 6-Wosi weimuya II
 2-Wosi weimuya II
 2-Lube' gu
 2-Lube' gu
 6-Lube' gu
 9-Lube' gu
 15-Lube' gu
 12-Lube' gu
 11-Lube' gu
 14-Lube' gu
 5-Lube' gu
 24-Lube' gu
 24-Lube' gu
 27-Lube' gu
 26-Lube' gu
 7-Ilamunadili

- I-I/1, Kwarakwara kaiteta/23, kwarakwara yoka nei keda /7, odaba' na koïya buwa /4, bougwa Nayabwemaagu tau /2, I-Watowa /1, I ba sakapu o tabo' ra /5, a tayou /3, a takapoka Lalela. I-I /1, nagwai o kaiteta /23, ku rurubusi Mwadowa /6, Mwadowa /6, kwarouto oyeyuna /9, a siuwali gu kwatuvia /3, ureri Nageyobu /2, yaga' gu robu' na o Bweyowa /3, ku busi ku busi /3, nêi tokasa bwenita /3, Namulova /2a, ku laivi tayoura youra /8, vadudu Namulova /2a, ku laka govavivila /15, si ta' ulai gimusau /14, si bulubwalimila /16, si matasi /13, i neisi matasi /8, i neisi waga' rakurunukoli waga' ra /5a, a kaulamuku ku busi ba muri /4, ku bamuri /4, ku lausi ba Komusiyelu /3, ba agu vilatumala o nopou' ra ku laivi kweita bagi bweri' gu /5, ba liku ba liku wai /6, ba a liku yagama' gu /3, a a liku mwari /7, a a liku beku /4, a a liku sayaku /6, a a liku koulai /5, a mu' tokwai /8, valiku bweri' gu /5, ba liku ba likuwai /6, ba liku ba Nageganagega wai /2, a Kaivana tamadudu kana kaivanatamadudukana tayoura youra /3, kwaïvau /2, kauri buwa kwaïvau /24, kauri buwa kwaïyumarawema neïya /8, i kwaïyu /7, ura tau kwalikava ba titatua /5, kwanarara kaba' gu /3, kwane' gu sirara /2, ba kwanikauri buwa tabununa /6, kwapoka /4, a tapela ku Kwarakwara kwaïvau /2, kwarakwara kwaïvau /24, kwarouto kwarouto /7, kwarouto /7, girigiri kwasiri' ra /10, kaukwa kimwa' kwatuvia. I-Watowa /1, kwatuvia /3, ureri kwautumasi gudirova /4, kwavirera kavagara /4, i kwawenu' gu vivina. I-kweita leiyava /3a, rûku lagi mu tayoura youra /9, laivi kweita leiyava /3a, laka bulubwalimila /16, si laka govavivila /15, si laka gura viri. I-I /1, Lalela. I-I /1, Lalela /9, gaugau lamila /8, i kugwaisa mina lamilela. /1, Irakadanai lausi ba lausi /5, lausi /5, tobugilama lavilobusi Sinaketa /4, leiyava. I-I /1, Yeru leiyava /3a, rûku tovina wa liku ba liku wai /6, ba liku ba liku wai /7, likubeku /4, a liku likubosu I-II /1a, A likukoulai /5, a liku liku mwari /7, a liku liku sayaku /6, a liku liku vaseula vaseu. I-I /1, liku wai /6, ba liku ba likuwai /7, takova takova liku yagama' gu /3, a liku likuliku /2, kaivana likuliku /3, vaewo bowa liu tayoura youra /4, waga*
- 2-Kwarakwara
 24-Kwarakwara
 8-Kwarakwara
 7-Monikiniki I
 4-Kaibubura
 3-Sinata VII
 2-Sinata II
 6-Konakwana
 4-Tayou
 2-Kwarakwara
 24-Kwarakwara
 7-Tokwai ku busi
 7-Tokwai ku busi
 10-Dova
 4-Ruwegwau II
 3-Ruwegwau II
 4-Wosi weimuya IIa
 4-Monikiniki II
 4-Untitled II
 7-Wosi weimuya III
 9-Karavagia
 7-Wosi weimuya III
 16-Dova
 15-Dova
 17-Dova
 14-Tapa
 9-Tapa
 7-Kaibubura
 14-Nagega
 5-Ilamunadili
 5-Ilamunadili
 4-Komusiyelu
 11-Kaibubura
 7-Wosi weimuya III
 6-Monikiniki III
 7-Monikiniki III
 4-Nagega
 8-Nagega
 5-Nagega
 7-Nagega
 6-Nagega
 9-Ilamunadili
 6-Monikiniki III
 7-Monikiniki III
 3-Nagega
 2-Monikiniki III
 3-Monikiniki III
 4-Karavagia

taboda /10, si patu	lova /11, si boda numura	11-Tapa
lulugemwa kwaïnidinidi	lugemwa/-X /1i,	27-Lube'gu
IX /1h,	Lugemwa lulugemwa	26-Lube'gu
lulugemwa kwaïnidinidi	lugemwa /2, lulugemwa	26-Lube'gu
ra diu bi kata /9, bi	lulu o tabo'ra /10, bi	10-Mesimesi
lugemwa /-X /1i,	Lulugemwa i wa tunisa'gu /2,	29-Lube'gu
IX /1h, Lugemwa	lulugemwa kwaïnidinidi	26-Lube'gu
lugemwa/2, lulugemwa	lulugemwa kwaïnidinidi	27-Lube'gu
lugemwa /2,	lulugemwalulugemwa	27-Lube'gu
ware ware /6, ku	lumasisa tavekuyo. /-I /1	7-Ku ruruwai
kaivirera /7, na	ma gaugau /8, so'gu	8-Monikiniki II
Watowa /1, Ra gisi nêi	makada'gu /2, rûku vapana	2-Wosi weimuya III
tabu'da uligowa /4, ku	ma ku siu o guyouta /5,	5-Mwasila kasi duduna
kagurobu /5, kavamwana	ma vanu'ga. /-Watowa /1,	6-Wosi weimuya IIa
makaina ba katafyada	ma waga. /-I /1,	4-Tokwai
bidoyei'gu /3, na	ma waïno veka /-	4-Bôï tayobu IV
Towa tomanaboina	madibwana /2, so'guparawa	13-Tougatu
nopou'ra bi kata /7,	magi'ra siwasiwa bikata /8,	8-Mesimesi
sarewa /5e, bi kautu ku	magu /-Watowa VII /1f,	26-Da weriya
magu tau ba yosi /4,	magu mwata bayamata /5, o	5-Sobasa
vana /4, ba bweikasa	magusarewa /5e, bi kautu	25-Da weriya
sobasa ba ramai /3,	magu tau ba yosi /4, magu	4-Sobasa
budegwai /2, ra kudu	magu vana /3, ra yami	3-Ruwegwau V
Kavira /1a, Yaga'gu ba	maira /2a, kaba'gu	6-Ruwegwau I
ku yusa kamu kai /3,	makaina ba katafyada ma waga	4-Tokwai
kwanarara kaba'gu /3,	makaina geori. /-Watowa	4-Sinata VII
Ura keda vaosa /2,	makedana Nuratu /3,	3-Sinata III
yoyoki daba'gu ba	mamata /6, o valila	6-Komusiyelu
kagu dudu'gu /11, gera	manuyama'gu /12, bi ra bi	12-Konakwana
sagwai sigusagwai /2,	manu' mu bouna sagwai	18-Lube'gu
ba sirara vivina /3, we	mapu'gu tua'gu. /-	4-Sinata IV
nagwai o yosewa /14, bi	marefgusa bouna nasi	15-Kwarakwara
i rivisi nagwai i	marefgusa /16, i rivisi	16-Kwarakwara
i rivisi nagwai i	marefgusa /17, bougwa nasi	17-Kwarakwara
neiya /8, i	masawa neiya /9, i ulu	9-Kwarakwara
kaukwa kamasawa	masawa'ra /5, ra kataraki	5-Kaukwa reina
Ba suiya bweta i	masawa /2a, tabari o kunu'	6-Nadubeori VI
bougwa rinaiya a kura	masawa /6, a kura	5-Kaibubura
wamugweiyesa Boyowa /3d,	masi kwabu bi ponusa /-	20-Da weriya
o miyamata bi	mata. /-I /1, Samusamu	7-Sobasa
o tabo'ra /10, bi surina	matakalukwa. /11, teiga'ra	11-Mesimesi
tobowau ba girova /5,	mata'na ba girova /6,	6-Ï yai i yai I
waga goragora /7, kagu	mata'na kagu garena /8, a	8-Sina ba yasina
wa modaweta /4, agu	mata'ra agu garena /5,	5-Nipayu
ku yowa bi yowa /6, agu	mata'ra agu garena /7, bi	7-Bisila B
patilei'gu /7, agu	mata'ra agu garena /8,	8-Kagu waliwali
/5, yeigu ba tota o	mata'raderi /-II /1a,	6-Seina keda tauiya
II /1a, Avei tau bi yaya	mata'ra deri' /2a, yegwai	9-Tougatu

- yegwai yakida ba yaya
avei tau bi tota o
yowayoura /12, kapwali
gu Tobebesa /7, taboda
gu daba' na Tariebutu ku
vina/3, nêi yogibu nêi
bulumavauyoku i
kabusura ba girova /7,
ïyai /3, ïyai ïyai
ku gilama kwaitara /7,
wala /20, i rivisi i
pwalala/22, i rivisi i
ba weiya /21, i rivisi i
gu /18, i rivisi i
ku meïya kada' ra /5, ku
ku meïya bi wegu ku
ku busi o nopou' ra ku
meïya uni boporu /3a, ni
Ba roki gioveka /2a, ku
mina Kumwageïya i
kutoma /12, ïyai ïyai
ïyai /2, ïyai ïyai
tobowau i bwaretama /4,
rara /2a, yaunuwenu nêi
Watowa /1, Ina' gu
buna' ra /3, tokasema
Watowa /1, Ura waga
yabweitapa re
kudukudu ba kikasa /3,
gu ponu ponu /2, re dudu
ra ra daba' ra so' ra /18,
kunu' gu /2, bi etewa
mu we nona Boyowa /2,
Watowa VI /1e,
VI /1e, Migî mu tau
II /1a, I visiga
Bi kasa duduori /2,
Paraura /8, kenu kenu
lamila /8, i kugwaïsa
mina Kaibutu /9,
ta' mwasila ta' ulai ta'
ta' mwasila ta' ulai ta'
bidauma /3, werova
o berana /3, reïyava
tapa ku tapa /4, ka
waïwaïsa' ra /11, o
gu mukwa tugonu /2, ku
biyasera /6, o
mata' raderi /3a,
mata' ra deri? /5, yeïgu ba
matasi /13, i neisi Lalela.
matasi /8, i neisi
ma /4, agu waga yavi
ma /4, kwageyeïsa wosi. /
ma /8, ina' gu Silumuwai /9,
mea bagirova /8, kaitara
mea /4, tobowau ba
megeimu' tokwai /8, valiku
meïsa nagwai ba weiya /21,
meïsa nagwai o kaiteta /23,
meïsa nagwai o pwalala /22,
meïsa nagwai walaga /19, ku
meïya bi wegu ku meïya kada'
meïyakada' ra. /-I /1,
meïyakada' ra /5, ku meïya
meïya navalamu. /-Watowa /1
meïya uni boporu /3a, ni
meïyesa /10, bougwa kagu bi
memenana /13, aena kema i
memenana /3, tobowau i
menana i bwaretama /5,
mesa /3a, bougwa komapusa
mesiki okudumuiya /2, wa
Meutu. /-Watowa /1, I
Meutu /2, betoderi buna'
meyeïsa /-Kavira /1a,
mi vana i ra Budibudi
midabe' gu /3, re gwau kagu
migi soba ku vakaka /19,
migi' gu /3, bi gamuya
migi' mu pukouiya tama' gu /3e,
Migi' mu tau migi' mu we nona
migi' mu we nona Boyowa /2,
migi' raagu kwaïlova /2a,
migi' ra gunu mwana. /-
mimi' gu /9, kenu kenu
mina Kaibutu /9, mina
mina Kumwageïya i meïyesa /10
minigisuïya /12, ta' mwasila
minisoba. /-I /1,
miratu' gu /-Kavira /1a,
mirumeru /-Kavira /1a,
Misima! /5, ina' gu
mitiragi' gu komwedona /12,
miya bi tanoï' gu /3,
miyamata bi mata. /-I /1,
10-Tougatu
5-Seina kedatauiya
13-Tapa
8-Tapa
4-Mwasila monikiniki I
4-Wosi sobala IIIa
8-Konakwana
8-ïyai ïyai I
4-ïyai ïyai I
8-Ilamunadili
21-Kwarakwara
23-Kwarakwara
22-Kwarakwara
19-Kwarakwara
6-Sinata
6-Sinata
5-Sinata
7-Nadubeori II
6-Nadubeori II
9-Kaibubura
13-ïyai ïyai II
3-ïyai ïyai II
5-ïyai ïyai II
7-Wosi weïmuya II
2-Weponu A
4-Sinata I
2-Sinata I
4-Bôï tayobu II
4-Da weriya
3-Ruwegwau III
19-Komusiyelu
3-Sinata V
23-Da weriya
22-Da weriya
22-Da weriya
5-Lube' gu
3-Nadubeori VIII
9-Monikiniki I
8-Kaibubura
9-Kaibubura
12-Monikiniki I
14-Monikiniki I
4-Ruwegwau I
4-Ruwegwau IV
5-Tapa
12-Komusiyelu
3-Nadubeori VII
7-Sobasa

- mwata ba yamata /5, o
 i dova /5, molakada' gu
 i dova /5, molakada' gu
 bakalipwasiga o
 kalipwala wa
 XI /11, Mu
 ku busi kamu
 gu bougwa i dova /5,
 gu bougwa i dova /5,
 setoli simiga /7, ra
 bougwa i valova /4,
 bougwa i valova /4,
 siliyou bi you busi
 neinai. /-I /1, Ku
 I /1, Ku momwau ku
 monikiniki /9,
 mwata wa koiya /8,
 mwata wa koiya /8,
 wa koiya /8, monikiniki
 gera butu' gu vali' gu
 wa koiya /8, monikiniki
 /-I /1, Kaukwa
 reinareina /2, kaukwa
 I /1, Kaukwa moreina
 kaukwa moreina
 wai /7, takova takova
 gu takalasi /5, kusi
 yama' mu? /4, ava kulu'
 a va'isi? /5, a kataviri'
 sigusagwai /2, manu'
 avaka sinata' mu? sinata'
 gogura i ra gogura /2,
 i katapata /-XI /11,
 we nona Boyowa /2, migi'
 A waiya a waiya /2, waf'
 avaka sinata'
 Watowa VI /1e, Migi'
 VI /1e, Migi' mu tau migi'
 Ilamunadili ku roya
 Watowa /1, Tabu' gu
 ra wamwana /3g, bi
 o Bweyowa /3, kasiurasi
 /-I /1, Mwanita
 gu natu' gu /4, bi
 parama o wowora
 kaiwai /3, ku busi ba
 ura kaletau
 vali' gu. /-I /1,
- miyasera bi yasera /6, o
 Mobuyai /6, kopuli yemwa /7
 Mobuyai /6, kopuli yemwa /7
 modaweta /10, ba kalisopu
 modaweta /4, agu mata' ra
 moi ku kopita ku kopitaka /2,
 mokelolu /4, yowadudu
 molakada' gu Mobuyai /6,
 molakada' gu Mobuyai /6,
 molamola setoli simiga /8,
 molatabu' gu bougwa i dova /5,
 molatabu' gu bougwa i dova /5,
 momwau. /-I /1, Sina'
 momwau ku momwau /2, ku
 momwau /2, ku dakuna ku
 monikiniki koiya /10, a
 monikiniki monikiniki /9,
 monikiniki monikiniki /9,
 monikiniki /9, a vali
 monikiniki /9, a vali wa
 monikiniki /9, monikiniki
 moreina moreina /2, natana
 moreina moreina /3, natana
 moreina /2, natana si
 moreina /3, natana si
 mosalela gigilala /8, gera
 mousa o dokala gila'isi /6,
 mu a va'isi? /5, a kataviri
 mu ava guyau mutu. /-I /1
 mu bouna sagwai sigusagwai /
 mubwagau /4, ku busi o
 mu kavagara ku busi ku
 Mu moi ku kopita ku
 mu pukouiya tama' gu /3e, ba
 mu Sarupeta /3, tabu' da
 mu? sinata' mu bwagau /4,
 mu tau migi' mu we nona
 mu we nona Boyowa /2, migi'
 mu' keda /2, ba roya ura
 mukwa tugonu /2, ku miya
 munabe' gu natu' gu /4, bi
 Munaya /4, kakagonu
 munumwanita /2, suruma ba
 munumwenisa ponu ponu /5g,
 munumwenisi. /-I /1,
 muri /4, ku lausi ba
 murumwar' gu. /-I /1,
 Museu naganaga museu
- 6-Sobasa
 6-Mwasila monikiniki I
 6-Mwasila monikiniki I
 10-Bisila A
 4-Nipayu
 32-Lube' gu
 4-Monikiniki I
 6-Mwasila monikiniki I
 6-Mwasila monikiniki I
 8-Mola ba kewa
 5-Mwasila monikiniki I
 5-Mwasila monikiniki I
 7-Katulova
 2-Ku momwau
 2-Ku momwau
 10-Mwasila monikiniki I
 9-Mwasila monikiniki I
 9-Mwasila monikiniki I
 9-Mwasila monikiniki I
 9-Monikiniki III
 9-Mwasila monikiniki I
 2-Kaukwa reina
 3-Dova
 2-Kaukwa reina
 3-Dova
 8-Monikiniki III
 6-Ku busi
 5-Ku momwau
 6-Ku momwau
 18-Lube' gu
 4-Sinata
 3-Monikiniki II
 32-Lube' gu
 23-Da weriya
 3-Mwasila kasi duduna
 4-Sinata
 22-Da weriya
 22-Da weriya
 2-Ilamunadili
 2-Nadubeori VII
 36-Da weriya
 4-Weponu Ia
 2-Se'inakeda tauiya
 37-Da weriya
 9-Se'ina keda tauiya
 4-Ilamunadili
 16-Tougatu
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- I/1, Museu naganaga*
-I/1, Tapan
kwaïtara /7, megei
a kataviri' mu ava guyau
toutu inegwai /3a, ku
ponu da kaïyobu /3, re
kasani o Bweyowa /3, re
Kavira /1a, Nuvidu bi
nuwa' gu /3, sikeigwai
II /1a, A vali
Muyuwa /2a, a vatana
agu tanoi
agu tanoi
Muyuwa /3a, a vayawa
dudu ku wai i toina
uro takaikai uro takaikai'
uro takaikai uro takaikai'
I /1, Tama' gu a vaguri'
ava mwau yama'
girigiri kaike'
koiya /5, ku rurubusi
ba kewa /5, butu' ra
da sarewa bi
Kauïya o vegasi /2,
kaike' mu /8, ku
o patapatina /6, bi
o patapatina /5b, bi
migi' ragunu
deri derima /6, mwanita
deri derima /3, mwanita
mwanita mwani
baduduma. -I/1/1,
derima deri derima /6,
derima deri derima /3,
mwanita mwani
sesero sesero mwanoïna
sesero sesero
I /1, Sesero sesero bi
gura waga waga'ra
likusayaku /6, a liku
doiyo doiyo' gu /11, ta'
mwasilata' ulai /13, ta'
ta' minigisuïya /12, ta'
tau ba yosi /4, magu
kopuli yemwa /7,
kopuli yemwa /7,
ku dakuna /3, ava
kamu vana a rimu /3, ku
- museu naganaga /2, koiya*
mu' tapa /2, tapa Yanabwa /3
mu' tokwai /8, valiku liku
mutu. -I/1/1, I yai i
muya digeriwa /4a, o
muya nano' gu bi rikasi. /-
mu yei' gu kagu robu /-
mu yei' gu /2a, veva ba
Muyuwa /-Kavira /1 a,
Muyuwa /2a, a vatana
Muyuwa /3a, a vayawa
Muyuwa /3b, kanokwasi para
Muyuwa /4, kanokwasi para
Muyuwa /4a, a kaulamuku
Muyuwa /8, taweiya guïya
mu /14, gera uro takaikai
mu /15, a utu borogu
mu /2, ku nunumata, naboïya
mu? /4, ava kulu' mu a
mu /8, ku mwaïki koiya
Mwadowa /6, kwarouto
Mwagula rakaraka /6, butu'
mwaïduku /- Watowa IV /1c,
mwaïgini o berana /3,
mwaïki koiya waga bi kota. /
mwaïniku gelu guna waga. /
mwaïniku gelu guna waga. /
mwana. /- Watowa /1,
mwani mwanita /-II /1a,
mwani mwanita /4, suruma
mwanita /-II /1a, Avei
Mwanita munumwanita /2,
mwanita mwani mwanita /-
mwanita mwani mwanita /4,
mwanita /4, suruma suru
mwanoïna. /-I/1, Bowa
mwanoïna mwanoïna. /-I/1
mwanoïna /2, sesero sesero
mwari /3, tavekuyo waga'ra
mwari /7, a liku bosu /
mwasilata' ulaita'
mwasilata' ulaita' minisoba.
mwasilata' ulai /13, ta'
mwata bayamata /5, o
mwata wa koiya /8,
mwata wa koiya /8,
mwauyama' mu? /4, ava kulu
mwemuya valamu. /-
- 2-Museu naganaga*
2-Tapa
8-Ilamunadili
6-Ku momwau
8-Ruwegwau VI
4-WeponuIIa
4-Dorai sobala I
6-Nadubeori I
4-Untitled I
10-Nagega
11-Nagega
16-Wosiyawena
16-Osiyawei' gu
12-Nagega
8-Mwasila monikiniki I
14-Museu naganaga
15-Museu naganaga
2-Tama' gu
4-Ku momwau
8-Tokwai ku busi
6-Tokwai ku busi
6-Lukubukwabuiya
12-Da weriya
3-Ruwegwau IV
9-Tokwai ku busi
19-Osiyawei' gu
19-Wosiyawena
3-Nadubeori VIII
7-Tougatu
4-Tougatu
7-Tougatu
2-Seinakeda tauïya
7-Tougatu
4-Tougatu
4-Tougatu
3-Mwanoïna
3-Mwanoïna
2-Mwanoïna
3-Ku ruruwai
7-Nagega
12-Monikiniki I
14-Monikiniki I
13-Monikiniki I
5-Sobasa
8-Mwasila monikiniki I
8-Mwasila monikiniki I
4-Ku momwau
4-Untitled III

- mwana. /-Watowa /1,
 gana. /-Watowa /1,
 buwa... /-I /1, Ba
 I /1, Ba mwena ba
 i katudou waga'
 wa rirorida waga'
 bagirova /5, mata'
 Inukwai. /-I /1, Bi
 Bi na bi nawa /2, bi
 gu /-Kavira /1a,
 gu /-Kavira /1a,
 gu yorikasi /3, doba'
 gu gudirova /4, kauliya'
 boporu /-Kavira /1a,
 na kiutu na kikasa /5a,
 goragora /7, kagu mata'
 a veyumatama' gu /4a,
 kauliya /4a, na kiutu
 gu kagu kauliya /4a,
 uri towa /6, o daba'
 /-Watowa /1,
 gusigusi kaivirera /7,
 yeigu bi doyei' gu /3,
 Yegu gumu robu /2, robu'
 /-Watowa /1,
 Na gabema pitamuya /2a,
 buraku /3, yaga' gudaba'
 na vatoi agu waga /3,
 Na kopwema natu' gu /2,
 bwaideima gudikesa /2a,
 Na bwedema gudikesa /2a,
 mu /2, ku nunumata,
 uli waga agu waga /4,
 o Bweyowa /2a, rimwatu
 Watowa IV /1c, Namuyuwa
 Watowa /1, Ba roki
 Watowa /1, Ba roki
 gu. /-I /1, Museu
 Museu naganaga museu
 bi kausi. /-I /1,
 /-I /1, Nagega
 Watowa /1, Bi rara
 /-Watowa /1,
 i rivisi i meisa
 bougwa /15, i rivisi
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 i rivisi i meisa
 i rivisi i meisa
- Mwemuyara agu kauliya /2,
 Mwemuyara kagukauliya /2,
 mwena ba mwenawa /2, ba
 mwenawa /2, ba busi wa
 na. /-Watowa /1, Ba
 na. /-Watowa /1, Re
 na ba girova /6, kabusura
 na bi nawa /2, bi na bi
 na bi nawa /3, yatana kasi
 Na bwaideima gudikesa /2a,
 Na bwedema gudikesa /2a, na
 na Bweyowa yoriruwa. /-
 na da boporu /-Kavira /1a
 Na gabema pitamuya /2a, na
 na kagonu bwibwitoka /6a,
 na kagu garena /8, a you a
 na keponu keponuna da
 na kikasa /5a, na kagonu
 na kiutu na kikasa /5a, na
 na koiya kwaiyu /7, ura
 Na kopwema natu' gu /2, na
 na ma gaugau /8, so' gu
 na ma wa'no veka /-
 na o Bweyowa /3,
 Na orima vivina /2, ba nei
 na rourama Budibudi /3a,
 na Tariebutu ku ma /4, agu
 na vaoturisana. /-
 na vatoi agu waga /3, na
 na weitupa o Boyowa /3a,
 na wetupa o Bweyowa /3a, a
 naboiya ba tai ura waga! /
 naboiya nuba waga waiya ba
 Nabouma /3a, domweta o
 Nabwaiikasa /2, ba noiya
 Nabwaiikasa /2, i kawa
 Nadubeori /2, sei na
 naganaga museu naganaga /2,
 naganaga /2, koiya ni ya i
 Nagega nagega wai /2, a
 nagega wai /2, a liku
 Nageyobu /2, yaga' gu
 Nagudimuya bi towoi /2,
 nagwai ba weija /21, i
 nagwai i mareigusa /16, i
 nagwai i mareigusa /17,
 nagwai o kaiteta /23,
 nagwai o pwalala /22, i
- 2-Weponu I
 2-Wosi sobala II
 2-Katulova
 2-Katulova
 4-Dorai sobala II
 5-Dorai II
 6-I'yai i'yai I
 2-Kagu waliwali
 3-Kagu waliwali
 7-Weponu I
 7-Wosi sobala II
 4-Weponu A
 5-Wosi weimuya Ia
 7-Wosi weimuya Ia
 11-Wosi weimuya Ia
 8-Sina bayasina
 10-Wosi sobala II
 10-Wosi weimuya Ia
 10-Wosi weimuya Ia
 7-Monikiniki I
 2-Sinata VI
 8-Monikiniki II
 4-Bôï tayobu IV
 3-Wosi weimuya IIa
 2-Dorai sobala II
 8-Wosi weimuya Ia
 4-Mwasila monikiniki I
 4-Sinata VI
 3-Sinata VI
 8-Weponu I
 8-Wosi sobala II
 3-Tama' gu
 5-Luku bukwabuiya
 7-Ruwegwau IV
 14-Da weriya
 2-Nadubeori IV
 2-Nadubeori II
 2-Museu naganaga
 2-Museu naganaga
 2-Nagega
 2-Nagega
 2-Ruwegwau II
 2-Wosi sobala IIa
 21-Kwarakwara
 16-Kwarakwara
 17-Kwarakwara
 23-Kwarakwara
 22-Kwarakwara

- kata neiya /13, i rivisi
 gu /18, i rivisi i meisa
 bitano'gu /3, puroru
 uyaunyauna kunu'gu /4a,
 Kavira /1a, Nûku vadudu
 kagu vana /3, puyumi
 Watowa IV /1c,
 da kaŷyobu /3, muya
 bougwa nêi yeru
 bougwa nêi yeru
 keda banoma /3c, tama'gu
 siwasiwa bi kata /8, o
 setoli simiga /3,
 tabu'gu Yubuna /3,
 i mareŷgusa /17, bougwa
 bi mareŷgusa bouna
 raderi /-II /1a,
 moreina moreina /2,
 moreina moreina /3,
 si kaukwa sagwai /4,
 kaukwavivira /6,
 Watowa /1, Na kopwema
 bimunabeŷ'gu
 nuguta /3f, vaimaneŷ'gu
 Nadubeori /2, seiŷna
 uni boporu /3a, ni meŷiya
 kauibuwanavirera /3,
 kwaivau /24, kauri buwa
 kwaivau /2, kauri buwa
 /-I /1, Bi na bi
 na bi nawa /2, bi na bi
 /-Watowa /1,
 iresikwabu
 II /1a, Ra kuduma i
 nêi worisa Budibudi /3a,
 Weirara bisivina /3a,
 Wosina ba yaruwa /2,
 Wosina ba yaruwa /2,
 Na orima vivina /2, ba
 bulumavau yoka
 Watowa /1, Ra gisi
 gu vina /3, nêi yogibu
 irara /2a, yaunuwenu
 Kamidimidi agu waga /2,
 kagonu bwibwitoka /6a,
 worisa kagu vana /4,
 wori'gu kagu vana /4,
 wori'gu kagu vana /5a,
 nagwai o yosewa /14, bi
 nagwai walaga /19, ku tepa
 Nakeisaba. /-Watowa /1,
 namakiki vivina. /-
 Namulova/2a, ku laivi
 namuroGawa /-Kavira /1a,
 Namuyuwana Nabwaikasa /2, ba
 nano'gu bi rikasi. /-
 nano'gu /3, kasi veyara
 nano'gu /3a, kasi veyara i
 nano'ra bi puroru /-
 nano'ra diu bi kata /9, bi
 nano'ra setoli simiga /4,
 nasavanayavana. /-I /1,
 nasi bougwa'gu /18, i
 nasi bougwa /15, i rivisi
 Natana kokoni parawa /2a,
 natana si kaukwa sagwai /3,
 natana si kaukwa sagwai /4,
 natana si kaukwa sagwai /5,
 natana yeigu ura kaukwa /7,
 natu'gu /2, na vatoi agu
 natu'gu /4, bi munumwenisa
 natu'gu /4, vanoega
 navalamu /-Kavira /1a,
 navalamu. /-Watowa /1,
 navigasi salubineŷi /4,
 navirera. /-I /1,
 navirera /3, navigasi salu
 nawa /2, bi na bi nawa /3,
 nawa /3, yatana kasi
 Nayabwema agu tau /2,
 nêi dudumeisa elisiga /13,
 nêi gabu /2a, kara vana we
 nêikaneŷ'gu weikana
 nêi kasisa banoma
 nêi kasisa boboyeta /3,
 nêi kasisa o boboyeta /3,
 nei keda Bweyowa /3, i
 nei keda /7,
 nêima kada'gu /2, rûku
 nêima /4, kwageyeisa wosi
 nêi mesa /3a, bougwa
 nêi tokasa bwenita /3,
 nêi vamwana Buburei /7a,
 nêi vaponusa Budibudi /-
 nêi vaponusa Budibudi /-
 nêi vaponusa Budibudi. /
- 14-Kwarakwara
 19-Kwarakwara
 4-Nadubeori VII
 9-Untitled I
 6-Wosi weimuya III
 4-Nadubeori VI
 14-Da weriya
 4-Weponu IIIa
 3-Dorai I
 7-Dorai I
 16-Da weriya
 9-Mesimesi
 4-Mola bakewa
 4-Mwasilasulumoiya
 18-Kwarakwara
 15-Kwarakwara
 8-Seina keda tauiya
 3-Kaukwa reina
 4-Dova
 5-Dova
 7-Dova
 2-Sinata VI
 36-Da weriya
 30-Da weriya
 3-Nadubeori II
 7-Nadubeori II
 4-Kwarakwara
 25-Kwarakwara
 3-Kwarakwara
 2-Kagu waliwali
 3-Kagu waliwali
 2-Sinata VII
 13-Komusiyelu
 6-Da weriya
 9-Bayaruwa
 9-Weponu II
 3-Ba yaruwa
 3-Weponu II
 3-Dorai sobala II
 7-Kwarakwara
 2-Wosi weimuya III
 4-Wosi sobala IIIa
 7-Wosi weimuya II
 3-Untitled II
 12-Wosi weimuya Ia
 5-Bayaruwa
 5-Weponu II
 11-Weponu II

- vanu' ga. /-Watowa /1, Nêi waigana /2, katuyobu
 kwautumasi gudirova /4, nêi weimuya kagu robu /5,
 kasisa o boboyeta /3, nêi wori'gu kagu vana /4,
 banoma boboyeta /4a, nêi wori'gu kagu vana /5a,
 Gudirova nêi worisa /2a, nêi worisa Budibudi /3a,
 nêi kasisa boboyeta /3, nêi worisa kagu vana /4,
 Watowa II /1a, Gudirova nêi worisa /2a, nêi worisa
 gutai'ya /2, bougwa nêi yeru nano'gu /3, kasi
 wakasa /2a, bougwa nêi yeru nano'gu /3a, kasi
 i bwadi'gu vina /3, nêi yogibu nêi ma /4,
 /11, teiga' rabi neinai. /-I /1, Ku
 gu rogaroga /3a, bi dudu Neiruma /4a, ra bwadi
 kaigawenuku neisa /4, imu Bweyowa ku
 kapwali matasi /13, i neisi Lalela. /-I /1,
 taboda matasi /8, i neisi Lalela /9, gaugau
 masawa neiya /9, i ulu neiya /10, bi kata neiya /10, bi kata
 i ulu neiya /10, bi kata neiya /11, kuruwatara bi
 kuruwatara bi kata neiya /12, popwasa bi kata
 popwasa bi kata neiya /13, i rivisi nagwai
 keda /7, kwayumarawema neiya /8, i masawa neiya /9
 neiya /8, i masawa neiya /9, i ulu neiya /10,
 navigasi salu bi nei /4, si katubugia
 III /1b, Kakiuto i nekudu /2, kakagonu bwe' i
 magu vana /3, ra yami nemeyara /4, ra gwau
 vana we nubi'gu /3a, i neumuyom wabeta /-Watowa
 ku meiya uni boporu /3a, ni meiya navalamu. /-
 naganaga /2, koiya ni ya i dababana /3, koiya
 ya i dababana /3, koiya ni ya i dababana /4, ra
 ba kagudu ba / niyaga'yo /3, ku busi
 Nabwaikasa /2, ba noiya keda banoma /3c, tama
 sidididi...tatata Nomumusa. /-I /1,
 sidididi tatata Nomumusa... /-I /1, A
 Mig' mu tau mig' mu nona Boyowa /2, mig' mu
 mu we banoma /4, kayof' ra nona wagana. /-Watowa /1
 wado' ra bi kata /6, nopou' ra bikata /7, mag'
 i talavagule'gusa o nopou' ra Inukwai. /-I /1,
 mu bwagau /4, ku busi o nopou' ra ku meiya kada' ra /5,
 agu vilatumala o nopou' raleiyava. /-I /1,
 agu waga /4, naboiya nuba waga wa'ya ba kewa /5,
 gabu /2a, kara vana we nubi'gu /3a, i neumu
 o Boyowa /4, kaimwatu nubo'gu /-Kavira /1a,
 o Bweyowa /4, karimwatu nubo'gu /-Kavira /1a,
 Watowa /1, Kagu weimuya nubo'gu /2, kagu weimapu
 ina'gu /2, kagu dovira nuguta /3f, vaimane' gu
 waponu /-Kavira /1a, Nuku vadudu Namulova /2a,
 patulova /11, si boda numura yowayoura /12,
 gu a vagur' mu /2, ku nunumata, naboiya ba tai ura
 Kai'ya kai'ya dou /2, nunuwa o Bweyowa. /-
- 2-Wosi sobala Ia
 5-Wosi weimuya IIa
 4-Weponu II
 10-Weponu II
 8-Ba yaruwa
 4-Bayaruwa
 7-Bayaruwa
 3-Dorai I
 7-Dorai I
 4-Wosi sobala IIIa
 12-Mesimesi
 8-Ruwegwau I
 4-Bô'i tayobu V
 14-Tapa
 9-Tapa
 10-Kwarakwara
 11-Kwarakwara
 12-Kwarakwara
 13-Kwarakwara
 8-Kwarakwara
 9-Kwarakwara
 4-Kwarakwara
 11-Bayaruwa
 4-Ruwegwau V
 8-Da weriya
 7-Nadubeori II
 3-Museu naganaga
 4-Museu naganaga
 3-Monikiniki I
 15-Da weriya
 6-Nipayu
 9-Kagu waliwali
 22-Da weriya
 5-Wosi sobala I
 7-Mesimesi
 15-Mola ba kewa
 5-Sinata
 11-Kaibubura
 5-Luku bukwabuiya
 7-Da weriya
 5-Weponu I
 5-Wosi sobala II
 2-Wosi weimuya I
 29-Da weriya
 6-Wosi weimuya III
 12-Tapa
 3-Tama' gu
 3-Nadubeori III

- Nutavisi nuraora*
VIII/1g, Nutavisi
keda vaosa/2, makedana
gisigusi /-VIII/1g,
Kavira /1a,
ku degi/2, remuyega
o vegasi/2, mwaigini
yaruwa/2, nêi kasisa
gudikesa/2a, na weitupa
Budibudi/3, sivine'gu
simwa/2, ku you ku ra
kaiuya dou/2, nunuwa
Kavira /1a, Vadudu
vaori/2, kavaorisi
gumu robu/2, robu'na
re vadudu/2, ra kasani
gudikesa/2a, na wetupa
Budibudi/3, sivine'gu
i towa uri towa/6,
avei tau bi utu
so'gu beisa ba kawa
kavalabila so'gu
so'gu bwetakavalabila
takalasi/5, kusi mousa
ku ma ku siu
yagagu Krobai/13,
simiga/11, i dudusa
deni ba veramu/3,
kumuya digeriwa/4a,
i rivisi i meisa nagwai
Ina'gu mesiki
i masawa/2a, tabari
yaburesi/2a, yabweiponu
kunu'gu/3a, sibweipaiya
Nabouma/3a, domweta
deri?/5, yeigu ba tota
avei tau bi tota
sagwai wa'wa'isi'ra/11,
miyasera bi yasera/6,
mwata ba yamata/5,
bakalipwasiga
ra siwasiwa bi kata/8,
i talavaguleigusa
mu bwagau/4, ku busi
agu vilatumala
para bomatu/4, ba vani
para bomatu/5b, ba vani
i rivisi i meisa nagwai
- nupiaku gisigisi/2, gine*
nuraora nupiaku gisigisi/2,
Nuratu/3, tokasema doobu
Nutavisi nuraora nupiaku
Nuvidu bi muyei'gu/2a,
nuwa'gu/3, sikeigwai
o berana/3, reiyava
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3-Wosi weimuya IIa
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o tabo'ra /5, kwanikau
o takaikai ba sirera /4a,
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o vegasi /2, mwa'gini o
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papa'ya'gu /10, peirara
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5-Mesimesi
10-Mesimesi
3-Mesimesi
4-Konakwana
5-Konakwana
10-Osiyawei'gu
9-Wosi yawena
7-Komusiyelu
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14-Bayaruwa
9-Seina kedatauiya
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12-Ruwegwau I
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13-Wosi yawena
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 ra bwarekwa i dababana /7,
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 ra deri? /5, yeigu ba tota
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 20-Komusiyelu
 11-Bisila A
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 22-Kwarakwara
 6-Sinata
 9-Mwasila monikiniki I
 13-Konakwana
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 6-Lukubukwabuiya
 5-Nipayu
 7-Bisila B
 8-Kagu wali wali
 5-Lube' gu
 3-Ku busi
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 16-Da weriya
 9-Lube' gu
 4-Da weriya
 3-Wosi weimuya Ia
 12-Ruwegwau I
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 7-Museu naganaga
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 6-Seina keda tauiya
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 ra katurakai i dababana /6,
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 2-Monikiniki II
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 7-Mola ba kewa
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 9-Mola ba kewa
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 8-Luku bukwabuiya
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 8-Mola ba kewa
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 tama' gu kausi ba kausi /5,
 tama' gunano' ra bi puroru /
 tama' gu Tobebesa /7,
 tama' gu yorikasi /3, doba'
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 9-Weponu I
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 7-Tapa
 3-Weponu A
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 8-Lube' gu
 9-Osiyawei' gu
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 9-Wosi sobala II
 6-Wosi yawena
 12-Monikiniki I
 14-Monikiniki I
 7-Ku busi
 7-Bô'i tayobu III
 12-Monikiniki I
 14-Monikiniki I
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 3-Katulova
 2-Bô'i tayobu III
 7-Bô'i tayobu III
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 5-Tayou
 4-Mwasila monikiniki I
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 12-Monikiniki III
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 6-Nipayu
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 10-Bô'i tayobu III
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 10-Museu naganaga
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 13-Monikiniki II
 12-Monikiniki II
 2-Sabwaboileta
 6-Osiyaweî' gu
 3-Osiyaweî' gu
 4-Wosiyawena
 6-Dorai I
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 14-Dova
 12-Monikiniki I
 14-Monikiniki I
 13-Monikiniki I
 6-Kaukwareina
 14-Dova
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 9-Mwasila monikiniki I
 9-Mwasila monikiniki I
 4-Tokwai ku busi
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 2-Tayou
 10-Kara vagia
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 12-Mesimesi
 15-Lube' gu
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 4-Kaibubura
 7-Tapa
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 6-Ilamunadili
 6-Ilamunadili
 11-Tougatu
 11-Tougatu
 13-Monikiniki II
 6-Wosi weimuya IV
 8-Mwasila monikiniki I
 9-Wosi yawena
 2-Tokwai
 3-Untitled II
 7-Wosi weimuya I
 9-Wosi yawena
 2-Tokwai
 3-Untitled II
 7-Wosi weimuya IV
 18-Da weriya
 4-Sinata III
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 2-Osiyaweŷ' gu
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 5-Osiyaweŷ' gu
 2-Tokwai ku busi
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 8-Ilamunadili
 2-Kara vagia
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 12-Monikiniki II
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 9-Luku bukwabuiya
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 13-Tougatu
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 13-Wosi weimuya Ia
 9-Luku bukwabuiya
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 2-Wosi sobala Ila
 4-Sinata IV
 11-Ruwegwau I
 8-Dova
 4-Kaukwareina
 2-Nadubeori VII
 3-Mwasila monikiniki I
 3-Mwasila monikiniki I
 3-Mwasila monikiniki I
 3-Mwasila monikiniki I
 2-Ruwegwau VII
 6-Bôï tayobu IV
 9-Osiyawei' gu
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 29-Lube' gu
 2-Monikiniki I
 2-Mwasila monikiniki I
 2-Da weriya
 14-Dova
 12-Monikiniki I
 14-Monikiniki I
 13-Monikiniki I
 4-Luku bukwabuiya
 4-Mwasila kasi duduna
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 4-Dorai I
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 6-Nadubeori II
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 7-Dova
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 6-Monikiniki I
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 10-Museunaganaga
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 5-Osiyawei' gu
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 6-Wosi weimuya III
 6-Ruwegwau IV
 4-Dorai II
 2-Dorai sobala I
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 4-Monikiniki III
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 4-Ku ruruwai
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 10-Monikiniki III
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Watowa /1, Ba siki
sokamei' gu gumu
valiku liku vaseula
tokwai /8, valiku liku
A vali Muyuwa /2a, a
kopwema natu' gu /2, na
I /1, Ba ragaraga
a vatana Muyuwa /3a, a
Watowa /1, Kaiya o
imimeisa bougwa
vali' gupalapala /15, gala
vali' gu /14, vali' gu
valiku liku vaseula vaseu. /
valila Tomasina /7, kasi
valisa diweiyami /4a, ku
vali /2, sagwai yerubiki
valova /4, molatabu' gu
valova /4, molatabu' gu
vamwana Buburei /7a, gumu
vana. /- Watowa /1,
vana. /- Watowa /1,
vana a rimu /3, ku mwemuya
vana da weriya /2,
vana i ra Budibudi Budibudi /
vanavivina /3, ku weiya
vana we nubi' gu /3a, i
vana /3, puyumi namuro
vana /3, ra yami
vana /4, ba bweikasa magu
vana /4, nei vaponusa
vana /4, nei vaponusa
vana /5a, nei vaponusa
vani o patapatina /5b, bi
vani o patapatina /6, bi
vanoega Bweiyowa /5f, vine
vanu Rubegau. /- Watowa /1
vanu' ga. /- Watowa /1,
vaori agu vana /4, ba
vaori /2, kavaorisi o
vaosa /2, makedana
vaotu risana. /- Watowa /1
vapana vivina /3,
vaponure vadudu /2, ra
vaponusa Budibudi /-
vaponusa Budibudi /-
vaponusa Budibudi. /-
varamu osimwana. /-
varamu /4a, gwadi Yaunuwenu
varu Iwa /2, venu
varumu. /- Watowa /1,
vaseu. /- I /1, I yai i
vaseula vaseu. /- I /1, I
vatana Muyuwa /3a, a vayawa
vatoi agu waga /3, na
vavabusi /2, ba ragaraga
vayawa Muyuwa /4a, a
vegasi /2, mwaigini o
veitaki /3, rei dawai
15-Mwasila monikiniki I
14-Mwasila monikiniki I
9-Ilamunadili
7-Komusiyelu
9-Bôï tayobu III
2-Nipayu
4-Mwasila monikiniki I
4-Mwasila monikiniki I
12-Wosi weimuya Ia
4-Ruwegwau III
10-Nadubeori VI
3-Untitled III
2-Da weriya
4-Da weriya
3-Wosi weimuya IV
7-Da weriya
3-Nadubeori VI
3-Ruwegwau V
24-Da weriya
4-Bayaruwa
4-Weponu II
10-Weponu II
18-Wosi yawena
18-Osiyawei' gu
31-Da weriya
4-Wosi sobala Ia
6-Wosi weimuya IIa
24-Da weriya
2-Weponu Ia
2-Sinata III
4-Sinata VI
3-Wosi weimuya III
2-Dorai sobala I
5-Bayaruwa
5-Weponu II
11-Weponu II
12-Ruwegwau I
8-Bôï tayobu IV
2-Nadubeori I
4-Wosi sobala IIa
9-Ilamunadili
9-Ilamunadili
11-Nagega
3-Sinata VI
2-Komusiyelu
12-Nagega
2-Ruwegwau IV
3-Bôï tayobu III

- gu /3, na ma waïno*
Kavira /1a, Kauïya
Ba siki varu Iwa /2,
kamuyouru /2, deni ba
kiyaya /2, ponu' gu
valapula kadamalaga /2,
Nuvidu bi mu yei' gu /2a,
yerunano' gu /3a, kasi
yerunano' gu /3, kasi
imu Bweyowa ku
robu /-Kavira /1a,
wetupa o Bweyowa /3a, a
agu wosi /-Watowa
veru i gisigusi /-
sagwai sigusagwai /-
ku magu /-Watowa
yobwa karia /2, karia
kagubikivisa /11, agu
rikasi. /-Watowa /1,
gu. /-Watowa /1,
/-Watowa /1,
Kavira /1a, Toderi
gu tama' gu /6, kauïya
III /1b, Kauïya
ba wa /2, i bwadi' gu
yamwagana /4a, bi kenu
vanoêga Bweiyowa /5f,
si laka gura
/-I /1, Kapwalela
kwadoiya /-II /1a, I
a utu borogu kapwalela
ku degi /2a, bagidouna
bwenita /3, kwawenu' gu
migi' gu /3, bi gamuya
kunu' gu /4a, namakiki
Watowa /1, Na orima
ba dou /2, kirara vana
kada' gu /2, rûku vapana
agu waga /2, ba sirara
sagwai /3, kaukwa
sagwai /5, kaukwa
bi ponusa /-Watowa
teitu bobu kwailova /-
osikwebukwailova /-
ra bi puroru /-Watowa
so' gu vaiguwa /10, so' gu
mesiki okudumuiya /2,
kayo'ra nona
- veka /-Kavira /1a,*
veka ku degi /2a, bagidouna
venurragau /3, kutuva ba
veramu /3, o kainena
veramu /3, rimwatu rivana.
veru i gisigusi /-
vevaba kabiya /3a, tataba
veyara igwana. /-
veyara unata /-Kavira /1a
veyuma /-Kavira /1a,
Veyumaina' gu /2a, vadudu
veyumatama' gu /4a, na
VIII /1g, Kara kauïya tama'
VIII /1g, Nutavisi nuraora
VII /1f, Ba valapula
VII /1f, Ra kadudu ina' gu /2
vila sasa' gu /3, bougwa
vila tumala o nopou'ra
Vina i gedei' gu /2,
Vina kamu youru /2, deni
Vina rimwatu /2, bweina da
vina wa gana /2a, tokasa
vinaïya /-II /1a, O
vinaïya /2, kena
vina /3, nêi yogibu nêi
vina /5a, bi yobu kagu vana
vine ba siponu agu wosi /
viru. /-I /1, Karia
visiga dagulela kalasi /2,
visigamigi' ra agu
visiga /16, kala dagula
vitevata /3a, uyauyauna
vivina. /-Watowa /1,
vivina. /-Watowa /1,
vivina. /-Watowa /1,
vivina /2, ba nei keda
vivina /3, ku weïya doba
vivina /3, rogiyamei' gu
vivina /3, we mapu' gu tua'
vivira yei' gu Tudava /4,
vivira /6, natana yeïgu
VI /1e, Migi' mu tau migi' mu
VI /1e, Towasisa sagwai
V /1d, Bova yoyu kwailova /2
V /1d, Tokasana kada' gu /2,
wa Dabwadabwa /11, tau
wadudu tama' gu yorikasi /3,
wagana. /-Watowa /1,
- 4-Bôï tayobu IV*
6-Untitled I
3-Nadubeori I
3-Ruwegwau VI
3-Untitled IV
21-Lube' gu
7-Nadubeori I
8-Dorai I
4-Dorai I
5-Bôï tayobu V
6-Dorai sobala I
9-Wosi sobala II
33-Da weriya
22-Lube' gu
19-Lube' gu
27-Da weriya
3-Bo<ugwa> kavikavira
11-Kaibubura
2-Bôï tayobu I
2-Ruwegwau VI
2-Wosi sobala I
6-Wosi weïmuya IV
7-Wosi yawena
14-Osiyawei' gu
3-Wosi sobala IIIa
9-Nadubeori VI
32-Da weriya
17-Dova
2-Mola ba kewa
5-Lube' gu
16-Museu naganaga
7-Untitled I
4-Untitled II
4-Sinata V
9-Untitled I
2-Dorai sobala II
3-Wosi weïmuya IV
3-Wosi weïmuya III
3-Sinata IV
4-Kaukwa reina
6-Dova
21-Da weriya
16-Lube' gu
13-Lube' gu
17-Da weriya
11-Monikiniki II
3-Weponu A
5-Wosi sobala I

- leiyava /3a, rûku tovina
 Kavira /1a, Toderi vina
 unata /3, re vadudu' gu
 monikiniki /9, a vali
 kopuli yemwa /7, mwata
 kopuli yemwa /7, mwata
 i watunisa' gu /2, i
 kalipwala
 kagu weimapu waponu /3,
 vadudu' gu wa keda /4,
 ba mwenawa /2, ba busi
 X /1i, Lulugemwa i
 tauiya bi komudu
 tauiya bi komudu
 gu sirara /2, ba sirara
 tauiya bi komudu
 guiya taweyi bununa da
 o tabo' ra bi kata /5,
 tauiya bi komudu wa
 bi mwaïniku gelu guna
 naboïya ba tai ura
 bi mwaïniku gelu guna
 makainabakataiyada ma
 kabiya /3a, tataba gumu
 /-I /1, Kaitotu
 bougwa i kagu /3, uli
 mu /8, ku mwaïki koiya
 gera ura waga /6, ura
 gera ura waga /6, ura
 /-Watowa /1, Ura
 /-Watowa /1,
 liu tayoura youra /4,
 katatagwara /2, gura
 waga /4, naboïya nuba
 Tariebutu ku ma /4, agu
 Bweyowa /3, i katudou
 wa keda /4, wa rirorida
 kurunukoli /7,
 gura waga
 ra vaiguwa /4, tavekuyo
 ra mwari /3, tavekuyo
 yaero avei tau? /2,
 yaero avei tau? /7,
 Yeru yeru avei tau
 /2, yeïgu, Sabwaboileta
 tau? /2, waga' ra yegwai
 Muyuwa /4a, a kaulamuku
 tau? /7, waga' ra yegwai*
- wagana. /-Watowa /1,
 wa gana /2a, tokasa wosi
 wa keda /4, wa rirorida
 wakoïya /10, i sikaka
 wa koiya /8, monikiniki
 wa koiya /8, monikiniki
 wa kuwa' gu i katapata /-
 wa modaweta /4, agu mata'
 wa ridorida kaika' gu. /-
 wa rirorida waga' na. /-
 wa tanawa /3, kaitara si
 watunisa' gu /2, i wa kuwa
 wa waga /-II /1a, Bi
 wa waga /3, patini bi
 wa waga /3, ra dodou
 wa waga /4, bi sikwoïku
 wabu' ra. /-I /1,
 wado' ra bi kata /6, nopou'
 waga /-II /1a, Bi
 waga. /-I /1, A waïya
 waga! /-I /1, Ku
 waga. /-I /1, Tapanu
 waga. /-I /1, Tokwasi
 waga. /-Watowa /1, Ba
 waga agu waga /2, bougwa i
 waga agu waga /4, naboïya
 waga bi kota. /-I /1,
 waga goragora /7, gera ura
 waga goragora /7, kagu
 waga Meutu /2, betoderi
 Waga tanibwisa /2,
 waga tayoura youra /5,
 waga waga' ra mwari /3,
 waga waïya ba kewa /5,
 waga yavi dudu /5, koiya
 waga' na. /-Watowa /1,
 waga' na. /-Watowa /1,
 waga' ra kurunukoli lamila /8,
 waga' ramwari /3, tavekuyo
 waga' ratagwara /5,
 waga' ra vaiguwa /4,
 waga' ra yegwai waga' ra /3,
 waga' ra yegwai waga' ra /8,
 waga' ra? /2, yeïgu,
 waga' ra /3, avaka dudune'
 waga' ra /3, Sabwaboileta
 waga' ra /5a, a kaulamuku
 waga' ra /8, avaka dudune'*
- 8-Wosi weimuya III
 6-Wosi weimuya IV
 4-Dorai II
 10-Monikiniki III
 8-Mwasila monikiniki I
 8-Mwasila monikiniki I
 30-Lube' gu
 4-Ni payu
 4-Wosi weimuya I
 5-Dorai II
 3-Katulova
 29-Lube' gu
 6-Osiyawei' gu
 3-Osiyawei' gu
 3-Sinata II
 4-Wosiyawena
 9-Mwasila monikiniki I
 6-Mesimesi
 6-Osiyawei' gu
 19-Osiyawei' gu
 3-Tama' gu
 19-Wosiyawena
 4-Tokwai
 8-Nadubeori I
 2-Lukubukwabuiya
 4-Lukubukwabuiya
 9-Tokwai ku busi
 7-Bisila A
 7-Sina ba yasina
 2-Sinata I
 2-Bôï tayobu III
 5-Kara vagia
 3-Ku ruruwai
 5-Lukubukwabuiya
 5-Mwasila monikiniki I
 4-Dorai sobala II
 5-Dorai II
 7-Kaibubura
 3-Ku ruruwai
 5-Ku ruruwai
 4-Ku ruruwai
 3-Mwasila
 8-Mwasila
 2-Sabwaboileta
 3-Sabwaboileta
 3-Mwasila
 13-Nagega
 8-Mwasila

- Watowa /1, Teriria agu
 I /1, Kaitotu waga agu
 Kamidimidi agu
 gu /2, na vatou agu
 tauiya bi komudu wa
 sirara /2, ba sirara wa
 tauiya bi komudu wa
 i kagu /3, uli waga agu
 ba kausi /5, gera ura
 goragora /5, gera ura
 saiya guŷya /7, dudu ku
 wotuno /7, ura wotuno
 ga. /- Watowa /1, Nêi
 A waŷya a waŷya /2,
 bi doyei' gu /3, na ma
 kasi kagaga sagwai /8,
 kasi kagaga /9, sagwai
 kagaga sagwai /8, waŷsa
 kagaga /9, sagwai waŷsa
 kasi kagaga sagwai
 waga. /-I /1, A
 Towitara tomadudu /7,
 dudune' gu. /-I /1,
 tamadudu... /-I /1,
 naboiya nuba waga
 ma ku siu o guyouta /5,
 III /1b, Kena
 Kaiiya vinaŷya /2, kena
 siu o guyouta /5, waŷya
 /-I /1, A waŷya a
 I /1, Nagega nagega
 gu /5, ba liku ba liku
 wai /6, ba liku ba liku
 Re vagumi' gu tauiya
 ku tepa ku tepa' gu
 i rivisi i meŷsa nagwai
 ku tepa ku tepa' gu wala
 i unu. /-I /1, Kagu
 bi yayoyu butu' gu /16,
 Tokasana kada' gu /2,
 yagina /4, da kaŷyobu o
 tama' gu /2, kaiiya ra
 na keponu keponuna da
 vivina /3, rogiyamei' gu
 gu /2, kagu weimapu
 wa gana /2a, tokasa wosi
 ra tagwara /5, tave kuyo
 tave kuyo ware
- waga /2, ba sirara
 waga /2, bougwa i kagu
 waga /2, nêi tokasa
 waga /3, na vaotu risana. /
 waga /3, patini bi
 waga /3, ra dodou kaisai. /
 waga /4, bi sikwoiku
 waga /4, naboiya nuba waga
 waga /6, ura waga
 waga /6, ura waga
 wai i toina Muyuwa /8,
 waŷbitu /8, gera guna
 waigana /2, katuyobu
 waŷ' mu Sarupeta /3, tabu'
 waŷno veka /-Kavira /1a,
 waŷsa waŷsa'ra kasi kagaga /9
 waŷsa waŷsa'ra /10, kasi
 waŷsa'ra kasi kagaga /9,
 waŷsa'ra /10, kasi kagaga
 waŷwaŷi'ra /11, o mitiragi
 waŷya a waŷya /2, waŷ' mu
 waŷya ba kewa butu'ra Krobai
 Waŷya ba kewa tupa
 Waŷya ba kewa tupa
 waŷya ba kewa /5, butu'ra
 waŷyawaŷyauta /6, ku
 waŷyaŷyuna /2, agu tanoi
 waŷyaŷyuna /3b, agu tanoi
 waŷyauta /6, ku duduma ba
 waŷya /2, waŷ' mu
 wai /2, a liku yagama' gu /3
 wai /6, ba liku ba liku
 wai /7, takova takova
 wakasa /2a, bougwa nêi yeru
 wala wala /20, i rivisi i
 walaga /19, ku tepa ku tepa
 wala /20, i rivisi i meŷsa
 waliwali yatana si vali /2,
 wamugweŷyesabisalela /17,
 wamugweŷyesa Boyowa /3d,
 wamwana. /- Watowa I /1,
 wamwana /3g, bi munabei' gu
 wanugwa. /- Watowa /1,
 waponu /-Kavira /1a,
 waponu /3, wa ridorida
 waponu /3a, ku gisi doba
 ware ware /6, ku lumasisa
 ware /6, ku lumasisa
- 2-Sinata IV
 2-Lukubukwabuiya
 2-Untitled II
 3-Sinata VI
 3-Osiyawei' gu
 3-Sinata II
 4-Wosi yawena
 4-Lukubukwabuiya
 6-Bisila A
 6-Sina ba yasina
 8-Mwasila monikiniki I
 8-Tobilikova
 2-Wosi sobala Ia
 3-Mwasila kasi duduna
 4-Bôitayobu IV
 9-Komusiyelu
 10-Komusiyelu
 9-Komusiyelu
 10-Komusiyelu
 11-Komusiyelu
 2-Mwasila kasi duduna
 8-Lukubukwabuiya
 2-Monikiniki I
 2-Mwasila monikiniki I
 5-Lukubukwabuiya
 6-Mwasila kasi duduna
 15-Wosi yawena
 15-Osiyawei' gu
 6-Mwasila kasi duduna
 2-Mwasila kasi duduna
 2-Nagega
 6-Monikiniki III
 7-Monikiniki III
 6-Dorai I
 20-Kwarakwara
 19-Kwarakwara
 20-Kwarakwara
 2-Nipayu
 17-Komusiyelu
 19-Da weriya
 14-Ba yaruwa
 35-Da weriya
 10-Wosi sobala II
 4-Wosi weimuya III
 3-Wosi weimuya I
 7-Wosi weimuya IV
 6-Kururuwai
 6-Ku ruruwai

<i>i neumu yomwabeta /-</i>	<i>Watowa III /1b, Ba suiya</i>	<i>9-Da weriya</i>
<i>gu weikana Buburei /-</i>	<i>Watowa III /1b, Kakiuto i</i>	<i>10-Bayaruwa</i>
<i>vaponusa Budibudi /-</i>	<i>Watowa II /1a, Gudirova nei</i>	<i>6-Bayaruwa</i>
<i>Budibudi Budibudi /-</i>	<i>Watowa II /1a, Ra kuduma i</i>	<i>5-Da weriya</i>
<i>sarewa bi mwaifuku /-</i>	<i>Watowa IV /1c, Namuyuwa</i>	<i>13-Da weriya</i>
<i>kaifyobu o wamwana. /-</i>	<i>Watowa I /1, Tutusa vana</i>	<i>1-Da weriya</i>
<i>makaina geori. /-</i>	<i>Watowa I /1, Wosina ba</i>	<i>1-Bayaruwa</i>
<i>ba siponu agu wosi /-</i>	<i>Watowa VIII /1g, Kara</i>	<i>33-Da weriya</i>
<i>bi kautu ku magu /-</i>	<i>Watowa VII /1f, Ra kadudu</i>	<i>27-Da weriya</i>
<i>kwabu bi ponusa /-</i>	<i>Watowa VI /1e, Migi mu tau</i>	<i>21-Da weriya</i>
<i>nano'ra bi puroru /-</i>	<i>Watowa V /1d, Tokasana kada</i>	<i>17-Da weriya</i>
<i>ta derisa Budibudi. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Agu wosi</i>	<i>1-Ruwegwau I</i>
<i>ikawai guterei. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ba kari</i>	<i>1-Nadubeori V</i>
<i>ba yobu rurugonu. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ba kivi bweta i</i>	<i>1-Nadubeori VI</i>
<i>tataba gumu waga. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ba roki</i>	<i>1-Nadubeori II</i>
<i>nunuwa o Bweyowa. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ba roki</i>	<i>1-Nadubeori IV</i>
<i>ikatudou waga'na. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ba siki varu</i>	<i>1-Nadubeori I</i>
<i>puroru Nakeisaba. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Bi kasa</i>	<i>1-Nadubeori VIII</i>
<i>varamu osimwana. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Bi rara</i>	<i>1-Ruwegwau II</i>
<i>ridorida kaika'gu. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Bougwa kwagonu'</i>	<i>1-Wosi weimuya II</i>
<i>bôï tayobu. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Bwita</i>	<i>1-Bôï tayobu II</i>
<i>domweta o kwadeu. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Bwita</i>	<i>1-Ruwegwau V</i>
<i>veyara igwana. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Dobi yaruwa</i>	<i>1-Dorai II</i>
<i>kwawenu'gu vivina. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Guma Bweyowa</i>	<i>1-Untitled III</i>
<i>tokasema Meutu. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, I kwane'gu</i>	<i>1-Sinata II</i>
<i>ku tatesa kaborura. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ina bubuwou /2,</i>	<i>1-Bôï tayobu IV</i>
<i>bweiguna. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ina'gu bi siki</i>	<i>1-Weponu Iia</i>
<i>kainenu i yuyeura. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ina'gu mesiki o</i>	<i>1-Weponu A</i>
<i>ureri kwatuvia. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ine'gu</i>	<i>1-Ruwegwau III</i>
<i>rimwaturivana. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Kagu kaiiya</i>	<i>1-Wosi weimuya Ia</i>
<i>kwageyeisa wosi. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Kagu rimatu</i>	<i>1-Weponu Ia</i>
<i>vaponusa Budibudi. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Kagu weimuya</i>	<i>1-Wosi weimuya I</i>
<i>namakiki vivina. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Kamidimidi agu</i>	<i>1-Untitled II</i>
<i>ni meiya navalamu. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Kaiiya kaiiya</i>	<i>1-Nadubeori III</i>
<i>da wanugwa. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Kaiiya ku</i>	<i>1-Untitled I</i>
<i>re gwau kagu vana. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Kaiiya o</i>	<i>1-Ruwegwau IV</i>
<i>migi'ra gunu mwana. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Mwemuyara agu</i>	<i>1-Weponu I</i>
<i>ra nona wa gana. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Mwemuyara kagu</i>	<i>1-Wosi sobala II</i>
<i>bigamuya vivina. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Na kopwema natu</i>	<i>1-Sinata VI</i>
<i>kasana boporu. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Na orima</i>	<i>1-Dorai sobala II</i>
<i>vanu Rubegau. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Nagudimuya bi</i>	<i>1-Wosi sobala Iia</i>
<i>na vaotu risana. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Nayabwema agu</i>	<i>1-Sinata VII</i>
<i>kavamwana ma vanu'ga. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Nei waigana /2,</i>	<i>1-Wosi sobala Ia</i>
<i>komapusa ruwai. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ra gisi nei ma</i>	<i>1-Wosi weimuya III</i>
<i>gu gumu varumu. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Ra vadudu ba</i>	<i>1-Wosi sobala IIIa</i>
	<i>Watowa /1, Re vagumi'gu</i>	<i>1-Dorai I</i>
<i>rirorida waga'na. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Re vaponu re</i>	<i>1-Dorai sobala I</i>
<i>tovina wa gana. /-</i>	<i>Watowa /1, Sawenu kaiiya</i>	<i>1-Wosi weimuya IV</i>

- bi yobu kagu vana. /- tokasemadobobu. /-
 o kainena Bweyowa. /- ra dodou kaisai. /-
 Bweyowa yorirruwa. /- nano' gu bi rikasi. /-
 ra gwau segwau' gu. /- gisi doba weïmapu. /-
 yabweina bweivatoi. /- kumwemuya valamu. /-
 wemapu' gu tua' gu. /- gwadi Yaunuwenu. /-
 kaveyuma tama' gu. /- robutoweïponu. /-
 tokaikai ba sirera /2a, takaikai ba sirera /4a,
 Watowa /1, Ra vadudu ba ba sirara vivina /3,
 Migî mu tau migî mu nêi gabu /2a, kara vana
 kada' ra /5, ku meïya bi nêi kanei' gu
 ku weïya doba waponu /3a, ku gisi doba
 nubo' gu /2, kagu gudirova /4, nêi
 /- Watowa /1, Kagu /- Watowa /1,
 gu. /- Watowa /1, dukudoku /2a, inena
 gudikesa /2a, na vanavivina /3, ku
 rivisi i meïsa nagwai ba Watowa /1, Guma Bweyowa
 I /1, Tutusa vana da Rumei bi dauma /3,
 bwedema gudikesa /2a, na o boboyeta /3, nêi
 banoma boboyeta /4a, nêi nêi worisa /2a, nêi
 kasisa boboyeta /3, nêi II /1a, Gudirova nêi
 vine ba siponu agu nêima /4, kwageyeïsa
 /- Watowa /1, Agu /- Watowa /1,
 vina wagana /2a, tokasa /- Watowa I /1,
- Watowa /1, Tabu' gu mukwa
 Watowa /1, Teriria agu
 Watowa /1, Tuma' gu kagu
 Watowa /1, Ura keda
 Watowa /1, Ura waga
 Watowa /1, Vina i gedeï'
 Watowa /1, Vina kamu
 Watowa /1, Vina rimwatu /2,
 Watowa /1, Waga
 Watowa /1, Weinuguta
 Watowa /1, Weïpunu kunu'
 Watowa /1, Wosi ta
 Watowa /1, Wosina ba
 Watowa /1, Yegu gumu
 waudawada ba sidoïya /3a,
 waudawada ba sidoïya /5a,
 wa /2, i bwadi' gu vina /3,
 wemapu' gu tua' gu. /-
 we nona Boyowa /2, migî mu
 wenubeï' gu /3a, i neumu
 wegu ku meïya kada' ra. /
 weïkana Buburei /- Watowa
 weïmapu /- Kavira /1a,
 weïmapu. /- Watowa /1,
 weïmapu waponu /3, wa
 weïmuya kagu robu /5,
 weïmuyanubo' gu /2, kagu
 Weinuguta kiyaya /2, ponu'
 Weïpunu kunu' gu /2, bi
 Weirara bisivina /3a, nêi
 weitupa o Boyowa /3a,
 weïya doba weïmapu /-
 weïya /21, i rivisi i meïsa
 Werara /2, kamu vana a
 weriya /2, kudukudu ba
 werova miratu' gu /-
 wetupa o Bweyowa /3a, a
 wori' gu kagu vana /4, nêi
 wori' gu kagu vana /5a, nêi
 worisa Budibudi /3a, nêi
 worisa kagu vana /4, nêi
 worisa /2a, nêi worisa
 wosi /- Watowa VIII /1g,
 wosi. /- Watowa /1,
 wosi ruwegwau /2, Rumei bi
 Wosi ta yayusa /2, bôï
 wosi waponu /3a, ku gisi
 Wosina ba yaruwa /2, nêi
- 1-Nadubeori VII
 1-Sinata IV
 1-Ruwegwau VII
 1-Sinata III
 1-Sinata I
 1-Bôï tayobu I
 1-Ruwegwau VI
 1-Wosi sobala I
 1-Bôï tayobu III
 1-Untitled IV
 1-Sinata V
 1-Bôï tayobu V
 1-Weponu II
 1-Wosi weïmuya IIa
 10-Wosi yawena
 11-Osiyawei' gu
 2-Wosi sobala IIIa
 4-Sinata IV
 22-Da weriya
 7-Da weriya
 6-Sinata
 9-Bayaruwa
 4-Wosi weïmuya IV
 8-Wosi weïmuya I V
 3-Wosi weïmuya I
 5-Wosi weïmuya IIa
 2-Wosi weïmuya I
 2-Untitled IV
 2-Sinata V
 8-Weponu II
 8-Weponu I
 4-Wosi weïmuya IV
 21-Kwarakwara
 2-Untitled III
 2-Da weriya
 4-Ruwegwau I
 8-Wosi sobala II
 4-Weponu II
 10-Weponu II
 8-Bayaruwa
 4-Bayaruwa
 7-Bayaruwa
 32-Da weriya
 5-Wosi sobala IIIa
 2-Ruwegwau I
 2-Bôï tayobu V
 7-Wosi weïmuya IV
 2-Bayaruwa

- ra deri? /2a, yegwai
 dudu'gu /11, gera manu
 ku dakuna /3, ava mwau
 Kavira /1a,
 yosi /4, magu mwata ba
 kudu magu vana /3, ra
 su yaboda gunaugwa /3,
 o kunu'gu /3a, ba yavi
 guna sulumoïya /2,
 Tapanamu' tapa /2, tapa
 /-Watowa /1, Dobi
 Watowa I /1, Wosina ba
 Watowa /1, Wosina ba
 o miyasera bi
 bi na bi nawa /3,
 I /1, Kagu waliwali
 unu varamu /4a, gwadi
 Vinai gedef'gu /2,
 gubwe' i rira /2a,
 avaka dudune'gu? /4,
 o kunu'gu /4a,
 gu Yubuna /3, nasavana
 ku ma /4, agu waga
 tabario kunu'gu /3a, ba
 II /1a, Avei tau bi
 /2a, yegwai yakida ba
 bi kakata /15, yagagu bi
 Watowa /1, Wosi ta
 /-Watowa /1,
 avei tau? /2, waga'ra
 avei tau? /7, waga'ra
 yaya mata'ra deri? /2a,
 omata'ra deri? /5,
 Ina bubuwou /2,
 Kauriya tumegwai /2a,
 rakaraka /8, butu'gu
 rakaraka /6, butu'gu
 kaukwa vivira
 vivira /6, natana
 avei tau waga'ra? /2,
 kewa tupabodaboda /2,
 guna yekwesi /9, ura
 waibitu /8, gera guna
 gu Mobuyai /6, kopuli
 gu Mobuyai /6, kopuli
 /-I /1, Yeru
 tauïya /2, bougwa nêi
 wakasa /2a, bougwa nêi
 yakida bayaya mata'ra
 yama'gu /12, bi ra bi ra..
 yama' mu? /4, ava kulu' mu a
 Yamatamata yaburesi /2a,
 yamata /5, o miyasera bi
 yami nemeyara /4, ra gwau
 yamitagana kunu'gu /-
 yamwagana /4a, bi kenu
 yamwenonuwa tabu'gu Yubuna /3
 Yanabwa /3, tapa ku tapa /4
 yaruwadabe'gu /2,
 yaruwa /2, nêi kasisa
 yaruwa /2, nêi kasisa o
 yasera /6, o miyamata bi
 yatana kasi bisila /4,
 yatanasi vali /2, sagwai
 Yaunuwenu. /-Watowa /1,
 Yaunuwenu gudi rova /3,
 yaunuwenu nêi mesa /3a,
 yaura dudune'gu /5,
 yavamwanayaburesi /5a,
 yavana. /-I /1, Ba
 yavi dudu /5, koiya takubu
 yavi yamwagana /4a, bi kenu
 yaya mata'ra deri? /2a,
 yayamata'ra deri /3a,
 yayoyu butu'gu /16,
 yayusa /2, bôï tayobu
 Yegu gumu robu /2, robu'na
 yegwai waga'ra /3,
 yegwai waga'ra /8, avaka
 yegwai yakida bayaya mata'
 yeïgu ba tota o mata'ra
 yeïgu bi doyei'gu /3, na
 yeïgu kagu robu /3a, ponu
 yeïgu Towitara tomadudu. /
 yeïgu Towitara tomadudu /7,
 yeïgu Tudava /4, kaukwa
 yeïgu ura kaukwa /7,
 yeïgu, Sabwaboïleta waga'ra /3
 yeïguta daba'gukawala
 yekwesi yabukwabu /10, gera
 yekwesi /9, ura yekwesi
 yemwa /7, mwata wa koiya /8
 yemwa /7, mwata wa koiya /8
 yeru avei tau waga'ra? /2,
 yerunano'gu /3, kasi
 yerunano'gu /3a, kasi
 10-Tougatu
 12-Konakwana
 4-Ku momwau
 6-Bôï tayobu II
 5-Sobasa
 4-Ruwegwau V
 4-Wosi weïmuya II
 8-Nadubeori VI
 3-Mwasilasulumoïya
 3-Tapa
 2-Dorai II
 2-Bayaruwa
 2-Weponu II
 6-Sobasa
 4-Kagu waliwali
 2-Nipayu
 9-Bôï tayobu IV
 3-Bôï tayobu I
 7-Wosi weïmuya II
 5-Mwasila
 9-Bôï tayobu II
 4-Mwasilasulumoïya
 5-Mwasila monikiniki I
 8-Nadubeori VI
 9-Tougatu
 10-Tougatu
 16-Komusiyelu
 2-Bôï tayobu V
 2-Wosi weïmuya IIa
 3-Mwasila
 8-Mwasila
 10-Tougatu
 6-Seina kedatauiya
 3-Bôï tayobu IV
 7-Bôï tayobu IV
 9-Luku bukwbuiya
 7-Lukubukwbuiya
 4-Kaukwa reina
 7-Dova
 3-Sabwaboïleta
 3-Mwasila monikiniki I
 10-Tobilikova
 9-Tobilikova
 7-Mwasila monikiniki I
 7-Mwasila monikiniki I
 2-Sabwaboïleta
 3-Dorai I
 7-Dorai I

- raleiyava. I-I/1,*
si vali I/2, sagwai
sagwai yerubiki
sagwai yerukubobwa I/5,
sagwai yerubiki yerudumu
kasi bisila I/4, sagwai
yerukubobwa
boda tetana I/3, sina' gu
sina' gu yeyei ba
i katupweniniya
bulumwala I/8, a sipu o
bi kenu vina I/5a, bi
Bakariyadeori I/2, ba
I/1, Karia karia
Dobiyaruwa dabe' gu I/2,
i bwadi' gu vina I/3, nei
yagasi I/6, bulumavau
towoi I/2, kara rimwatu
Kavira I/1a, Yorinuya
gu sopi I/7, bulumavau
wenubei' gu I/3a, i neumu
Watowa I/1, Kagu kauiya
wa dudu tama' gu
Kavira I/1a,
doba' na Bweyowa
i rivisi nagwai o
ramai I/3, magu tau ba
na kagu garena I/8, a
I-I/1, Sina' gu
kawala I/6, siliyou bi
samusamu I/2, diu
ku busi ku simwa I/2, ku
tabuya tayoura
Watowa I/1, Vina kamu
I/1, Tokwasi tayoura
tokwasi tayoura
youra I/3, liu tayoura
youra I/4, waga tayoura
youra I/5, sipa tayoura
budakai tayoura
patapatila ayoura
lagimu tayoura
a you a kausi
I/1, Sina' gu you ba
bi yowa bi kausi I/8, bi
ra agu garena I/7, bi
sina' gu bi kausi I/5, ku
busi kamu mokelolu I/4,
- Yeru yeru avei tau waga' ra?*
yerubiki yerudumu
yerudumu yerukubobwa I/3,
yerukubobwa yerukubobwa I/6,
yerukubobwa I/3, kalipwala
yerukubobwa I/5,
yerukubobwa I/6, a kalisopu
yeyei ba yeyei I/4, tama' gu
yeyei I/4, tama' gu kausi ba
yeyunakwadoiya I-II I/1a,
yeyuna I/9, a siuwali kwasi
yobu kagu vana. I-
yobu rurugonu. I-
yobwa karia I/2, karia vila
yobwekasema unata I/3, re
yogibu nei ma I/4,
yoka nei keda I/7,
yokapisi I/3, sokamei' gu
yokigeda dukuduku I/2a,
yoku i ma I/8, ina' gu
yomwabetal- Watowa
yorikasi I/2, pitamuya' ra
yorikasi I/3, doba' na
Yorinuya yokigeda
yoriruwa. I- Watowa I/1,
yosewa I/4, bi mareigusa
yosi I/4, magu mwata ba
you a kausi youyou sididi...
you ba you I/2, kautu ba
you busi momwau. I-I I/1,
you diu yoyu. I-I I/1,
you ku ra o bwarita I/3, ku
youra. I-I I/1, Boda
youra I/2, deni ba veramu I/3
youra I/2, tokwasi tayoura
youra I/3, liu tayoura
youra I/4, waga tayoura
youra I/5, sipa tayoura
youra I/6, budakai tayoura
youra I/7, patapatila
youra I/8, lagimu tayoura
youra I/9, tabuya tayoura
youyou sididi... I-I I/1,
you I/2, kautu ba kautu I/3,
yowa bi kausi. I-I I/1,
yowa bi kausi I/8, bi yowa
yowa bi yowa I/6, agu mata'
yowadudu towadudu I/5, agu
- 2-Sabwaboileta*
3-Nipayu
3-Nipayu
6-Kagu waliwali
3-Nipayu
5-Kagu waliwali
6-Kagu waliwali
4-Bisila A
4-Bisila A
3-Lube' gu
9-Dova
10-Nadubeori VI
3-Nadubeori V
2-Bo<ugwa>kavikavira
3-Dorai II
4-Wosi sobala IIIa
7-Kwarakwara
3-Wosi sobala IIa
7-Weponu II
8-Konakwana
8-Da weriya
2-Wosi weimuya Ia
3-Weponu A
7-Weponu II
4-Weponu A
14-Kwarakwara
4-Sobasa
9-Sina ba yasina
2-Sina ba yasina
7-Katulova
3-Samusamu
3-Tokwai ku busi
10-Kara vagia
2-Ruwegwau VI
2-Kara vagia
3-Kara vagia
4-Kara vagia
5-Kara vagia
6-Kara vagia
7-Kara vagia
8-Kara vagia
9-Kara vagia
9-Sina ba yasina
2-Sina ba yasina
9-Bisila B
8-Bisila B
6-Bisila B
5-Monikiniki I

<i>Iova /11, si boda numura</i>	<i>yowayoura /12, kapwali</i>	<i>12-Tapa</i>
<i>/-I/1, Sina'gu bi</i>	<i>yowa /2, sina'gu bi yowa /3</i>	<i>2-BisilaB</i>
<i>biyowa /2, sina'gu bi</i>	<i>yowa /3, sina'gu bi</i>	<i>3-BisilaB</i>
<i>bikausi /5, ku yowa bi</i>	<i>yowa /6, agu mata'ra agu</i>	<i>6-BisilaB</i>
<i>kagu bisila /5,</i>	<i>yoyoki daba'gu ba mamata /6,</i>	<i>6-Komusiyelu</i>
<i>diu you diu</i>	<i>yoyu. /-I /1, Ku busi</i>	<i>3-Samusamu</i>
<i>i tatata koiya i</i>	<i>yoyu koiya /12, butu'gu</i>	<i>12-Monikiniki III</i>
<i>V /1d, Bova</i>	<i>yoyu kwailova /2, teitu</i>	<i>14-Lube'gu</i>
<i>yamwenonuwa tabu'gu</i>	<i>Yubuna /3, nasavana yavana</i>	<i>3-Mwasilasulumoïya</i>
<i>ku tokaïyesa /2, ku</i>	<i>yusakamu kai /3, makaina</i>	<i>3-Tokwai</i>
<i>kadenena /3, kainenu i</i>	<i>yuyeyura. /-Watowa /1,</i>	<i>4-Ruwegwau VII</i>

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF FREQUENCIES (FREQUENCY ORDER)

This list quantifies how many times a word recurs in a poetic formula, as well as in the other formulae collected in this work. It is used also to identify the euphonic variations of a given word within the linguistic context of the same formula, and also in other formulae.

Extracted words	3789						
Selected words	3019						
selected entries	1032						
max frequency	150						
150	100.0	4.97	<i>gu</i>	95	63.3	3.15	<i>ra</i>
85	56.7	2.82	<i>i</i>	77	51.3	2.55	<i>ba</i>
74	49.3	2.45	<i>bi</i>	65	43.3	2.15	<i>ku</i>
62	41.3	2.05	<i>Watowa</i>				
55	36.7	1.82	<i>o</i>	39	26.0	1.29	<i>waga</i>
33	22.0	1.09	<i>a</i>	30	20.0	0.99	<i>kagu</i>
23	15.3	0.76	<i>agu</i>	23	15.3	0.76	<i>nêi</i>
22	14.7	0.73	<i>na</i>	20	13.3	0.66	<i>bougwa</i>
20	13.3	0.66	<i>Kavira</i>	20	13.3	0.66	<i>koiya</i>
20	13.3	0.66	<i>wa</i>	19	12.7	0.63	<i>ura</i>
18	12.0	0.60	<i>mu</i>	15	10.0	0.50	<i>gera</i>
14	9.3	0.46	<i>Bweyowa</i>	13	8.7	0.43	<i>Budibudi</i>
13	8.7	0.43	<i>kaiya</i>	13	8.7	0.43	<i>vana</i>
13	8.7	0.43	<i>yai</i>	12	8.0	0.40	<i>si</i>
12	8.0	0.40	<i>tau</i>	11	7.3	0.36	<i>Ba</i>
11	7.3	0.36	<i>butu</i>	11	7.3	0.36	<i>i</i>
11	7.3	0.36	<i>kaukwa</i>	11	7.3	0.36	<i>keda</i>
11	7.3	0.36	<i>liku</i>	11	7.3	0.36	<i>sagwai</i>
11	7.3	0.36	<i>ta</i>	11	7.3	0.36	<i>tama</i>
10	6.7	0.33	<i>bwaretama</i>	10	6.7	0.33	<i>da</i>
10	6.7	0.33	<i>daba</i>	10	6.7	0.33	<i>kamu</i>
10	6.7	0.33	<i>kata</i>	10	6.7	0.33	<i>mata</i>
10	6.7	0.33	<i>vali</i>	10	6.7	0.33	<i>youra</i>
9	6.0	0.30	<i>busi</i>	9	6.0	0.30	<i>ma</i>
9	6.0	0.30	<i>setoli</i>	9	6.0	0.30	<i>simiga</i>
9	6.0	0.30	<i>so</i>	9	6.0	0.30	<i>tayoura</i>
				8	5.3	0.26	<i>kusi</i>
8	5.3	0.26	<i>rivisi</i>	8	5.3	0.26	<i>yeigu</i>
7	4.7	0.23	<i>buwa</i>	7	4.7	0.23	<i>dababana</i>
7	4.7	0.23	<i>deri</i>	7	4.7	0.23	<i>dudune</i>
7	4.7	0.23	<i>kada</i>	7	4.7	0.23	<i>kenu</i>

7	4.7	0.23	<i>kwailova</i>	7	4.7	0.23	<i>Muyuwa</i>
7	4.7	0.23	<i>nagwai</i>	7	4.7	0.23	<i>robu</i>
7	4.7	0.23	<i>vivina</i>	6	4.0	0.20	<i>dudu</i>
6	4.0	0.20	<i>Kaiiya</i>	6	4.0	0.20	<i>kasi</i>
6	4.0	0.20	<i>migi</i>	6	4.0	0.20	<i>kunu</i>
6	4.0	0.20	<i>nano</i>	6	4.0	0.20	<i>monikiniki</i>
6	4.0	0.20	<i>re</i>	6	4.0	0.20	<i>neiya</i>
6	4.0	0.20	<i>yowa</i>	6	4.0	0.20	<i>you</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>avei</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>aena</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>beisa</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>bara</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>derima</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>Boyowa</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>gogura</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>girova</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>ina</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>gumu</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>Ku</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>kavikavira</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>meiya</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>magu</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>ponuponu</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>Na</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>tabo</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>rimwatu</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>tamadudu</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>takaikai</i>
5	3.3	0.17	<i>vadudu</i>	5	3.3	0.17	<i>tauia</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>avaka</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>waiya</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>bisila</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>Bi</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>garena</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>boda</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>Kagu</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>guna</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>kinana</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>kewa</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>kwainidinidi</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>Krobai</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>meisa</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>masawa</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>mwanita</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>moreina</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>ni</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>natana</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>Ra</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>nopou</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>sina</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>reina</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>suruma</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>siwasiwa</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>tatata</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>tapa</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>tula</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>tavekuyo</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>uro</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>ulai</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>wai</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>vabusi</i>
4	2.7	0.13	<i>wosi</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>waisa</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>A</i>	4	2.7	0.13	<i>yerukubobwa</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>banoma</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>ava</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>bôi</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>boboyeta</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>boporu</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>bomatu</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>buna</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>bowa</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>diu</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>bweta</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>gala</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>doba</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>goragora</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>gana</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>Ina</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>gudirova</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>kagaga</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>kadamalaga</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>kai</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>kagonu</i>
				3	2.0	0.10	<i>kaitara</i>

3	2.0	0.10	<i>Kamu</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>kanokwasi</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>karia</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>kasisa</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>katurakai</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>kautu</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>kavagara</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>kavikuru</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>kawala</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>kema</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>komudu</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>kura</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>laka</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>lulugemwa</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>mareŋgusa</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>momwau</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>mwanoŋna</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>mwasila</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>mwata</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>natu</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>nei</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>nubo</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>para</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>ponu</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>Re</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>roki</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>ruwai</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>sesero</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>siki</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>sinata</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>sirara</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>sivina</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>siwa</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>tabu</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>tanoi</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>tayobu</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>tayou</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>towa</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>vaponusa</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>Vina</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>vina</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>visiga</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>waponu</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>we</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>weŋmapu</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>worisa</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>yaburesi</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>yaero</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>yaga</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>yagagu</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>yaruwa</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>yegwai</i>
3	2.0	0.10	<i>yeru</i>	3	2.0	0.10	<i>yoyu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>biga</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>bodaboda</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>Bougwa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>bouna</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>Buburei</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>bulukwa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>bulumavau</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>bwada</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>bwadi</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>bwe</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>bweŋvatoi</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Bwita</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>dakuna</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>degi</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>doiyo</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>dou</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>dova</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>duduma</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>duku</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>gabu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>gaugau</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>gegila</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>gelu</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>giburuwa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>gisi</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>gudikesa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>guŋya</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>gura</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>gwasa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>gwau</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>inegwai</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Inukwai</i>
				2	1.3	0.07	<i>kaba</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kainena</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>kaisai</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kaiyobu</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>kakagonu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kalasi</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>kalisopu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kana</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>kara</i>

2	1.3	0.07	<i>katakewa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>katubugia</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kau</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Kaukwa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kaulamuku</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>kavalabila</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kawa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>kikasa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kimwa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>koma</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kopita</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>kopitaka</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kopuli</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>kurunukoli</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kwabu</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>kwagonu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kwai'vau</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>kwarouto</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>kwatuvia</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Lalela</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>lausi</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>leiyava</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>likuliku</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>lugemwa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>makaina</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>manu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>matasi</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>mea</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>memenana</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Meutu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>mina</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Mobuyai</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>modaweta</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>molakada</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>molatabu</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>muya</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>muyeĩ</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>mwaĩniku</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>mwani</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>mwari</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>Mwemuyara</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>naboiya</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>Nabwai'kasa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>naganaga</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>nasi</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>navalamu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>navirera</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>nawa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>neisi</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Nomumusa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>nona</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>osikwebu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>palapala</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>parama</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>parawa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>patapatina</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>pela</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>pitamuya</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>puroru</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>ragaraga</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>rakaraka</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>rara</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>roya</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>rũku</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>ruruwai</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Sabwaboileta</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>sakapu</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>sarewa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>sidididi</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>sidoiya</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>sigili</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>sigusagwai</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>sikwoiku</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Sina</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>sirera</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>sivine</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>siwaneku</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>siwarere</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>suiya</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>sulumoiya</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>suru</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>taboda</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>takova</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>tanibwisa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>tatumu</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>taweĩya</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>tepa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>tetana</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>tobowau</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>tobugilama</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>tobwabwate</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>tokasa</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>tokasema</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>tokimadagi</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>Tokwai</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>tolalasi</i>

2	1.3	0.07	<i>tomadudu</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>tota</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>Towitara</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>tua</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>Tudava</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>tumwanei</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>tupa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>unata</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>unu</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Ura</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>utu</i>				
2	1.3	0.07	<i>vaewo</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>vagumi</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>vaiguwa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>valova</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>vani</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>vanu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>vaori</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>varamu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>veka</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>veramu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>veyara</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>veyuma</i>
				2	1.3	0.07	<i>vinaŋya</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>vivira</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Waiŋya</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>waiŋyaiyuna</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>wala</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>wamugweiyesa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>wamwana</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>ware</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>waudawada</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>weimuya</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>weiya</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>wori</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>Wosina</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>wotuno</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>ya</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>yabweina</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>yagasi</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>yama</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>yatana</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>Yaunuwenu</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>yavi</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>yaya</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>yekwesi</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>yemwa</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>yeyei</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>yeyuna</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>yobu</i>
2	1.3	0.07	<i>yoka</i>	2	1.3	0.07	<i>yorikasi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Agu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Avei</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>bagi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bagidouna</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Bagidudu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Bagitorobu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>beku</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>berana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>betoderi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Biga</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>boboeta</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bobu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Boda</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bogisayawa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>borogu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bosu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Bova</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Bowa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>bubuwou</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>budakai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>budegwai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bugi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>bulubwalimila</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bulumwala</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>buluwoweŋya</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>buni</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>bununa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>buraku</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>bwagau</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bwaideima</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>bwarekwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bwarita</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>bwau</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bwedema</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>bweibwai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bweiguna</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>bweikasa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bweina</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Bweiyowa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bwenita</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>bweri</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>bwibwitoka</i>

1	0.7	0.03	<i>bwita</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>dabe</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Dabwadabwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>dagula</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>dagulela</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>daguvanu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>dauma</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>dawai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>deni</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>derisa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>didi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>digeriwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>diudewenu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>diweiyami</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Dobi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>dobobu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Dobu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>dodou</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>doiya</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>dokala</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>domweta</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>dovira</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>doyei</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>dubemeisa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>dudumeisa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>duduori</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>dudusa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>dukuduku</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>dumwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>elisiga</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>etewa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>ga</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gabema</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>gamuya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>ganaugwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Gawa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gawira</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>geda</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gedeï</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>geori</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gibunona</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>gigilala</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gilaïsi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>gilama</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gimusau</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>gine</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gioveka</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>girigiri</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gisigisi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>gisigusi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>govavivila</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>gubai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Gudirova</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Guma</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Guna</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>gunaugwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gunebiu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>guniu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gunu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>gusigusi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>guyau</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>guyouta</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>gwadi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>gwana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>iguterei</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Ilamunadili</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>imimeisa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>imu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>inamina</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Ine</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>inena</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Irakadanai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>irakadanai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>iresi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Iwa</i>				
1	0.7	0.03	<i>ka</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kabiya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kabobura</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaborura</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kabusura</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kadenena</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kadudu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kagudu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kaibutu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaigawenu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaigayobu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaika</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaike</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaiketa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaimwatu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kainenu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaiteta</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kaitotu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kaivana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaivana</i>

1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaivirera</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaiwai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaiyaderi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kakata</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kakiuto</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kala</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaletau</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kalipwala</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kalipwasiga</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kamasawa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kami</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kamidimidi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kamunovasi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kanabanibani</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaneî</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kapwalela</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kapwalela</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kapwali</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kapwaligisa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kara</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kari</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Karia</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>karimwana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>karimwatu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kasa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kasana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kasani</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kasiponu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kasiurasi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kataiyada</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>katalagaga</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>katapata</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kataraki</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>katatagwara</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kataviriri</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kataviririwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>katudou</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>katupweniniya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>katuyobu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kavamwana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kavaorisi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaveyuma</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kayama</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kayawa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kaye yesa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kayoî</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kayusai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>keîwori</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kena</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kena</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>keponu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>keponuna</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kimawei</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kimaweisa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kipwali</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kirabwasa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kirara</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kiutu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kivi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kivisa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kivisi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kiyaya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kokoni</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>koli</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kolowai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>komapusa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Komusiyelu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>komwedona</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Konakwana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>konamai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>konawai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>konokwana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kopwema</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kota</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>koulai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kubu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kudu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kudukudu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kuduma</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kudumuiya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kugwaîsa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kulu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kulunaodu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kumunuwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kumwageiya</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kunumesa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kuravagigi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kuruburebu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kuruwatara</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kusi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kutuva</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kuwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwadeu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwadoiya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwageyeisa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kwaibikibiki</i>

1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwaigatugatu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwaitara</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwaiyu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwaiyumarawema</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwalikava</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwanarara</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwane</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwanikau</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwapoka</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Kwarakwara</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwarakwara</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwasi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwautumasi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwavirera</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>kwawenu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>kweita</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>lagimu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>laivi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>lamila</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>lamilela</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>lavilobusi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>liu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>lova</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Lugemwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>lulu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Lulugemwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>lumasisa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>madibwana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>magi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>maira</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>makedana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>mamata</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mapu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>masi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>matakalukwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>megei</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>meiyesa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>menana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mesa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>mesiki</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>meyefsa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>mi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>midabe</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Migi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mimi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>minigisuŷya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>minisoba</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>miratu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mirumeru</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Misima</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mitiragi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>miya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>miyamata</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>miyasera</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>moi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>mokelolu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>molamolola</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>mosalela</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mousa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Mu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mukwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>munabeŷ</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Munaya</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>munumwanita</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>munumwenisa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>munumwenisi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>muri</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>murumwari</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Museu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>museu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mutu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Mwadowa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Mwagula</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>mwaŷduku</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mwaŷgini</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>mwaŷiki</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mwana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Mwanita</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mwau</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>mwemuya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>mwena</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>mwenawa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nabouma</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nadubeori</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nagega</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>nagega</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nageyobu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nagudimuya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nakeisaba</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>namakiki</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Namulova</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>namuro</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Namuyuwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>nasavana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Natana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>navigasi</i>

1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nayabwema</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nêi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>neinai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Neiruma</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>neisa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>nekudu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>nemeyara</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>neumu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>noiya</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>nuba</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>nubeî</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>nuguta</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nûku</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>numura</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>nunumata</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>nunuwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>nupiaku</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>nuraora</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nuratu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nutavisi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Nuvidu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>nuwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>O</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>orima</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>osimwana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>panipani</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>papa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>papaîya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Paraura</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>patapatila</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>patileî</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Patini</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>patini</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>patu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>peirara</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Piritoni</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>pisi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>piya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>ponusa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>popwasa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>pukouiya</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>pusa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>putakaiyagina</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>puyumi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>pwalaigusi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>pwalala</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>ramai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>ramasi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>ramuduwosi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>ramwana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>raragau</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>rawai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>rêi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>reiyava</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>remuyega</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>renana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>ridorida</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>rikasi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>rimatu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>rimu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>rinaiya</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>rirorida</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>risana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>rivana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>rogaroga</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>rogiyameî</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>rourama</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Rubegau</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Rumei</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>rurubusi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>rurugonu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>ruwegwau</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>saduwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>saiya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>salela</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>salu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Samusamu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>samusamu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Sarewa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Sarupeta</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>sasa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>savina</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Sawenu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>sayaku</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>segwau</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>sei na</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>semeisa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>semwaneî</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>senupeî</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>senuwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>senuyeî</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Sesero</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>sibweipaiya</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>sididi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>sikaka</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>sikeigwai</i>

1	0.7	0.03	<i>sikera</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>sikukuli</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>siliyou</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Silumuwai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>simwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Sinaketa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Sinata</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>sipa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>siponu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>sipu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>siri</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>siu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>siu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>siuwali</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>soba</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Sobasa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>sobasa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>sokamei</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>sopi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>surina</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Suruma</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>susuruma</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>suwaboda</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tabari</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tabu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tabununa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>tabuya</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tadudu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>tagwara</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>takalasi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>takamu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>takapoka</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>takubu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>talavaguleigusa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>taluma</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tama</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tamumu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tamurova</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tanawa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tapana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tapela</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tariebutu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tataba</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>tatesa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>taulava</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>taumwasila</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tavabusi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>taweiyo</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>teiga</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>teitu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Teriria</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>titatuva</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tobebesa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Toderi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tobwagau</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>toina</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tokai'kai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>tokaiyesa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tokasana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tokimadagi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tokwai</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tokwasi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tokwasi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>toma</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tomanaboina</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tomasina</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tomwana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>totoru</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>toutu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>tovina</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Towa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>towadudu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Towasisa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>toweiponu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>towoi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>tugonu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tuma</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>tumegwai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>tunisa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Tutusa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>uli</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>uligowa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>ulu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>uni</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>ureri</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>uri</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>uwara</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>uyauyauna</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Vadudu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vaguri</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>vaimanei</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vaisi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>vakaka</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vaki</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>valamu</i>

1	0.7	0.03	<i>valapula</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>valiku</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>valila</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>valisa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vamwana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>vanoêga</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vaosa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>vaotu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vapana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>vaponu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>varu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>varumu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vaseu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>vaseula</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vatana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>vatoi</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vavabusi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>vayawa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vegasi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>veitaki</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>venu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>veru</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>veva</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Veyuma</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vila</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>vilatumala</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vine</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>viru</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>vitevata</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>wabu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>wado</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Waga</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>wai</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>waibitu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>waigana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>waïno</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>waiwaïsi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>waiyauta</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>wakasa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>walaga</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>waliwali</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>wanugwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>wegu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>weikana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Weinuguta</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Weipunu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Weirara</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>weitupa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Werara</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>weriya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>werova</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>wetupa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Wosi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>wowora</i>
				1	0.7	0.03	<i>yabukwabu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yabweipunu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yabweitapa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yadeori</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Yaero</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Yaga</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yagaïyo</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yagama</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Yagina</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yagina</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yakida</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yamata</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Yamatamata</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yami</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yamitagana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yamwagana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yamwenonuwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Yanabwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yasera</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yaunuwenu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yaura</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yavamwana</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yavana</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yayoyu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yayusa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Yegu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yeiguta</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Yeru</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yerubiki</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yerudumu</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yobwa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yobwekasema</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yogibu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yokigeda</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yoku</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yomwabeta</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>Yorinuya</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yoriruwa</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>yosewa</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yosi</i>	1	0.7	0.03	<i>youyou</i>

1	0.7	0.03	<i>yowadudu</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yoyoki</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yusa</i>

1	0.7	0.03	<i>yowayoura</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>Yubuna</i>
1	0.7	0.03	<i>yuyeura</i>

LEXICON (NOWAU – ENGLISH)

<i>a</i>	I
<i>-a</i>	SFX (first person singular)
<i>aena</i>	evil bird
<i>agu</i>	my
<i>ava</i>	which
<i>avaka</i>	what
<i>avei</i>	who
<i>b-</i>	future tense marker
<i>bagi</i>	precious ornament, valuable
<i>bagidouna</i>	red necklace, Kula valuable of a given size
<i>Bagidudu</i>	Bagidudu (name of a Kula valuable)
<i>Bagitorobu</i>	Bagitorobu (name of a Kula valuable)
<i>banoma</i>	soul, spirit
<i>bara</i>	to come towards, to lie with, to have intercourse with, to pierce
<i>beisa</i>	here, this, there
<i>beku</i>	axe, stone axe
<i>berana</i>	water's edge, shore
<i>betoderi</i>	wreath, to wreath
<i>biga</i>	word, language, to speak, to talk
<i>bikibiki</i>	by degrees
<i>bisila</i>	ritual leaf, pandanus streamer
<i>boboeta</i>	fragrant leaf, wreath of fragrant leaves (cf. <i>boboye-ta</i>)
<i>boboyeta</i>	wreath, wreath of flowers, crown, circle (cf. <i>boboe-ta</i>)
<i>bobu</i>	to split, to cut
<i>boda</i>	to meet, to become a single body, to crowd
<i>bodaboda</i>	meeting, to crowd
<i>bogisayawa</i>	magic ointment, self-decoration
<i>bomatu</i>	north-west wind
<i>boporu</i>	intoxicating red fruit, betel nut, gift, jewel
<i>borogu</i>	red leaf
<i>bosu</i>	spatula (lime-stick made from bones of an animal)
<i>bougwa</i>	already
<i>bouna</i>	good, correct, nice
<i>bova</i>	swollen betel nut, (red swollen fruit)
<i>bowa</i>	black symbol for male self-decoration, black unguent (black streaks or decorations on the face)
<i>Boyowa</i>	Boyowa: Trobriand, winged island (see Map A)
<i>Buburei</i>	a village in the island of the dead (Tuma Island)
<i>bubuowu</i>	red colour, brilliant red colour
<i>budakai</i>	large flank of kula canoe
<i>budegwai</i>	to weave, to become one body, to bring together

<i>Budibudi</i>	Budidudi Island (see Map A), island of myths
<i>bugi</i>	to cast spells
<i>bugia</i>	dead, lifeless
<i>bu kwabu</i>	dirty, not to know
<i>bulubwalimila</i>	south-east wind
<i>bulukwa</i>	wild boar
<i>bulumavau</i>	black soul, ghost
<i>bulumwala</i>	boar
<i>buluwoweïya</i>	small boar
<i>buna</i>	shell, white shell, cowrie shell (cf. <i>bununa</i>)
<i>buni</i>	reason
<i>bunu/na</i>	shell, cowrie shell (cf. <i>buna</i>)
<i>buraku</i>	canoe tree, (to thrust)
<i>burebu</i>	to abound, to flourish
<i>busi</i>	to punt, to go down, to come down, to descend, to thrust
<i>butu</i>	fame, news
<i>buwa</i>	betel nut (<i>Areca catechu</i>), intoxicating red fruit
<i>bwada</i>	younger brother, younger sister,
<i>bwadi</i>	to become one body, to meet, to coincide (cf. <i>boda, bodaboda, bwaïdeima, bwadi, bwedema</i>)
<i>bwagau</i>	sorcery, bewitchment
<i>bwaïdeima</i>	to meet together, to become a single body (cf. <i>boda, bodaboda, bwadi, bwedema</i>)
<i>bwarekwa</i>	closed mind
<i>bwaretama</i>	to poison
<i>bwarita</i>	sea (cf. <i>bwenita</i>)
<i>bwau</i>	black, night
<i>bwe-</i>	CLA associated with a sacred element: ancestral, taboo, forbidden (cf. <i>bougwa, bweï-</i>)
<i>bwedema</i>	to meet together, to become a single body (cf. <i>boda, bodaboda, bwadi, bwaïdeima</i>)
<i>bweï-</i>	CLA (cf. <i>bougwa, bwe-</i>)
<i>bweïbwai</i>	flesh of coconut
<i>bweïguna</i>	seashore
<i>bweïkasa</i>	to weave
<i>bweïna</i>	beautiful, good, shining
<i>bweïponu</i>	foam(ing)
<i>bweïtapa</i>	to become bright, dazzle
<i>bweïvatoi</i>	to wait
<i>Bweiyowa</i>	Bweiyowa, winged island (cf. <i>Boyowa, Bweiyowa</i>)
<i>bwenita</i>	ocean, sea (cf. <i>bwarita</i>)
<i>bweri</i>	to desire, to long
<i>bweta</i>	wreath, leaf (cf. <i>bwita</i>)
<i>Bweyowa</i>	Bweyowa (cf. <i>Boyowa, Bweiyowa</i>)
<i>bwibwitoka</i>	to swell, swelling, a swelling bloom, a kind of fragrant tree
<i>bwita</i>	wreath (cf. <i>bweta</i>)
<i>da</i>	our
<i>daba</i>	head, forehead, top (cf. <i>dabe</i>)

<i>dababana</i>	clear, to clear
<i>dabe</i>	head (cf. <i>daba</i>)
<i>Dabwadabwa</i>	Dabwadabwa, (proper name)
<i>dagula</i>	feather (cf. <i>dagulela</i>)
<i>dagulela</i>	feather (cf. <i>dagula</i>)
<i>daguvanu</i>	to sink down
<i>dakuna</i>	stone, rock, to become heavy
<i>dauma</i>	to come from the sea
<i>dawai</i>	untidy, to untie
<i>degi</i>	to hide, to put inside something else
<i>deni</i>	with (cf. <i>deri</i>)
<i>deri</i>	with, in company of, to go/stay together, to come to (cf. <i>deni</i>)
<i>derima</i>	to stay together, to come together, to be closer (cf. <i>deni</i> , <i>deri</i>)
<i>didi</i>	blowing
<i>digeriwa</i>	green shoot, tree
<i>diu</i>	bewitched bird, flying witch
<i>diudewenu</i>	group of men, many men
<i>diweiyami</i>	banner stream
<i>doba</i>	skirt (cf. <i>dobu</i>)
<i>dobi</i>	skirt (cf. <i>doba</i>)
<i>dobobu</i>	short skirt
<i>Dobu</i>	Dobu island (see Map A)
<i>dodou</i>	calling, to call, to draw by the voice
<i>doiya</i>	to move rhythmically (cf. <i>doiyo</i>)
<i>doiyo</i>	to move rhythmically (cf. <i>doiya</i>)
<i>dokala</i>	to disappear
<i>domweta</i>	green fruit (synonymous with <i>lobida</i> , <i>Piper methisticum</i>)
<i>dou</i>	to call, to blow, to puff, to carry from
<i>dova</i>	to redden
<i>dovira</i>	to remind, to recall, to call back
<i>doya</i>	to flow, to ride
<i>duba</i>	skirt (cf. <i>doba</i>)
<i>dudu</i>	to come like a sigh, to lift, to puff, to blow, (to) whisper (cf. <i>duduma</i> , <i>duduna</i>)
<i>duduma</i>	to blow, to come as a breeze (cf. <i>dudu</i> , <i>duduna</i>)
<i>duduna</i>	to bring like the breath of the wind, to puff, to blow, to lift (cf. <i>dudu</i> , <i>duduma</i>)
<i>duduori</i>	one sound after the other
<i>duku</i>	to perish for love, to be on the point of death, to long, to be without
<i>dumwa</i>	bamboo pipe
<i>-e</i>	verbal particle, third person singular/plural (cf. <i>-i</i>)
<i>elisiga</i>	light
<i>etewa</i>	to shine, bright
<i>-ga</i>	SFX (and, but, moreover, however, on the contrary)
<i>gabema</i>	put on the head, to set out
<i>gabu</i>	to burn, to whiten, to become fragrant
<i>gala</i>	no, not (cf. <i>gela</i> , <i>gera</i>)
<i>gamuya</i>	to chat, to talk excitedly

<i>gana/e</i>	water's edge, seashore
<i>ganaugwa</i>	red flowers used for garlands/ wreaths, a kind of tree (cf. <i>gunaugwa</i>)
<i>garena</i>	throat, songbird, warbling
<i>gaugau</i>	(thick) mist, fog
<i>Gawa</i>	Gawa island (see Map A)
<i>gawira</i>	magic fruit, <i>Piper betle</i>
<i>geda</i>	to scent, to grudge, to bite
<i>gegila</i>	red bird, red parrot
<i>gela</i>	no, not
<i>gelu</i>	rib
<i>geori</i>	fragrant, to be fragrant, essence
<i>gera</i>	no, not (cf. <i>gala, gela</i>)
<i>gibunona</i>	clouded face
<i>giburuwa</i>	dark face
<i>gigilala</i>	to laugh
<i>gilaisi</i>	to fade, to go back
<i>gilama</i>	to leave back
<i>gimusau</i>	to fly in the air
<i>gina</i>	to see (cf. <i>gisi</i>)
<i>gini</i>	sign, trace
<i>gioveka</i>	great chief
<i>girigiri</i>	hopping
<i>girova</i>	to strike
<i>gisi</i>	to see (cf. <i>gina</i>), to gaze
<i>gisigisi</i>	looking, seeing (cf. <i>gisigusi</i>)
<i>gisigusi</i>	looking with desire (cf. <i>gisigisi</i>)
<i>gogura</i>	to leave
<i>goragora</i>	nautilus shell (<i>Nautilus pompilius</i>)
<i>govavivila</i>	a crying woman
<i>gu</i>	my, of mine
<i>gubai</i>	to wrap
<i>gudikesa</i>	adolescent boy
<i>gudirova</i>	motherless children
<i>guma</i>	inhabitant of
<i>gumu</i>	my, my own (cf. <i>guna, gunu, gura</i>)
<i>guna</i>	my, mine (cf. <i>gumu, gura</i>)
<i>gunaugwa</i>	flowers, a kind of tree (cf. <i>ganaugwa</i>)
<i>gunebiu</i>	to approach lightly
<i>guniu</i>	to approach
<i>gunu</i>	my (cf. <i>guna, gura</i>)
<i>gura</i>	my (cf. <i>gunu, gura</i>)
<i>gura</i>	to bound, to twist and drive in
<i>gusigusi</i>	spraying
<i>guterei</i>	fragrant branch, to be fragrant, scent, perfume
<i>guyau</i>	chief
<i>guyouta</i>	shade
<i>-gwa</i>	SFX (cf. <i>bougwa, bwe-, bwei-</i>)

<i>gwadi</i>	young, baby
<i>gwana</i>	to shine
<i>gwasa</i>	to be tender, to be hot
<i>gwau</i>	to perfume, to smell, to gather a flower
<i>i</i>	he, she, it
<i>-i</i>	verbal particle, third person singular/plural (cf. <i>-e</i>)
<i>Ilamunadili</i>	Ilamunadili village
<i>imima</i>	woman
<i>imu</i>	woman
<i>ina</i>	mother, fish, woman (cf. <i>ine</i> , <i>inena</i>)
<i>inamina</i>	woman of own village
<i>ine</i>	woman, woman of (cf. <i>ina</i> , <i>inena</i>)
<i>inegwai</i>	our mothers
<i>inena</i>	woman, woman of (cf. <i>ina</i> , <i>ine</i>)
<i>Inukwai</i>	Inukwai, proper name
<i>ira-</i>	CLA (female)
<i>irakadanai</i>	silent soul
<i>iresi</i>	women
<i>Iwa</i>	Iwa island (see Map A), island of birds
<i>ka-</i>	PFX (verbal)
<i>ka!</i>	here!
<i>kaba</i>	mat, pallet
<i>kabiya</i>	to catch
<i>kabobura</i>	hairstyle, headgear
<i>kaborura</i>	nose, mythical face (cf. <i>kabusura</i>)
<i>kabusura</i>	nose (cf. <i>kaborura</i>)
<i>kada</i>	mother's brother, uncle
<i>kadamalaga</i>	main path of a village
<i>kadenena</i>	path (synonymous with <i>keda</i>)
<i>kadudu</i>	memory
<i>kagaga</i>	voice, whispering
<i>kagonu</i>	to pluck, to flower
<i>kagu</i>	my
<i>kagudu</i>	to thread
<i>kai-</i>	CLA (wood)
<i>kai</i>	tree
<i>Kaibutu</i>	Kaibutu village
<i>kaigawenu</i>	to 'weave voices'
<i>kaigayobu</i>	voice
<i>kaika (kaiga)</i>	voice
<i>kaike</i>	leg, claw, foot
<i>kaiketa</i>	wood pallet, a wood support, support, leg
<i>kaimwatu</i>	to speak awesome, to speak gently
<i>kainena</i>	edge, foot, tree
<i>kainenu</i>	foot of the tree, tree
<i>kaisai</i>	powerful wave, billow
<i>kaitara</i>	one
<i>kaiteta</i>	at the foot

<i>kaitotu</i>	to anchor
<i>kaivana</i>	garland
<i>kaivirera</i>	magic fruit
<i>kaiwai</i>	to go sinuously
<i>kaiyaderi</i>	to walk in the company of
<i>kaiyobu</i>	speech, to talk, to speak
<i>kakagonu</i>	to pluck, to pick flowers
<i>kakata</i>	to be sharp, to flash
<i>kakiuto</i>	to trim, to fray
<i>kala</i>	his, her, its
<i>kalasi</i>	sun
<i>kaletau</i>	companion, mate
<i>kalipwala</i>	to pass through, to go in, drag
<i>kalipwasiga</i>	to pass through, to go in
<i>kalisopu</i>	to hide, to enter
<i>kalu</i>	socket, orbit
<i>kalunaodu</i>	native, man
<i>kamasawa</i>	pleasure, to enjoy oneself (see <i>masawa</i>)
<i>kami</i>	your (cf. <i>kamu</i>)
<i>kamidimidi</i>	to flap, flapping, to wreath, banner, garland
<i>kamu</i>	your (cf. <i>kami</i>)
<i>kamu</i>	to eat
<i>kamunova</i>	to shout with joy, to give out
<i>kana</i>	his, her, its (cf. <i>kala, kara</i>)
<i>kanabanibani</i>	to cast spell
<i>kane/i</i>	to light
<i>kanokwasi</i>	to carry away
<i>kapoka</i>	flash
<i>kapwalela</i>	darkness
<i>kapwali</i>	dark, closed
<i>kapwaligisa</i>	dolefulness
<i>kara</i>	his, her, its (cf. <i>kala, kana</i>)
<i>kari</i>	to wreath
<i>karia</i>	to become cloudy, dark sky
<i>karimwana</i>	to go around excited, with excitement
<i>karimwatu</i>	to speak awesomely, to speak gently
<i>kasa/na</i>	to be in line, to wait in line, voiceless soul
<i>kasani</i>	to urge softly
<i>kasi</i>	their
<i>kasiponu</i>	to sit in a ring
<i>kasiura</i>	to sit in a ring in order to make a garland
<i>kata</i>	to cut, to dart fire, sharp
<i>kataiya(da)</i>	to cut and polish, to sharpen
<i>katakewa</i>	carrying pole, stick
<i>katalagaga</i>	thin, sharp
<i>katapata</i>	to embrace
<i>kataraki</i>	skill
<i>katatagwara</i>	to scratch, to cut

<i>kataviri</i>	to ransack
<i>kataviriwa</i>	to search through, to pry into
<i>katu-</i>	PFX (causative)
<i>katubugia</i>	to be without life
<i>katudou</i>	to sound, sound, to echo
<i>katupweniniya</i>	to light, to open
<i>katurakai</i>	bitterness
<i>katuyobu</i>	fame, news
<i>kau</i>	to chew, to spit out
<i>kaiya</i>	basket
<i>kaukwa</i>	dog
<i>kaulamuku</i>	to load
<i>kausi</i>	to cast a spell
<i>kautu</i>	to match, to become beautiful, to bewitch
<i>kavagara</i>	soliciting
<i>kavalabila</i>	to go together
<i>kavamwana</i>	to go fast, to hasten
<i>kavaori</i>	to go, to do, to round
<i>kaveyuma</i>	to desire the return of
<i>kavikavira</i>	to shed light, lightning
<i>kavikuru</i>	dark face, darkening
<i>kawa</i>	to hold, to compose
<i>kawala</i>	pole
<i>kayama</i>	to push back
<i>kayawa</i>	to push forward
<i>kayeya</i>	to call
<i>kayo</i>	to feel, to love, inside
<i>kayusai</i>	denial
<i>keda</i>	path
<i>keiwori</i>	soft desire
<i>kema</i>	axe, axe stone
<i>kena</i>	spatula
<i>kenu</i>	to lie down, to lie together, to sleep
<i>keponu</i>	to think, thought
<i>kewa</i>	to sail
<i>kikasa</i>	to put together, to be in line
<i>kimawei</i>	to fade
<i>kimwa</i>	jaw
<i>kinana</i>	sparrowhawk
<i>kipwali</i>	to carve, to appear, to be
<i>kirabwasa</i>	to snatch
<i>kirara</i>	to bloom
<i>kiutu</i>	to trim
<i>kivi</i>	to twist, to weave, to strip
<i>kiyaya</i>	to love, to prefer, beloved
<i>koiya</i>	mountain, hill
<i>kokoni</i>	mouse, mice
<i>koli</i>	to surround

<i>kolowai</i>	to roll
<i>koma</i>	food (cf. <i>kamu</i>)
<i>komapu</i>	to weave
<i>komudu</i>	to sound
<i>Komusiyelu</i>	Komusiyelu, a rock on Okabulula territory (Kitawa see Map B)
<i>komwedona</i>	all, many people
<i>konakwana</i>	moth (cf. <i>konokwana</i>)
<i>konamai</i>	to go and come
<i>konawai</i>	to come and go
<i>konokwana</i>	moth (cf. <i>konakwana</i>)
<i>kopita</i>	to rock, to toss, to get excited
<i>kopuli</i>	to sprinkle
<i>kopwema</i>	to hold
<i>kota</i>	to sail
<i>koula</i>	black ointment
<i>Krobai</i>	Krobai (proper name)
<i>ku</i>	you
<i>kubu</i>	breath, to tremble
<i>kudu</i>	to entwine, to thread
<i>kuduma</i>	to thread
<i>kudumuiya</i>	on the teeth of the beach, on the edge of the ocean
<i>kugwa</i>	to be first
<i>kulu</i>	owl, night watching eye
<i>kulunaodu</i>	native, a bushman,
<i>kumunuwa</i>	to puff, swelling
<i>Kumwageiya</i>	Kumwageiya, a Kitawa territory (see Map B)
<i>kunu/ra/la</i>	hair, hairs
<i>kunumesa</i>	to comb, to dress
<i>kura</i>	to go with pleasure, to go around with excitement
<i>kuravagigi</i>	to meet
<i>kuruburebu</i>	to collect copiously
<i>kurunukoli</i>	to go for knowing, to know
<i>kuruwatara</i>	flaming hair
<i>kusi</i>	done, ghost, over
<i>kutuva</i>	sea-path, (to) compass
<i>kuwa</i>	to hold
<i>kwabu</i>	to be fine, to remain, to be angry, to resemble, to be a landlubber
<i>kwadeu</i>	seashore
<i>kwadoiya</i>	opossum, <i>Phalanger maculatus</i>
<i>kwageya</i>	to give, to donate, to give a gift
<i>kwagonu</i>	to pick up
<i>kwaibikibiki</i>	degrading
<i>kwaigatugatu</i>	darkening
<i>kwailova</i>	to cast, to become magic, to cast a poetic formula
<i>kwainidinidi</i>	an excited body, a body becoming excited
<i>kwaitara</i>	one (abstract, cf. <i>kweita</i>)
<i>kwaivau</i>	black (abstract)
<i>kwaiyu</i>	two (me and you)

<i>kwaiyumarawema</i>	to hold back
<i>kwalikava</i>	to enjoy
<i>kwanarara</i>	to embrace, to hold in the arms
<i>kwana</i>	to make beautiful
<i>kwanikau</i>	to swallow
<i>kwapoka</i>	to speed, to be quick as lightning
<i>kwara</i>	to scrape
<i>kwarakwara</i>	scraping
<i>kwarouto</i>	little bird
<i>kwasi</i>	penis
<i>kwatuvia</i>	to transform into
<i>kwautuma</i>	to tease out threads
<i>kwavirera</i>	to compete
<i>kwawenu</i>	anger, to be angry, sulky
<i>kweita</i>	one (cf. <i>kwaitara</i>)
<i>lagimu</i>	kula canoe's prowboard (sun's face)
<i>laivi</i>	to blow, to sprinkle
<i>laka</i>	voice, (to) bark
<i>Lalela</i>	a Kitawa territory (see Map B)
<i>lamila</i>	outrigger (cf. <i>lamilela</i>)
<i>lamilela</i>	outrigger (cf. <i>lamila</i>)
<i>lausi</i>	to go straight
<i>lavilobusi</i>	to go to/up the village
<i>leiyava</i>	gleaming fruit, magic fruit, ginger (<i>Alpinia nutans</i> and <i>Hedychium coronarium</i>)
<i>liku</i>	to bring, to tremble (cf. <i>likuliku</i>), joyfully
<i>likuliku</i>	trembling, earthquake (cf. <i>liku</i>)
<i>liu</i>	slender pole for a kula canoe
<i>lobida</i>	betel pepper
<i>lova</i>	to leave own image
<i>lugemwa</i>	to warble (cf. <i>lulugemwa</i>)
<i>lulu</i>	to make light
<i>lulugemwa</i>	warbling (cf. <i>lugemwa</i>)
<i>lumasi</i>	to pull up, to pull out
<i>ma</i>	to come (cf. <i>me</i>)
<i>ma</i>	our (dual)
<i>-ma</i>	SFX
<i>ma-</i>	PFX
<i>madibwana</i>	dark hut
<i>magi</i>	to wish, to desire, face, expression, wish (cf. <i>migi</i>)
<i>magu</i>	my
<i>maira</i>	to come alone
<i>makaina</i>	this
<i>makedana</i>	path
<i>mamata</i>	to fall asleep, to dull
<i>manaboina</i>	gentle, good
<i>manu</i>	bird
<i>mapu</i>	answer, gift

<i>mare/i</i>	to want back, to take back, to change a path
<i>masawa</i>	pleasure, to enjoy oneself, to love, to be fond, to rejoice, to sneer, amusement, Kula canoe
<i>masi</i>	our
<i>mata</i>	to dull, to die, eye
<i>matalukwa</i>	eye out the orbit
<i>matamata</i>	dormant, dulling
<i>me</i>	to come, to make, to give (cf. <i>ma</i>)
<i>mea</i>	evil tongue
<i>megei</i>	to charm
<i>meiya</i>	to come at, to come here (cf. <i>ma/e</i> , <i>meya/e miya</i>)
<i>memenana</i>	she, her, witch (cf. <i>menana</i>)
<i>menana</i>	she, her, witch (cf. <i>memenana</i>)
<i>mesiki</i>	to await, to stay
<i>Meutu</i>	Meutu (name of a Kula canoe)
<i>meya/e</i>	to come at (cf. <i>ma/e</i> , <i>meiya</i> , <i>miya</i>)
<i>mi</i>	our
<i>midaba/e</i>	skirt
<i>migi/ra</i>	desire, want, yearn, wish, face, expression (cf. <i>magi</i>)
<i>mimi</i>	dream, to dream
<i>mina</i>	inhabitant of
<i>minigisuia</i>	to change with
<i>minisoba</i>	coloured face
<i>miratu</i>	son
<i>mirumeru</i>	youth, youths
<i>Misima</i>	Misima island (Milne Bay Province)
<i>mitiragi</i>	brightness, to shine
<i>miya</i>	to come (cf. <i>ma/e</i> , <i>meiya</i> , <i>meya/e</i>)
<i>miyamata</i>	to come and die by hand
<i>miyasera</i>	to come and coil tightly
<i>mo-</i>	PFX (male)
<i>Mobuyai</i>	Mobuyai (proper name)
<i>modaweta</i>	a bright opening, crack
<i>moi</i>	mat
<i>mokelolu</i>	regretted, desolate memory
<i>molakada</i>	old mother's brother
<i>molamola</i>	thoughts
<i>molatabu</i>	ancestor
<i>momwau</i>	heavy, heavily, to grow heavy
<i>Monikiniki</i>	Monikiniki, the red winged-hero
<i>moreina</i>	to come step by step
<i>mosalela</i>	amusement, to enjoy
<i>mousa</i>	to be quiet
<i>mu</i>	your, yours
<i>mugwe</i>	early, previous, first
<i>mukwa</i>	to open
<i>munaba/e</i>	to come towards
<i>Munaya</i>	a village in the island of Tuma

<i>munumwanita</i>	millipede (cf. <i>mwanita</i>)
<i>munumweni</i>	to go festively
<i>muri</i>	to change path
<i>murumwari</i>	to yearn, to want, to long
<i>museu</i>	smoke
<i>mutu</i>	dead, tired
<i>muya/e</i>	to blow, thought, to think, to caress, to entwine
<i>Muyuwa</i>	Muyuwa/Woodlark island (see Map A)
<i>Mwadowa</i>	village in Woodlark island (see Map A)
<i>Mwagula</i>	Mwagula (proper name)
<i>mwaïduku</i>	to long, to perish for love
<i>mwaïgini</i>	to trace
<i>mwaïki</i>	to go
<i>mwaïniku</i>	to become excited, to tremble
<i>mwana</i>	man, husband
<i>mwana</i>	to be caressed, to be petted/excited (cf. <i>tomwana</i>)
<i>mwani</i>	to go sinuously
<i>mwanita</i>	millipede (cf. <i>munumwanita</i>), to go sinuously
<i>mwanoïna</i>	to go excited, to go with excitement, go sinuously
<i>mwari</i>	armshell, white gift
<i>mwasila</i>	to be joyful, to enjoy
<i>mwata</i>	serpent (also used to suggest the concept of 'schema')
<i>mwau</i>	heavy
<i>mwemuya/ra</i>	to be fragrant, to give off scent, longing mind
<i>mwena</i>	to raise (high), to launch
<i>na</i>	to go
<i>-na</i>	SFX
<i>na-</i>	CLA (female)
<i>naboïya</i>	tomorrow
<i>Nabouma</i>	Nabouma (proper name)
<i>Nabwaïkasa</i>	Nabwaïkasa (proper name)
<i>Nadubeori</i>	Nadubeori (proper name)
<i>naganaga</i>	thickening
<i>Nagega</i>	canoe-shell (Kula canoe used by the inhabitants of Gawa, Kwaiwata, Yanaba and Muyuwa islands, see Map A)
<i>Nageyobu</i>	Nageyobu (proper name)
<i>Nagudimuya</i>	Nagudimuya (proper name), frowning girl, young girl
<i>nagwai</i>	mothers
<i>Nakeisaba</i>	Nakeisaba (proper name)
<i>namakiki</i>	to adorn, to use (up)
<i>Namulova</i>	Namulova (proper name)
<i>namuro</i>	woman of
<i>namuyuwa</i>	woman of Muyuwa
<i>nano</i>	thought, to think, mind, intellect, intuition (cf. <i>nona</i>)
<i>nasavana</i>	garland, scent, to scent
<i>nasi</i>	to sit
<i>natana</i>	one (female)
<i>natu</i>	son, child

<i>navalamu</i>	sighing girl, sighing woman
<i>navigasi</i>	a flying witch spitting fire
<i>navirera</i>	female animal
<i>nawa</i>	to go at, to sink
<i>Nayabwema</i>	Nayabwema (proper name), woman of many loves
<i>nei</i>	to search, to seek, to go around
<i>neinai</i>	to search around
<i>Neiruma</i>	Neiruma (proper name)
<i>neiya</i>	to search at, here
<i>nekudu</i>	to tie, to entwine (cf. <i>kudu</i>)
<i>nemeyara</i>	girdle, ritual girdle
<i>neumu</i>	to made beautiful
<i>noiya</i>	to walk
<i>Nomumusa</i>	a village inhabited by magicians, probably in Yarabwa/Yanaba Island
<i>nona</i>	mind, intellect, intuition (cf. <i>nano</i>)
<i>nopou/ra</i>	inside
<i>nuba</i>	friend, companion (cf. <i>nube</i> , <i>nubo</i>)
<i>nube</i>	friend, companion (cf. <i>nuba</i> , <i>nubo</i>)
<i>nubo</i>	friend, companion (cf. <i>nuba</i> , <i>nube</i>)
<i>nuguta</i>	my sister
<i>numura</i>	fog
<i>nunumata</i>	sleeping fire, tiring, drowsy, to make drowsy
<i>nunuwa</i>	news, fame
<i>nupiaku</i>	swelling nipple
<i>nuraora</i>	nipple
<i>Nuratu</i>	Nuratu (a small island in the south-west side of Kitawa, see Map B)
<i>nutavisi</i>	swelling or rising breast
<i>nuvidu</i>	south-east wind
<i>nuwa</i>	intention, to think
<i>o</i>	in, on, at, to
<i>orima</i>	to desire, desire
<i>osikwebu</i>	a solitary chant
<i>osimwana</i>	to chant and dance, chanting and dancing
<i>palapala</i>	lightning
<i>panipani</i>	small basket
<i>papa</i>	to act as a dolphin, decoration of the canoe
<i>papaŋya</i>	this side, the side here
<i>para</i>	by, from, to
<i>parama</i>	to come up and down
<i>Paraura</i>	Paraura (proper name)
<i>parawa</i>	to go up and down
<i>patapatila</i>	foot-board of a canoe (cf. <i>patapatina</i>)
<i>patapatina</i>	foot-board (cf. <i>patapatila</i>)
<i>patile</i>	foot-board (cf. <i>patapatila</i> , <i>patapatina</i>)
<i>patini</i>	fleet, a fleet of canoes
<i>patu</i>	closeness, to become closed
<i>peira/ra</i>	for, because (cf. <i>pela</i>)

<i>pela</i>	to gleam
<i>pela</i>	for, because (cf. <i>peira</i>)
<i>Piritoni</i>	Piritoni (proper name)
<i>pisi</i>	to regret, yearning
<i>pitamuya</i>	kind of basket, basket used by the dead
<i>piya</i>	rope
<i>ponu</i>	light as a foam, to foam, shining wave, soft mind, soft thought, foam (cf. <i>ponuponu</i>)
<i>ponuponu</i>	whiteness of sea foam, foaming (cf. <i>ponu</i>)
<i>popwasa</i>	rotten corpse
<i>pukoïya</i>	rock of farewell
<i>puroru</i>	(to be) full of regret, to become sad
<i>pusa</i>	carved bow and stern of the canoe, 'face'
<i>putakaiyagina</i>	ash, dust
<i>puyumi</i>	to enfold
<i>pwalaiçusi</i>	to embrace with desire
<i>pwalala</i>	open space
<i>r-</i>	PFX (past tense) (cf. <i>n-</i>)
<i>ra</i>	his, her, its
<i>ra</i>	to go
<i>-ra</i>	SFX
<i>raga</i>	to climb, to become fat (cf. <i>ragaraga</i>)
<i>ragaraga</i>	climbing (cf. <i>raga</i>)
<i>rakaraka</i>	to run fast
<i>ramai</i>	to go and come
<i>ramasi</i>	to pull
<i>ramuduwosi</i>	song
<i>ramwana</i>	to be excited
<i>rara</i>	to blossom, to flower
<i>raragau</i>	to be veiled, mist
<i>rawai</i>	to go/move sinuously
<i>reina</i>	to be in line, to come step by step (also a name of a mythical dog)
<i>reiyava</i>	to blow ginger (magic fruit)
<i>remuyega</i>	mind, thought, shelter (of the mind)
<i>renana</i>	to watch, eye
<i>ridorida</i>	trembling, thin
<i>rikasi</i>	to be/become bright, brightness
<i>rimatu</i>	sacred word, gentle word (cf. <i>rimwatu</i>)
<i>rimu</i>	to be intoxicated, to desire intensely
<i>rimwatu</i>	sacred word, to talk, conversation, to talk gently/softly, gentle word, delicate word, to whisper
<i>rinaiya</i>	woman
<i>rirorida</i>	to tremble, a soft vocalising, to vocalise softly
<i>risana</i>	seashore
<i>rivana</i>	to talk, to converse
<i>rivisi</i>	to darken, to lose one's reason
<i>robu</i>	jewel(s), ornament, a precious object
<i>rogaroga</i>	copulating support, pallet for love-making

<i>rogiyama</i>	to lap
<i>roki</i>	to go with longing, to meet
<i>rourama</i>	to start, to set out, to go
<i>roya</i>	to follow a path
<i>Rubegau</i>	village of the dead in Tuma island (silent soul)
<i>Rumei</i>	Rumei (proper name)
<i>rurubusi</i>	to drag down
<i>rurugonu</i>	to pluck a flower
<i>ruruwai</i>	to remember
<i>ruwai</i>	bud of flower, wreath, to blossom
<i>ruwegwau</i>	lament, to lament, to gurgle
<i>-sa</i>	SFX (third person plural) (cf. <i>-si</i>)
<i>Sabwaboileta</i>	Sabwaboileta (proper name)
<i>saduwa</i>	bamboo pipe
<i>sagwai</i>	mate, companion
<i>saiya</i>	to fight, to compete
<i>sakapu</i>	to flash out
<i>salela</i>	to fly, to wave, to shine
<i>salu</i>	small island
<i>samu</i>	to spit, to swallow
<i>samusamu,</i>	spitting, swallowing
<i>Sarewa</i>	village of the dead in Tuma island (precious flower)
<i>Sarupeta</i>	Sarupeta, an island in Milne Bay Province
<i>sasa</i>	to split
<i>savina</i>	to jump
<i>sawenu</i>	basket of the dead, name of the basket used by the inhabitants of Tuma
<i>sayaku</i>	perfumed oil
<i>segwau</i>	intoxicating scent (cf. <i>gwau</i>)
<i>seina</i>	very, too much, much
<i>sema</i>	to speak
<i>semwana</i>	to clasp, to long
<i>senupei</i>	to come up
<i>senuwa</i>	scented oil (cf. <i>senuya</i>)
<i>senuya</i>	scented oil (cf. <i>senuwa</i>)
<i>serewa</i>	mateship
<i>sesero</i>	to push, to shake
<i>setoli</i>	to penetrate
<i>si</i>	their
<i>si-</i>	PFX (cf. <i>se-</i>)
<i>-si</i>	SFX (third person plural) (cf. <i>-sa</i>)
<i>sibweipaiya</i>	to long, longing
<i>sididi, sidididi</i>	sounding, hissing
<i>sidoiya</i>	to rest, to rest at
<i>sigili</i>	bright, to flash
<i>sigusagwai</i>	my companion, my mate
<i>sikaka</i>	to stir, to rise
<i>sikeigwai</i>	to intercede with, to donate a gift, gift for a companion

<i>sikera</i>	to sit close
<i>siki</i>	to sit, to wait, to crouch
<i>sikukuli</i>	a precious ornament
<i>sikwoiku</i>	to adorn, adornment of white shells for the hair
<i>siliyou</i>	gleaming, to dart (cf. <i>you</i>)
<i>Silumuwai</i>	Silumuwai (proper name)
<i>simiga</i>	to wish, to desire
<i>simwa</i>	to stay, to stay here
<i>sina</i>	black starling
<i>Sinaketa</i>	Sinaketa, a village on the western coast of Kiriwina (Trobriand Islands)
<i>sinata</i>	comb
<i>sipa</i>	small flank of the Kula canoe
<i>siponu</i>	to stay and sing
<i>sipu</i>	to tie
<i>sirara</i>	to put on, to step into
<i>sirera</i>	to sit
<i>siri</i>	sounding
<i>siu</i>	to rest, to crawl, to nip off
<i>siuwali</i>	to arouse
<i>sivina</i>	to go about, to turn, to sit round, to desire
<i>siwa</i>	to flash, to shoot flames
<i>siwaneku</i>	to race
<i>siwarere</i>	to yearn
<i>siwasiwa</i>	flying witch
<i>so/ra</i>	companion, mate
<i>soba/sa</i>	self-decoration, sign of joy
<i>sokama</i>	to prefer
<i>sopi</i>	spring water
<i>suiya</i>	to weave, to thread
<i>sulumoiya</i>	<i>Ocinum basilicum</i> , bewitching leaf
<i>surina</i>	to leap out
<i>suru</i>	to move closer, to fly (cf. <i>suruma</i>)
<i>suruma</i>	to come sinuously, trembling (cf. <i>suru</i>)
<i>susuruma</i>	coming sinuously, trembling
<i>suyaboda</i>	to thread
<i>ta</i>	we, us
<i>ta-</i>	PFX (cut)
<i>tabari</i>	to wear
<i>tabo/ra</i>	throat
<i>taboda</i>	to assemble
<i>tabu</i>	ancestor
<i>tabununa</i>	to excite
<i>tabuya</i>	a Kula canoe's prowboard (moon's face)
<i>tadudu</i>	to fly
<i>tagwara</i>	to cut, to scratch
<i>tai</i>	to cut, to cut down
<i>takaikai</i>	wooden throne

<i>takalasi</i>	to be as the sun
<i>takamu</i>	to eat
<i>takapoka</i>	to flash, to fell
<i>takova</i>	to make fire
<i>takubu</i>	to tremble
<i>talavagula</i>	to throw
<i>taluma</i>	to sing the exchange of Kula gifts (lit. to redden the lips with 'buwa')
<i>tama/ra</i>	father
<i>tamadudu</i>	thunder, rumbling thunder (cf. <i>tomadudu</i>)
<i>tamumu</i>	to drink
<i>tamurova</i>	to cry with joy
<i>tanawa</i>	deep, down, below
<i>tanibwisa</i>	to drag down to the sea, to go
<i>tanoi</i>	companion, mate, to whisper
<i>tapa/na</i>	to streak, to flash
<i>tapela</i>	to gleam
<i>Tariebutu</i>	a village in Dobu island (see Map A)
<i>tataba</i>	to go fast
<i>tatata</i>	to tremble
<i>tatumu</i>	to cover, covering
<i>tau</i>	man
<i>tauīya</i>	conch-shell
<i>taulava</i>	to open, to let out
<i>taumwasila</i>	joyful man
<i>tavekuyo</i>	to tie and drag away
<i>taweīya</i>	to go sinuously
<i>taweīyo</i>	to strike, to leap away
<i>tayobu</i>	to rest, to croon, wreath
<i>tayou</i>	to fly
<i>teiga/ra</i>	ear
<i>teitu</i>	a big yam (the white fruit)
<i>tepa</i>	to light
<i>teriria</i>	to cut, to carve
<i>tetana</i>	a single man, one man
<i>titatuva</i>	to go into raptures, to be stunned
<i>to-</i>	CLA (male)
<i>Tobebesa</i>	Tobebesa (proper name)
<i>tobowau</i>	youth
<i>tobugilama</i>	man left behind
<i>tobwabwate</i>	wise, ancestor
<i>tobwagau</i>	magician
<i>toderi</i>	to fall into line
<i>toina</i>	to transform
<i>tokaikai</i>	wooden throne
<i>tokaiyesa</i>	to come out and go, begone
<i>tokasa</i>	to be in line, to wait in line (cf. <i>kasa, kasi</i>)
<i>Tokasana</i>	Tokasana (proper name)
<i>tokasema</i>	to be in line

<i>tokimadagi</i>	man with shining face, beautiful man
<i>tokwai</i>	wood spirit
<i>tokwasi</i>	woodcutter
<i>tolalasi</i>	generous man
<i>toma</i>	to come in the darkness
<i>tomadudu</i>	thunder, rumbling, roar of thunder (cf. <i>tamadudu</i>)
<i>tomanaboina</i>	good man, gentle man
<i>Tomasina</i>	Tomasina, (proper name: 'laughing rock')
<i>tomwana</i>	a man who is petted, excited
<i>tota</i>	to stand (cf. <i>totorā</i>)
<i>totorā</i>	to rise up (cf. <i>tota</i>)
<i>toutu</i>	to caress
<i>tovina</i>	to look toward(s), to turn
<i>towa</i>	to stand away, to arise, to come out the darkness
<i>towadudu</i>	to come out, to come out blowing like the wind
<i>towasisa</i>	singer, bard
<i>toweiponu</i>	bewitching man
<i>Towitara</i>	Towitara (proper name)
<i>towoi</i>	to sigh
<i>tua/ra</i>	elder brother
<i>Tudava</i>	Tudava (proper name: a dog-hero)
<i>tugonu</i>	intoxicating red fruit, betel nut
<i>tula</i>	fresh water, cold, fresh
<i>tuma</i>	father (cf. <i>tama</i>)
<i>Tuma</i>	island of the dead (on the north-west side of Kitawa)
<i>tumegwai</i>	my fathers
<i>tumwana</i>	to make beautiful
<i>tunisa</i>	to have control over
<i>tupa</i>	to push, to push over
<i>tutu</i>	to crush, to thump
<i>ulai</i>	to become strong, to burst
<i>uli</i>	my (cf. <i>uni, ura, uri, uro</i>)
<i>uligowa</i>	crocodile
<i>ulu</i>	to stench
<i>unata</i>	man of many loves
<i>uni</i>	my (cf. <i>uli, ura, uri, uro</i>)
<i>unu</i>	mind, threat
<i>ura</i>	my (cf. <i>uli, uni, uri, ura</i>)
<i>ureri</i>	rainbow
<i>uri</i>	my (cf. <i>uli, uni, ura, uro</i>)
<i>uro</i>	my (cf. <i>uli, uni, ura, uri</i>)
<i>utu</i>	to compose
<i>uwara</i>	to break into, to crush to pieces
<i>uyauyauna</i>	mother of pearl moon, pendant of the <i>vaiguwa</i>
<i>vabusi</i>	to come down, to go down
<i>vadudu</i>	to go/step lightly, to go as wind, to blow, breeze
<i>vaewo</i>	to bring
<i>vagumi</i>	to awake

<i>vaguri</i>	to touch lightly
<i>vaiguwa</i>	red gift, necklace
<i>vaimane</i>	to bind, a burning desire
<i>vaïsi</i>	to bewitch
<i>vakaka</i>	to put on, to fix
<i>vaki</i>	firing, to rise suddenly
<i>valamu</i>	to breathe a sigh, to blow, to long for, sigh, to cry
<i>valapula</i>	to follow expectantly
<i>vali</i>	to bind, to hold, to set foot, to leave own image on
<i>valiku</i>	to tremble, trembling
<i>valila</i>	foot
<i>valova</i>	to change, to transfigure
<i>vamwana</i>	to stride with joy, leisure, to long
<i>vana</i>	wreath, crown of flowers, garland, a crushed leaf
<i>vani</i>	to set foot (cf. <i>vano</i>)
<i>vano</i>	to go and to stay (cf. <i>vani</i>)
<i>vanu</i>	village (cf. <i>varu, venu, veru</i>)
<i>vaori</i>	to go up and down
<i>vaosa</i>	to try to find, to think over
<i>vaotu</i>	to wait, to entertain, to be coming
<i>vapana</i>	to come lightly
<i>vaponu</i>	to go softly, to wave gently
<i>varamu</i>	see <i>valamu</i>
<i>varu</i>	village (cf. <i>vanu, venu, veru</i>)
<i>vaseu/la</i>	to fly, to breathe
<i>vatana</i>	to shout
<i>vatoi</i>	to wait, waiting, to gaze
<i>vavabusi</i>	to come down, to go down
<i>vayawa</i>	to leave
<i>vegasi</i>	to put/be under an arm, to fit
<i>veitaki</i>	to vie
<i>veka</i>	large, big, heavy, great
<i>venu</i>	village (cf. <i>vanu, varu, veru</i>)
<i>veramu</i>	to sigh, to long (cf. <i>valamu, varamu</i>)
<i>veru</i>	village (cf. <i>vanu, varu, venu</i>)
<i>veva</i>	rigging taut
<i>veyara</i>	round basket
<i>veyuma</i>	to desire somebody to be back, to keep back, to go and come back
<i>vila</i>	to turn, to surround
<i>vilatumala</i>	to share
<i>vina</i>	woman, girl (see <i>vivina</i>)
<i>vinaïya</i>	woman
<i>vine</i>	see <i>vina</i>
<i>viru</i>	to turn, to twist
<i>visiga</i>	to be bright, to become clear
<i>vitevata</i>	many, plenty
<i>vivina</i>	woman, girl, female (see <i>vina</i>)
<i>vivira</i>	woman (see <i>vivina</i>)

<i>wa</i>	to go, to sigh, to set, to do
<i>wa</i>	at, on, in, with, from
<i>wabu</i>	seduction
<i>wado</i>	mouth
<i>waga</i>	festive canoe
<i>wai</i>	to flow, to go like the wind, to go sinuously
<i>waibitu</i>	sharp, cutting
<i>waigana</i>	sea storm, wave, to wave, rough sea
<i>waîno</i>	village
<i>waîya</i>	to go at,
<i>waîyaîyuna</i>	to do with the hands, to leave
<i>waîyauta</i>	flow as a stream
<i>wakasa</i>	to get in line
<i>wala</i>	only
<i>waliwali</i>	cord, string, to tie,
<i>wamugweîyesa</i>	to go first
<i>wamwana</i>	joyful village
<i>wanugwa</i>	village, inside
<i>waponu</i>	water's edge, beach caressed by soft waves
<i>ware</i>	to utter, (to) echo
<i>wardawada</i>	dolphin (a decoration of dolphin)
<i>we</i>	see <i>wa</i>
<i>wegu</i>	to hiss
<i>weikana</i>	path, way
<i>weimapu</i>	to present somebody with something, to donate, to give a gift to become a single body, to donate oneself, precious set a value
<i>weimuya</i>	to move or go around with excitement, to remember with pleasure/excitement
<i>weinuguta</i>	sister
<i>weipunu</i>	to make beautiful
<i>Weirara</i>	Weirara, name of a village in Tuma island
<i>weitupa</i>	to desire to be back, to echo, to wait
<i>weiya</i>	to go, to sail
<i>wenu</i>	to sing, paddle
<i>Werara</i>	Werara (proper name)
<i>weriya</i>	creeper, petal
<i>werova</i>	motherless
<i>wetupa</i>	see <i>weitupa</i>
<i>wori</i>	to charm, to bewitch
<i>wosi/na</i>	song(s), to sing, dance
<i>wotuno</i>	cord, creeper
<i>wowo/ra</i>	body
<i>ya-</i>	CLA (fibres, leaves, mats)
<i>-ya</i>	SFX (with, at, up, here)
<i>yabukwabu</i>	dirty, a dirty leaf, not to know
<i>yaburesi</i>	fragrant flower, fruit tree
<i>yabweina</i>	to shine
<i>yabweiponu</i>	to foam

<i>yabweitapa</i>	to become bright, to dazzle
<i>yadeori</i>	to charm, garland
<i>yaero</i>	current, stream
<i>yaga</i>	I; name
<i>yagagu</i>	I, myself; name
<i>yagaiyo</i>	to branch
<i>yagama</i>	gourd
<i>yagasi</i>	names
<i>yagina</i>	wind, breeze
<i>yai</i>	to hiss, to fly
<i>yakida</i>	you and me
<i>yama</i>	hand
<i>yamata</i>	to die by hand
<i>yamatamata</i>	dying by hand
<i>yami</i>	to prepare, to cut a leaf
<i>yamitagana</i>	to caress
<i>yamwagana</i>	soft mat
<i>yamwenonuwa</i>	desire
<i>Yanabwa</i>	Yanabwa, or Yaraba, Island (see Map A)
<i>yaruwa</i>	to give soul, soul, spirit
<i>yasera</i>	to coil tightly
<i>yatana</i>	one
<i>yaunuwenu</i>	to thread
<i>Yaunuwenu</i>	Yaunuwenu (proper name)
<i>yaura</i>	desire, gift, to procure for
<i>yavamwana</i>	leisure, longing
<i>yavana</i>	garland, scent, to scent
<i>yavi</i>	light wind, breeze, to unfold
<i>yaya</i>	to spy on, to capture
<i>yayoyu</i>	to fly
<i>yayu</i>	to begin to sing
<i>yegu, yegwai, yeigu</i>	I (cf. <i>yaga</i>)
<i>yeiguta</i>	my, mine
<i>yekwesi</i>	leaf, leaves
<i>yemwa</i>	to change shape
<i>yeru</i>	stream, current
<i>yerubiki</i>	slow current
<i>yerudumu</i>	growing of the current
<i>yerukubobwa</i>	a trembling current
<i>yeyei</i>	to fly
<i>yeyuna</i>	tail
<i>yobu</i>	to give out, to utter, to expel, to speak, to capture, to lull, half dream
<i>yobwa</i>	to turn out
<i>yobwekasema</i>	to be in line, to take place
<i>yogibu</i>	to resent
<i>yoka</i>	you (cf. <i>yoku</i>)
<i>yokigeda</i>	to trouble, to long, to desire
<i>yoku</i>	you (cf. <i>yoka</i>)

<i>yomwabeta</i>	precious wreath, sacred wreath
<i>yorikasi</i>	a kind of basket used by the dead, (to) offer to plait, to weave, to stay/be one after another
<i>yorinuya</i>	to enthrall
<i>yoriruwa</i>	shade, the dead, soul
<i>yosewa</i>	space around the hut
<i>yosi</i>	to catch
<i>you</i>	to dart, to fly, gleaming
<i>youra</i>	a fine green shoot, to tie, to weave
<i>yowa</i>	to fly
<i>yowadudu</i>	to go fast, to go fast blowing as the wind
<i>yowayoura</i>	to tie, cord
<i>yoyoki</i>	to caress, to breathe
<i>yoyu</i>	frond, to flap, to flutter, to fly
<i>Yubuna</i>	proper name
<i>yuna</i>	hand, hangle
<i>yusa</i>	to leave
<i>yuyeura</i>	to blow, wind-blowing

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(1)	<i>Dorai I</i>	126	(7)	<i>Nadubeori III</i>	137
(2)	<i>Dorai II</i>	128	(8)	<i>Nadubeori IV</i>	137
(3)	<i>Dorai sobala I</i>	130	(9)	<i>Nadubeori V</i>	138
(4)	<i>Dorai sobala II</i>	132	(10)	<i>Nadubeori VI</i>	139
(5)	<i>Nadubeori I</i>	133	(11)	<i>Nadubeori VII</i>	142
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(3)	<i>Wosi weimuya I</i>	150	(12)	<i>Untitled IV</i>	165
(4)	<i>Wosi weimuya II</i>	151	(13)	<i>Wosi weimuya Ia</i>	166
(5)	<i>Wosi weimuya III</i>	153	(14)	<i>Wosi weimuya IIa</i>	170
(6)	<i>Wosi weimuya IV</i>	155	(15)	<i>Wosi sobala Ia</i>	171
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(2)	<i>Weponu IIa</i>	176	(14)	<i>Ruwegwau VII</i>	193
(3)	<i>Bôï tayobu I</i>	177	(15)	<i>Weponu A</i>	194
(4)	<i>Bôï tayobu II</i>	178	(16)	<i>Sinata I</i>	195
(5)	<i>Bôï tayobu III</i>	180	(17)	<i>Sinata II</i>	196
(6)	<i>Bôï tayobu IV</i>	182	(18)	<i>Sinata III</i>	197
(7)	<i>Bôï tayobu V</i>	184	(19)	<i>Sinata IV</i>	197
(8)	<i>Ruwegwau I</i>	186	(20)	<i>Sinata V</i>	198
(9)	<i>Ruwegwau II</i>	187	(21)	<i>Sinata VI</i>	199
(10)	<i>Ruwegwau III</i>	188	(22)	<i>Sinata VII</i>	200
(11)	<i>Ruwegwau IV</i>	189	(23)	<i>Ba yaruwa</i>	200
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| (2) <i>Ku ruruwai</i> | 214 | (8) <i>Mwasila sulumoïya</i> | 22:3 |
| (3) <i>Tokwai</i> | 216 | (9) <i>Mwasila monikiniki I</i> | 22:4 |
| (4) <i>Kara vagia</i> | 217 | (10) <i>Bisila A</i> | 22:6 |
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| (3) <i>Dova</i> | 242 | (8) <i>Osiyawei'gu</i> | 25:1 |
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