

THE PRESENTATIONAL STYLE OF WOMEN IN HULI DISPUTES

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Bi ina larigo haria nawi.
talk you said track not-there
The talk you have said doesn't lead anywhere.

Wane-igini emene bi laridagoni.
children small talk you-have-said
You have talked like little children.

Wali wanela bi O laridagoni.
woman daughter-and talk O you-have-said
You have talked like a woman and a daughter.

Agali bi ndo laridagoni.
men talk no you-have-said
You haven't talked like men.

Hale haria unugo ha ti haria ha polelu piyadagoni.
ear tracks there in excreta track in when-it-went went
The talk has gone into your ears and come out through your arse.¹

(Text A: Dalu (Goldman 1983:270))

It is well known that women in particular and small boys are liable to be untruthful and invent stories.

(Text B: Judge Sutcliffe, Old Bailey,
April 1976 (Pattullo 1983:18))

You women are not going to straighten the talk
If it is a small matter we men will listen
If it is a big matter we will talk until the evening
You (women) all go off I am saying

(Text C: Ago (Goldman 1981:213))

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INTRODUCTION²

The research theme of sexual dimorphism and asymmetry in New Guinea Highlands cultures has characteristically been pursued within the confines of traditional anthropological boundaries. The now voluminous literature evidences two distinct, but interrelated, lines of enquiry. The first approach develops the sociostructural implications of the male/female dichotomy by attending to its semantic, symbolic and metaphoric dimensions (cf. Meggitt 1964; Brown and Buchbinder 1976). The nexus of meanings and values predicated about gender is here invariably schematised in binary oppositions such as dominance-subjugation, purity-pollution, fertility-death or mortality-immortality. These antitheses define stigmatic dogmas and ideologies by encompassing a consistent set of ideas about the nature and implications of female sexuality. As pragmatic instruments, these codes are frequently shown to underscore and support the political subordination of women. A second perspective on intersex relations is constituted as a dialogue between (a) culture-specific definitions of gender identity with their attendant environmental polarities of wild/domestic or private/public; and (b) the broader debate concerning the universality of a nature/culture dichotomy as a rationale for status and power differentials (cf. Gillison 1980; Strathern 1980; Brown and Jordanova 1981).

Notwithstanding the axiomatic status accorded to these grids for an understanding of social action, there is a marked lacuna of information regarding sexual differentiation in language behaviour among Highlands peoples. For the most part, analyses to date are divorced from the discursive contexts in which gender-based inequities are communicated and negotiated. The acknowledgement that language reflects attitudes, prejudices and pejoration processes has not here manifested itself in the provisioning of material on either stereotypical notions of male/female speech and their rhetorical contexts of pronouncement, or the empirical nature of gender-based speech patterns in same-sex or cross-sex conversations. We lack, then, the requisite text data on verbal interaction sequences that might illustrate the interdependence between goals, sexist philosophies and linguistic strategies. That the literature should exhibit a high degree of 'conversational impoverishment' is all the more surprising given that the types of sex-role differentiation found in this region provide a particularly fertile bed for testing sociolinguistic theories focussed on difference, dominance and deference patterns. In this respect, the extensive writings on gender and language (cf. Thorne and Henley 1975; McConnell-Ginet, Borker and Furman 1980) have paradoxically remained of tangential interest to mainstream anthropology in New Guinea. And yet the typological schemas of male/female speech styles - 'powerful/powerless' (O'Barr 1982), 'assertive/tentative' (Lakoff 1975) or 'indirect/direct' (Keenan 1974) - demonstrate a perceived concordance between certain situational-semantic configurations (typically described as 'male dominated') and lexicosyntactic, phonological and prosodic variables. Disparities in the social power of the sexes reflect themselves in speech through techniques of conversational subordination - e.g. constraints on turn length, topic control or interruption (cf. Zimmerman and West 1975) - as well as the sex-based determination of participant roles. Insofar as language is an instrument for, and a parametric index of, social discrimination, speech studies hold a singular significance for gender focussed research in the Highlands. The dearth of relevant data here is, however, less a product of androcentricity (of the 'male-as-norm' interpretation of culture) than the peripheral status of linguistic evidence in research plans and ethnographic treatises.

Despite marked divergences in perspective and method, the literature reveals two problematic areas associated with cross-cultural studies on women as producers and interpreters of language:

(1) The structural and semantic variability of language systems, and indeed the culture-bound nature of glosses used for the indexical features of any 'genderlect', make comparative research a difficult task. Many of the measurable factors detailed by Lakoff (1975) — a classic in this field — have since proved ephemeral (cf. Philips 1980:533). More importantly, her study (like many others) was specific to women's speech in American culture, but unspecific as to its 'situated' character. By focussing on the contextual variation of women's speech we necessarily tie an idiosyncratic set of stylistic choices to a given range of situational factors. Clearly, the pool of linguistic resources used for fashioning communicative strategies varies from one culture to another. Lakoff's hypothesis that women's speech is more polite, tentative and uncertain than male speech, is based on the higher distributional frequency of hedges, disclaimers, super-polite forms, hypercorrectness, tag questions and direct (as opposed to indirect) quotation. While this has proved a testable schema for analysing witnesses' speech in American courtrooms (cf. O'Barr and Atkins 1980), Huli disputants cannot draw on a comparable range of phenomena. I have shown elsewhere (Goldman 1983) that in this Papua New Guinean language there is no distinction between direct/indirect speech since reported utterances are always cited directly in the object position. Furthermore, in that the language system evidences only objective modalisation, it is not possible to lexically mark attitudinal import to express qualified reservation. There are no 'opinion' type gambits that can express wonder, doubt, presumption, diminished assurance or tentativeness. There is always an unqualified commitment to the categorical I-say-so (neustic) component of an utterance though one can (through appropriate evidential suffixes) express qualified factuality in the it-is-so (tropic) element. Moreover, it would be difficult from an emic standpoint to identify what might count as an instance of 'politeness' or 'deference' in this culture and, indeed, it is far from clear that such notions are amenable to interlinguistic comparison.³ The tenor of these arguments supports those repeated appeals for detailed studies on the interaction between social settings and gender-based patterns of language usage (cf. Thorne and Henley 1975:13, 30; Philips 1980:534, 541; McConnell-Ginet 1980:7; Reiter 1975:16) to widen our understanding of this subject.

(2) Noting the inherent dangers of glossing techniques, there has been considerable reaction against dichotomous theorising on this topic as both oversimplifying complex data and unconsciously imposing the analyst's presuppositions about gender definitions (cf. Thorne and Henley 1975:27; Brown and Jordanova 1981:229). Such categorical and expositional conveniences with their 'monochromatic messages' (Philips 1980:540) about women's speech or status as powerless, inferior or subordinate has obscured, rather than clarified, the true nature of male dominance in these societies. The broad agreement that 'even in situations of overt sex role asymmetry women have a good deal more power than conventional theorists have assumed' (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974:9) has ushered in more refined and detailed studies showing how power differentials are matters of a 'kind' rather than 'degree' nature. Such transformations in perspective and emphasis (cf. McConnell-Ginet 1980:17; Brown and Jordanova 1981:230; Brown 1981:254) consider women as political strategists and attempt to define the forms, bases and scope their power takes. Examining linguistic choices provides diacritical evidence for the manner in which resources are exploited and fashioned to situational exigencies. We gain knowledge of how recurrent types

of interaction are experienced by women, as well as their perception of the discursual salience attached to particular patterns of language use. As Harding noted: 'The point is not that women are unique in their verbal skills for political ends, but that these skills must be uniquely developed by them in their exercise of power, given... their lack of formal access to the decision-making processes in the society' (1975:305).

What is required in grappling with the key sociolinguistic question of 'why' (Thorne and Henley 1975:13; Brown 1980:133; McConnell-Ginet 1980:21) women's speech assumes the form it does, is a *strategic* model of communication that adequately accounts for conversationists' goals in the production and interpretation of talk. Verbal routines, as 'situated' speech, are examined for their actual or construed functional appropriateness; that is, as displaying power in the sense of effecting or influencing desired outcomes. We thereby reach beyond the task of cataloguing formal linguistic features to a consideration of the social-structural milieu underpinning language uses. It is, then, precisely the centrality of a strategic focus that links the endeavours of language and sex ethnography with the theoretical issues addressed by communication research on conversation (e.g. Craig and Tracy 1983). The structure and comprehensibility of talk derives from strategic processes as (but also dependent on) rules and routines - 'making sense' is a pragmatic accomplishment. Most critically for the argument of this paper, notions about the internal and natural 'fit' (cf. Brown 1980:113) of linguistic traits in women's speech are formalised in communications-oriented studies as a relationship between *cohesion* and *coherence*. The former embraces those semantic resources used for manufacturing text as realised through, say, lexicogrammatical variables. Specific types of structural binding are isolated as, principally, within-turn phenomena. Coherence refers to aspects of topic development, relevance and consistency in relation to shared presuppositions and the particular context-of-situation. Analysing coherence as a 'rational totality' (Östman 1978:103) requires consideration of between-turn structures.

The present study is firmly located within the sphere of theoretical issues outlined above. I consider the meshing of gender, power and language in intersex disputes among the Huli of Papua New Guinea. The constitutive foci are:

- (i) the nature of 'textuality' in the accounts of female complainants;
- (ii) the manner in which gender-based ideologies of inequity interface with context-specific egalitarian norms (e.g. principles of 'equal before the law' or 'speech reciprocity' (Goldman 1980)) as impinging upon the structure and content of participants' speech;
- (iii) the way in which the above affects actual and perceived dispute outcomes.

The study is both part of an ongoing inquiry into dispute resolution in Huli as well as a contribution to comparative sociolinguistic work on language and women in forensic situations.

STEREOTYPES AND PARTICIPANT-ROLES IN DISPUTES

Huli social organisation is characterised by a rigid role differentiation along sexual lines such that most types of intersex interaction are hedged by taboo. The rhetoric of male/female communication reveals (cf. Goldman 1983) the sense in which the sexual disjunction is a constituent semantic feature of

most organisational schemas. The associated set of values encompasses an uncompromising ideology of pollution which articulates female sexuality in terms of toxicity and contagion. This central motif of pollution is embedded in the linguistic repertoires used in disputing where negative-evaluation terms encode the semantic derogation of women. The morphemic structure of anger, shame, insult and dispute lexemes embodies a congruent set of ideas about the feminine gender. Importantly, idioms of deviance establish a connection between notions of defilement or disorder and women, which underpins the sexist traits in male ideology. It is not so much the cultural evaluation of their sexuality that Huli women dispute as the inferential models relating them to all types of 'anomalous' situation.

At other levels imbalance and inequity are terminologically institutionalised in the labels of unit structuration. Most notable here is the distinction between *tene* (*real, base, first, source*) – agnates – and *yamuwini* (*nothing/woman* (derogatory) *yamu*) + placed (*wini*) – non-agnatic cognates. Moreover, as I have argued elsewhere (1983:94), stigma is inculcated through educational mediums such as myth where there is marked vocabulary switching from neutral to 'loaded' terms.

Inextricably bound to the sexual disjunction are the environmental categories of *anda* (*domestic/private*) and *hama* (*public/epideictic*). This conceptual grid serves to dichotomise power domains such that males monopolise contexts for public display. The patterning of actions on *hama* are homologous with ethno-ethological statements about sexual differentiation in bird-of-paradise behaviour.⁴ The aesthetic rationale governing exchange actions on *hama* – whether in pigs, paint or parlance – is the utilisation of 'pure' as opposed to polluted materials. All items must be sanitised of contagion. This is linguistically indexed by occurrences of high-valued eulogistic lexemes, euphemistic and 'indirect' speech in reference to sexual acts, and other forms of linguistic disinfectant. Transferring from *anda* to *hama* is a rule-governed activity. This manifests itself in disputes as conversational routines that sift and separate issues according to those which should and should not be discussed on *hama*:

D.1:663-664

Wali agali la mana wiyago
woman man both custom has-been-placed
For man and woman a mana has been placed.

Ogo hamani ayu lo-yu tagira pobehe ndo
this on-public space now to-say-carry outside can-go no
On this public space it shouldn't be said and carried outside.

In that there is anaphoric reference here both to types of insulting action and to 'domestic' quarrels, an explicit division is made between appropriate and inappropriate issues. Settlement-directed talking in Huli is thus part of the wider ritualised treatment of space.

While adducing popular stereotypes of male/female speech patterns remains an important source of illumination, appreciating their contextualised usages can frequently sound a note of caution against over-simplistic characterisations. Thus one perspective on the prefacing Texts A and C might interpret

Text A as illustrative of male derogation of female speech (perhaps as 'gossip' or 'frivolous' talk); and

Text C as an example of the conversational subordination of women in which men are seen to be 'consciously flaunting power'.

(Maltz and Borker 1982:199)

Moreover, as is apparently the case in certain Malagasy communities (cf. Keenan 1974), the sentiments about language impoverishment expressed in Text A may support or rationalise the interactional control of decision-making exemplified by Text C. However, the evaluation of verbal performance in Text A is based on the contextual inappropriateness of women's/children's speech for the task of dispute resolution. That is, the talk lacks 'direction' (harisa) in the sense of promoting the communicative goals pertaining to moot situations. It is this feature, rather than any negative inherent quality of the speech itself, which underlies the rhetorical strategies of mediators in D.1 and D.2 which characterise marital arguments as 'man and wife talk':

D.1:969-971 (see also 1204-05; 1243-45)

Au biribigo
This is how you two have been doing.

One agalini la lai gungu bialu
You have been arguing and fighting like man and wife.

Au lo manda hemaria
We have thought like that.

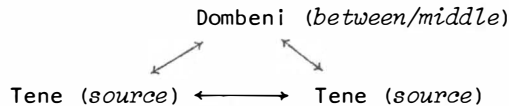
or in its gnomic form

D.1:1345

Walime agalini la lai gungu biaga (custom.mood) biagoni degego
woman man both argue fight customarily-do that one just-like
 laga (custom.mood)
it-is-said
Women and men customarily argue and fight and this is just like that
it is said.

Equally significant is the point that male stereotypes about female speech do not form confrontational devices used against women in the context of dispute talk. Rather, they are utilised as a discriminatory grid by males to separate 'women-like-men' from 'men-like-men'. This is attributable, as I explain in the next section, to the strength of constraining norms inhibiting expressions of sexual partiality.

In a similar vein, Text C simply affirms sex-role separation in the participant structure of any dispute (bi). There are two potentially confusing aspects to this phenomenon that require untangling. First, the conceptual and spatial model of a dispute as a speech event is triadic in nature:



Every quarrel is conceived to have two 'originators' and part of the conversational tasks of disputing is to locate the tene as the loci of responsibility and liability for compensation. Women who attend disputes do so either as (a) a tene; (b) close friend or relation of a female tene; or (c) a witness to events, or as having some relevant testimony on pertinent matters. They

cannot by convention, or choice, take incumbency on 'mediator' (dombeni) roles. This preclusion is not subject to challenge, complaint or censure – it is an accepted given of the interactional context. This sharply contrasts with the Village Court system where there is legislative provision for female village court magistrates, but where the social power of males in the society results in total monopolisation of these judicial roles. That is, women suffer disadvantaged access to mediation roles only in the latter context where choice is conceived to exist. Second, unlike the Malagasy where the rationale for excluding women is directly based on speechmaking abilities (Keenan 1974:141), Huli clearly separate 'access' to mediatorship from 'competence' to make mediatorial speeches:

D.1:1299

Lebe amu tiga tiga (reduplic.)/ore hanuni / ore
two-days ago over there straight very middle very
 lalu piru
when-said I-went
Two days ago I said a straight talk, a middle talk and I went.

D.2:413-418

Libu one agalini lalu kabi bi dombeni ogoni dagua pu kabi
those-two wife husband talked is-there talk middle that like go is-there
 wali hangu bialu kabi ogoni dagua labe ngabe
woman alone done is-there that like say isn't-it-put-there?
When a husband and wife have argued then, 'Make a middle talk' it is said;
when only a woman is there then (she should), 'Speak like that' it is said?

Inter-sex conflict in dispute resolution is less an affair of competing ideologies about speech worthiness than competing interpretations of how, and whether, bias manifests itself.

The critical importance of Huli disputes for examining contextual variation in women's speech lies precisely in the interplay between the sex-exclusive role of 'mediator' – reflecting power asymmetry and potential for sexual prejudice in the settlement process – and an egalitarian normative framework pertaining to (A) the relative status of male/female in dispute forums; (B) the structuring of conversation.

A: The surface parity of women's talk is maintained by

- (i) conversational routines between female complainants and middle-men (dombeni) which are constituted as accusations-denials of bias, and which reinforce notions of impartiality; and
- (ii) a strategic pool of proverb and precept resources which can be drawn upon to counteract sexist tendencies. For example,

D.2:399

anda maga mo beregedane walimedago beregedara...
house struts made-turn around woman is turning...
Woman turned the struts of the house around for men and she is turning them now...

This saying (cf. Goldman 1983:232) refers to the mythologically stated primacy of women who 'educated' men to place the horizontal holding-struts of a house on the inside. The speaker here implicitly enjoins others to attend to Wanili's speech as 'showing men the way'.

B: In tracing out the effect of gender on the patterning to talk it is not immediately obvious how women might experience conversational discrimination. A dispute is not terminologically segmented into discrete phases. Most typically they are multiple-claim affairs and there are no restrictions on how disputants compose their claim-profiles though, as I have argued elsewhere (Goldman 1983), these profiles reveal marked sequential patterning. With the exception of land disputes, there is no preallocation of turn order nor any prespecification of turn type (cf. Atkinson and Drew 1979). Talking does not here exhibit the type of formal two-part exchanges characteristic of courtroom speech; that is, question-answer sequences are dispersed rather than dominant. Consonant with this overall lack of choreographic direction, women are not subject to any restriction on the length, locale or format of their speaking turns. Indeed, the absence of a temporal constraint on these events means that competition for turns (and thus for prestige) is diffuse since everyone who wants to speak is assured of space. In this respect, analysis of a number of intersex dispute texts does not show that men are more likely to infringe the speaking rights of women through interruption (cf. Zimmerman and West 1975).

The above properties of the disputing system have to be set against the forms of overt imbalance alluded to earlier. As previously mentioned, the linguistic repertoire used for disputing is replete with terms indexing the semantic derogation of women. Indeed, gender in the Huli language is a 'covert category' (Whorf 1956) where the verb used to place people or animals constitutes one *cryptotype*. There is a division of nouns according to whether they take the marked (*ka - stand*) or unmarked (*beda - sitting*) form:

Ka	Beda
males	females
pigs, dogs	birds, insects
trees, plants	still water

This division applies only where the particular stance of a person is not known in reference. Importantly, the positional dimensions of high/above:low/under characterise a whole range of behavioural and ideological forms.

Insofar as the speech situation of dispute must regularly present to women a broadly similar structural configuration, recurrent experiences of inequity are likely to engender institutionalised responses in the adoption of strategic verbal routines to cope with discrimination. By examining such conversational data one gains insight into the incriminatory and defensive postures adopted — the 'system' models. In Huli, the presentational styles — as motivated choices among linguistic resources — reflect sex-preferential (rather than sex-exclusive) patterns. There is a differential frequency of use of text-forming agencies. In the following analysis I have employed the typological scheme of Halliday and Hasan (1976) specifically attending to the cohesive resources of conjunction and lexical reiteration and collocation. The textuality of women's speech is thus interpreted as a denser cluster of specific ties frequently used for chaining propositions that compose an account. This characteristic selection is sensitive to, and variable with, verbal and non-verbal environmental features. It is this interaction that produces specific text 'colorations' — a term much used for evaluation of audio speakers — which in turn become subject to commonsense glossing procedures. In testing the sensitivity of texture to situational factors one hypothesises a different pattern of choices for other 'talk-situations', or even within a class of contexts (such as Huli disputes) according to, say, different claim sequences in disputants' profiles.

Agali dombenime lagabe?
men middle customarily-spoke?
Did the middle-men customarily speak?

be libinime lagabe?
you two customarily-speak?
Or was it just two people (i.e. the disputants) who customarily spoke?

0 libinime laga ndo
O two people customarily-spoke no
It wasn't that only two people spoke. (Goldman 1983:160)

These referential phrases are most often subject to focussing activity by suffixation, e.g. -me; or, as in the idiostyle of Dalu, by interposing the voiced pause 0 between noun and adjective (D.1:19; 60; 75; 659)

agali o kemago...
men o are-here...

The above remarks explain the recurrence of vocative uses of 'men' (D.1: 773; 1076; 1194) which are not necessarily appeals to shared ideals between members of the same sex. In this respect D.2:364-379 provides a clear expression of gender differences in speech roles – the fact of an all-male audience – that does not militate against the attribution of importance to women's talk

Ai bi ina larigo agali ha ogobi anda piyada
ai talk you said men in this inside went
The talk you (Wanali) have said has gone inside men.

This surface neutrality is a critical property of a mediation code which I have defined and analysed elsewhere (cf. Goldman 1983) as a specific set of linguistic options communicating levels of commitment to decision making. For dombeni, assertion and tentativeness are differentially distributed in any utterance and indeed over the component arguments constituting a turn. Conversational goals are here oriented to proposing option sets and setting the terms of debate to prospectively structure talk. This is evident from the pronounced patterning found in mediation speeches and the routine use of 'gambits' – recurrent semifixed expressions – which semantically frame previous and forthcoming information in terms of culture-specific, and context-specific, cognitive categories. These constitute a type of subsidiary discourse to the main stream of talk. The commitment of mediators is to the erection of paradigmatic settlement choices and to the reiteration of generalised notions and norms of good speech in disputes. Contrastingly, there is a deferred commitment to direct forms of blame imputation or to the formulation of decisions as specific directives to action. Assertion occurs in the posing, presenting and suggesting of choice frameworks; an attenuation of directness is manifested, however, in the promotion or selection of particular options. This directly parallels the unqualified commitment expressed in the 'I-say-so' element of a proposition in opposition to the qualified commitment (by appropriate evidential suffixes, e.g. D.1:34; 37) expressed in the 'it-is-so' component. These features of objective epistemic modality and direct quotation seem peculiarly suited to the mediation code in which speakers delimit and circumscribe their involvement (or responsibility) for what others have said. This functional appropriateness is, I would argue, exploited by Huli speakers when exercising choice in regard to lexical and syntactic focussing that emphasises 'who' made given statements:

The occurrence of the sentence-final lexeme *ndo* (*no*), most typically stressed, is preferred against the negative prefix *na-* which can express precisely the same statement:

<i>nala-hende</i>	<i>libinime nalaga</i>
<i>not said heard</i>	<i>those two not-customarily-speak</i>

The dualistic structure of kinship relations in these marital disputes provides a useful resource for constructing passages based on repeated syntax as in references to Tondowa and Hawi (D.1:10; 201; 252), or Dalowa and Andira:

D.1:829-830

<i>Wali unugo</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>agalini kagoni*</i>
<i>Woman down there</i>		<i>your husband is</i>

<i>Agali unugo</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>one bedagoni</i>
<i>Man down there</i>		<i>your wife is</i>

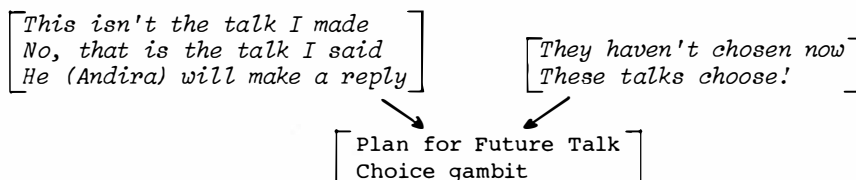
(*note the different forms for the copula according to sex of the subject.)

Furthermore, such forms of rhetorical enumeration typically occur when choices are listed or plans for future talk are defined (ref. D.1:713; 765; 749)

D.1:51-77

(cf. Goldman 1983:166; 183-84)

<i>When Hiribalu...has heard</i>	<i>One pig has been eaten...</i>
<i>When Andira's mother...has heard</i>	<i>Pila, was it you?</i>
<i>When us men...have heard</i>	<i>Anege, was it you?</i>
<i>When your father's-brothers... have heard</i>	<i>Helago, was it you?</i>



The implicit syntax of Dalu's speech is highly typical in its progression from a description of the current state of play between the disputing parties to a coda composed of disjunctive conclusions and finalised by a choice gambit.⁵ Indeed, the frequent occurrence of choice gambits in mediation speeches (D.1: 757; 840; 967; 819)

D.2:194

<i>Ogoni dabole</i>	<i>ladaba</i>	<i>laro</i>
<i>these to choose you</i>	<i>(dual:imperative-immediate)</i>	<i>speak I-am-saying</i>
<i>To choose these issues, speak, I am saying.</i>		

again illustrates the manner in which there is a circumscribed commitment on the part of mediators to the selection of specific settlement options.

It is important to point out that the marked phonological patterning we find in many speeches, as for example in D.2:303-321

Iba piyagoni
 Homaiyagoni
 Ira piyagoni
 Dandame bayagoni
 Agalime bayagoni
 Hinule
 Honowule
 Hongole

is a rhetorical device also manipulated by women in dispute talking (e.g. D.2: 71-77)

D.1:459-468

... limbi lomba biya
 Iya baba bi laya
 Lai bi laya
 Ani laya handala

On the one hand the phonotactic structure of Huli – and importantly the fact that all words end in a vowel – makes assonance almost an inevitable by-product of talk. On the other hand, the poetic patterns embedded in Huli genres are evenly distributed among both male- and female-exclusive forms. These arguments are important indicators that gender-based differences in language behaviour are here less likely to be found at the level of rhetorical form.

Among the many stereotyped mediation routines that confront litigants, those which attempt to *normalise* and *trivialise* conflict deserve special mention. The former strategy aims to delimit and de-escalate serious repercussions by presenting disputants with a categorisation of their mode of relationship as 'normal'. The gnomic proposition '*all relatives customarily argue*' is a convenient frame which allows mediators to provide referential determinacy in any given dispute. Speakers neutralise the socio-economically disruptive effects of divorce in D.1 and D.2 by assimilating a host of marital grievances to a 'normal' definition of the situation (D.2:191; 221; 325)

onene agalini la lai gungu bialu howa
wife husband both argue fought since-done

The dispute texts illustrate not only the frequency and distribution of such formulae (ref. D.1:970-971; 1204-1206; 1243-1246; 1345) but also the fixedness of the collocational sets one (*wife*) agalini (*husband*) : lai (*argue*) gungu (*fight*). Promoting the realisation among litigants that conflict is an inevitable and endemic aspect of relationships constitutes an invariable resolution technique regardless of who is arguing with whom about what:

Goldman 1983:180

*Now I am saying something important
 I am saying something important*

Ì mbalini la
*you sister both
 With a sister.*

Abá hamene la
*father brother both
 With a male relative.*

Bi ko laga
talk bad customarily-said
We used to make bad talk.

The determinant effect of such strategies is to force disputants to disaffiliate their particular claims from falling within these encompassing definitions:

D.2:213

Wives and husbands used to argue all day and come and go that is a different talk.

More serious for outcome production is the tendency for normalisation processes, such as those outlined above, to include explicit statements which trivialise or make inconsequential the whole range of subsistent claims and counter-claims (ref. also D.1:1204: 1243-1246; 1345)

D.1:1285-1289

With the husband
With the woman's fathers and
brothers
I have seen them get many troubles
We have seen many making talks
like these

Amu larigo tabirene
over there you said jokes

laribigo
you-two-said
What you have said over there are
just jokes.

D.1:722-725

Not like this now
For the fighting, arguing and
death...

Ai dugu wa ha
ai pull out throw away
Pull them out and throw them away.

Bamo
(They are) nothing.

or

D.2:183-186

Tini onene agalini la
you wife husband both argued fought done
If you want to talk on how the wife and husband have argued and fought.

Ndo
No.

O bamodago
O nothing (da: on the aural evidence)
That is nothing.

Wa hole
It will be thrown away.

These highly recurrent acts of trivialisation, which are not always specifically directed at female claimants, can be used in two quite different ways. First, to defeat an overall claim of divorce: '...the middle-men are not going to say, "Pull out the pigs"' (D.1:1271). Second, to support the process whereby 'superficial' (daliga - *on top*) claims are separated from fundamental/first causes (tene - *source*).

Since the development of any dispute discourse in Huli inevitably focusses on the identification of tene (as both *issue* and *persons* responsible, cf. Goldman 1981), the assessment strategies which characterise D.1:1105:1107 and

D.2:156-164 clearly aid the selection process. This is particularly marked in D.2:221-328 where the exchange between Hagai and Wanili reveals a conflict between differential perceptions of tene. Wanili sees the false accusation of Ogoli as directly linked (i.e. as having its tene D.2:10) to a sequence of claims against her husband Garibe for ill-treatment. Hagai, contrastingly, trivialises these typical marital arguments as bamo (*nothing/inconsequential*) in order to make prominent her concealed feelings that her son's death by drowning was not an accident. The terms of the dispute are thus constantly being defined and redefined by participants. Significantly, however, the interactional control by mediators of those routines outlined above results in the submergence and dissipation of claimants' viewpoints.

In part these techniques appear to be adaptive responses to the concatenation of claims that is the most important structural feature of Huli disputes. Examination of litigant profiles during any conflict demonstrate a deliberate and patterned sequencing of claims which, while often manipulated to good effect by claimants, presents problems for outcome production. Gangaro's remarks concerning the 'mixing' (D.1:813; 941, 952; 980; 1176) of claims directly reflects his understanding of the dispute processes depicted in Figure 1:

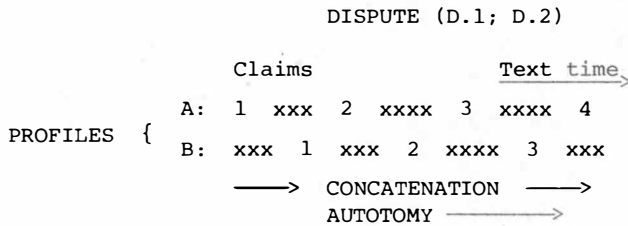


Figure 1

Given the rank level distinctions between *Dispute - Profile - Claim*, at any given juncture of text time mediators confront an accumulation of claims built up by both tene (i.e. A and B in Figure 1). Disregarding the sequential aspects of these profiles for a moment, the dynamics of claim presentation also show an opposing tendency of claim autotomy - a deliberate casting off of certain claims in favour of others as a survival strategy. Notwithstanding autotomy, neutralisation and trivialisation, the resultant 'mixing' of claims makes the talk 'hard' (D.1:811) in the sense of difficult to settle. In that marital disputes represent the paradigmatic case of 'multiple-claim' disputes, bringing this kind of talk 'outside' can also engender disapprobation as the washing of one's dirty linen in public (D.1:946; 995; 1079; 1174). What seems important about all these mediation routines is that they are equally directed against male or female disputants. They are not interpreted by women as inherently limiting or discriminatory and, as I shall argue, only minimally impinge on the structure of accounts.

The interplay between sexist beliefs and stereotyping appears operationally relevant where women are directly opposed in the dispute by a male claimant. That is, males will play on their sexual identity with mediators through implicit reference to, and invocation of, ideas about women as 'norm breakers' and sources of strife. In this regard, their standing (or impartiality) is not threatened to the same extent as it would be for a dombeni expressing similar convictions. Such appeals to 'male' ideology are embodied in Andira's use of the vocative 'men' (agali: D.1:563; 704) and the evocative charge that Dalowa

contaminated his food by 'jumping over' (angua haya: cf. Goldman 1983:85) it. This is a type of polluting act specific to females and falls within the set of gender-defined prohibitions termed galo bira. Significantly, Andira characterises the act as 'typical' through use of the customary mood:

D.1:564

Ogo ale daraboli (pidgin) miaga
this like trouble customarily-gives (3rd.pers.custom.)
Women are always making trouble like this.

In addition to the explicit denials of Dalowa's claims, Andira's case reposes on exposing her 'unreasonable' behaviour. He recounts his involvement in an important compensation payment (damba: 71; 1266) – again likely to be viewed sympathetically by the all-male audience – allowing others to infer from Dalowa's demands for pig a basic obstructionism. Importantly, the most common rationalisation given by Huli men for male-initiated divorce was wives' 'greediness for pig' (nogo dimagoli) which diverted resources away from exchange activities. Two further features worth noting are Andira's references to acts of 'throwing away' (564; 586) – showing moderation – which constitute forms of self-appraisal, and the importance attached to 'what was actually said' as a recoverable feature of past events. This latter aspect typified the speeches of all participants and reveals the degree to which the system is designed to elicit incident as a 'verbal phenomenon', leaving attitude and manner to be inferentially derived. The development of claim topics in Andira's turns shows a standardised progression of accusations:

unwarranted demands on pig (584)
 argumentative behaviour (584; 591-592)
 insult (602-606)
 laziness in gardens (638; 648)
 prolonged absence at parents (703; 737; 1133; 1219).

It is precisely these attempts at impression management through appeals to shared background ideals among male claimants and mediators which are the object of specific comment by women: 'He saw you people (i.e. mediators) and he is talking (i.e. concocting a set of lies)' (D.1:653).

Through processes of autotomy, it is only the last issue of prolonged absence which remains prominent in Andira's claim profile and which is attended to in speeches occurring in the latter part of the text (e.g. 1146-1147; 1163-1164; 1170; 1177; 1219). The physical separation of wife and husband becomes a focus for mediation talk as a reflection of Andira's perceived desire not to divorce (687; 699; 702-705; 741; 1132; 1219; 1309). That is, despite the absence of any supporting normative provisions, the presentation of a divorce choice to the male renders women at a disadvantage precisely because such choices are frequently determinative of the construction and realisation of dispute outcomes. This procedural imbalance, I would suggest, is underpinned by the politico-economic control of bridewealth by men. There is, then, co-identification with male claimants in the sense of a gender-based 'interest group'. In the context of dispute talk, this results in the differential weighting of male/female demands and resolutions:

D.1:1139-1140

Ina dabu bini yalu poro au lariyagua
I married to carry I am going like that if -you-say
If you (Andira) say, 'I am carrying her off'.

Henene handalumaro bidamagoni
truly we-will-see-finished
Then truly we will see the matter finished.

⋮

They will stay together over there.

Dalowa's claims, treated with consideration as legitimate bases for divorce, are assessed against mediation goals defined in the light of male intentions – both of the husband and the male support group of the female claimant. Thus, 'the participant structure of such events reflects a real power asymmetry underneath the surface equality' (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982:9).

The stated aim of 'untying the anger in their heart' – as opposed to 'pulling out the pigs' (1241-1246) – partly reflects the problems associated with divorce once children are born, but also the posture adopted by Dalowa's father, Hayabe, throughout the talk. His speeches evidence a distinct lack of commitment to the divorce option (969) which, in accordance with most of the other male speakers (1045; 1129-1132; 1204-1214; 1250-1254), is presented to Andira:

D.1:682

Ì one wane la ni bedagoni lo kebe?
your wife daughter both down there sitting to-say are-you
Are you going to say that is your wife and daughter there?

Be ibu ni wali tara bedagoni ì one ndo?
she down there woman different sitting my wife no
Or that woman there is different, that is not my wife?

It is this consistency of perspective on case settlement which prompts the summation

D.1:1063 (see also 1064-1069)

Mana ayu ngago agali igini ibinime / ore
mana now is placed man son himself (intensifier:very)
The mana is there it is on man's son himself.

In this context, mana does not refer to customary norms but rather the case-specific 'way of doing things' as derived from the preceding conversational exchanges.

The above discussion provides the necessary preparatory base, or backcloth, for analysing the verbal strategies of women. Not only is dispute talk an extremely structured activity, it is also conducted within a framework of egalitarian ideals. These purport to equalise sexual imbalances extant in other behavioural domains. It is less the use of a confrontational rhetoric based on overt sexism than the accepted participant-role structure which, through procedural biases, acts to mitigate the outcome effectiveness of women's arguments. This 'powerlessness' is not a quality of the mooted claims – that is, as lacking credibility or convincingness (cf. O'Barr 1983) – but a reflection or assessment of their impact for outcome construction, choice and realisation.

WOMEN'S SPEECH

The arguments elicited above form part of the pool of expectations and presuppositions held by female litigants when presenting claims. Their interpretations of mediator/male strategies help fashion their own distinctive language usages as a response to, or a means of coping with, system imbalances. In this respect, there are some intriguing continuities and discontinuities between Huli moots and Anglo-American courts. Among the latter, the numerical preponderance of males in the legal profession (excepting clerical staff and jury personnel) is a direct consequence of an exclusionary elitist ideology (cf. Pattullo 1983) and a generally entrenched sexism within the social fabric of these cultures. However, the male presence in Huli moots reflects, I have argued, the deference and accession of women – choice is not a constituent factor of the perceived situation. Nevertheless, the superficial equality (as ideologically defined) in both contexts, which masks an underlying power asymmetry, belies the notion of 'without prejudice'. One important corollary of the prevailing male ethos in these forensic systems is that women inevitably suffer a deprivation of *experience* in the practice of, or familiarity with, dispute resolution. For Huli, this is a result of their conventionally restricted participation. In regard to language strategies, then, it has been argued that 'the qualities of a good barrister tend to be associated with male arrogance, pomposity, "erudition"...to achieve a measure of success women barristers were expected to ape this style conceived and exploited by men' (Pattullo 1983:7). To what extent is this applicable to women's talk in Huli disputes?

The evidence from a number of intersex disputes suggests the prevalence of *alignment talk* – the tying of the utterances of one speaker to those of another speaker, or speakers, in proximal turns through the repetition (or building upon) of key lexemes or phrases – in those text environments showing orientation to tene identification: tene tai bira/tene goda handama (*to search for sources/dig up the sources*) (Goldman 1983:14).

Alignment talk, as a female-male phenomenon, appears partially dependent on a high degree of interactional involvement by a female claimant in the control of topic formulation and development. There is a marked difference in this respect between the contributions of Dalowa and Wanili in the cases being considered. It is a pragmatic resource for communicating credibility to males concerning their understanding of those norms governing resolution procedures. That is, latching on to some of the key usages occurring in mediator turns allows women to keep up a level of agreement, and communicate that fact, on critical settlement processes even where there is substantial disagreement on the correct referents of such terms as tene. This dynamic of intersex talk creates cohesion through lexical repetition and collocation both within and across turns. It can also be argued that such linguistic activity is a noticeable feature of women's talk in that it indexes perceptions and appraisals of differential competence/experience in the presentation of claims.

The dialogue between Hagai and Wanili (D.2:221-300) is particularly revealing in the above respects. There is marked lexical cohesion centred around the terms tene (*source/reason*), irane (*trunk, stem/important*) and kuni (*bone/real, important*). These three near-synonyms are part of a locative lexicon used to place arguments and claims in a relative schema according to importance or aetiological primacy. They have a high frequency of occurrence in locales dealing with tene specification. As each new key phrase is introduced by Hagai,

Wanili observably adjusts and aligns her speech to express conformity with 'disputese' – a strategy which functions to boost the credibility of alternative definitions of tene

D.2:224 H: tene...yide
 227 W: tene
 242 H: tene irane ore kuni
 245 W: tene irane
 263 H: irane kuni/ore
 291 H: mbiyaore yidego
 295 W: mbiyaore nayi

Of equal interest is the coloration of claim texts found in D.1 and D.2 which tend to suggest a gender-specific conception of 'correct and effective' delivery. This, in contrast to the above, does not derive (being wholly different) from the actualities of corresponding male speeches. Where women are the initiators of any dispute episode – and particularly when a degree of scheduling has occurred – they tend to be given the floor first. These initial speeches are invariably the longest of all their contributions, and are not constrained by previous speakers' turns to the same degree as later discourse tracts. For this reason, they are particularly illuminating on the perceptions women have of a 'good case'. What emerges from any preliminary reading of such opening speeches (D.1:93-552; D.2:7-140) is the textual predominance of *conjunctive-cohesive* ties – both *causal* and *temporal* (correlative-sequential forms). The resultant coloration, which I argue is specific to women's speech in these contexts, details the way in which one event is 'systematically related' (Halliday and Hasan 1976:227) to a previous one. Causal ties are used to foster the impression that reasoned actions have followed on from unreasonable acts; correlative temporal ties create an impression of 'aggravated circumstances' elevating the overall claim for divorce from 'normal' patterns of husband-wife conflict. Comparable male texts are more densely structured in terms of sequential-temporal forms – e.g. then, next, after that, subsequently – so that reason is an inferential licence given to recipients of accounts. That is, males rely more heavily on implicature and inferential ambiguity. Additionally, textual data from disputes indicates that among Huli women (as for the Iatmul) 'emotional phrasings of reasons for behaviour are very much more frequent than among the men' (Bateson 1958:253). There is a greater proclivity to rely on emotive self-declarations of vulnerable and dependent states.

These arguments, which are more rigorously demonstrated below, point to a strategic nucleus of levelling devices attuned to women's suppositions that they interact in disputes from a weaker or disadvantaged position. Such interpretations of the disputing experience seem to partially account for noticeable disjunctions with male speech styles. Moreover, the manipulation of semantic resources (as realised by lexicogrammatical forms) provides an evidential layer to arguments that is additional to, as well as lexically and syntactically distinct from, the framework of evidential suffixes detailed elsewhere (cf. Goldman 1983:30 – as in -rua D.1:33 and -da D.1:36). In similar fashion, the seemingly redundant usages of locative adverbs provides an emphatic evidential aura for the spatialisation of events in a commonsense geography. The saliency of the discursal forms delineated below must reflect an attribution of 'power' as the control over, and assignment of, meaning.

The prime candidate for consideration in these regards is the repeatedly used construction (e.g. D.1:126; 147; 191; 211, 227; 272, 308, 326, 336, 345; 366; 372; 411; 453; 467)

ani (verb form) / handala
 thus () / seeing
 Seeing he/she (said/did, etc.) like that.

Reiteration of this causal tie establishes a chain of reasoned acts in the foreground of recipients' knowledge. A contrast is drawn with the censurable actions of Andira which are described as lacking 'reason' (yamo: *for nothing* D.1:111; 230). This conjunctive adjunct functions as a prepositional expression with the demonstrative (ani: *thus*; biago: *that one*) as deictic. It carries the meaning of such phrases as 'on account of that', 'as a result', 'for this reason', 'as a consequence', 'because of', 'seeing that was the case'. The adjunct frequently occurs in initial positions (e.g. 126; 147; 191; 211; 227) which, I argue a little later, reflects the relationship of pause phenomena to conversational planning. The reason suffix -handala seems most likely to be based on the same morph -handa as in the focussed subject suffix -handa (for personal names, and mother/father)

D.1:531-534

Ibu ainya/handa...
 His mother/foc.sub.suffix

I hame/handa
 My father/foc.sub.suffix

as derived from the verb handa (imperative: *see, look*) — a demand for attention. Consonant with this, I have translated ani...-handala as *seeing that...* This conjunctive has two synonymous forms in Huli, both suffixes being added to the verb

-gola
 -handala

Both forms can express 'as a result of' and 'for this reason'. -gola is also the consecutive action suffix having the exclusively temporal meaning of 'when' (most usually as -gola howa: *from when*) as in D.1:217; 285; 114, 78; 141. When used in reason clauses, however, the meaning of temporal succession, result and reason are fused together

D.1:100

Mba layagola pene
 As/when he said, 'Let's go' I went.

D.1:417

Ani layagola wa halu...
 When/because he said thus, we threw it away.

D.1:543

Ogoni dagua ba bo hayagola au layagola
 As/when he was to kill me, when/because he said...

Insofar as the -gola form is the most frequently used suffix in everyday talk (cf. Rule 1964:77), the predominance of -handala in the dispute texts of women is significant. Temporal succession (an inalienable component of causal conjunction) is thus clearly here subordinate to the communication of 'reason'. Moreover, the choice between the two forms seems governed by notions of appropriateness of text coloration. Sense perception in terms of sight is a linguistic marker of epistemic modality in the Huli language (cf. Goldman 1983: 30). Many of the concepts and terms related to veracity and notions of 'witness'

(de hendene: *the ones who saw*) are centred on sight. In this context, the reiterated construction *seeing* (handa/la) *that* lends evidential weight to the statements of reason forwarded. The two reason suffixes are perceived as having differential import for the structuring and resultant effectiveness of texts. In that it is particularly important for a speaker to establish the evidential basis of reports of past events – especially as reasons for actions *they* subsequently take – there is a noticeable tendency to use the -gola form in reports (or imputations) of reasons concerning other actors (e.g. 114; 543), employing -handala where subsequent acts are initiated by 1st person (either singular, dual or plural)

D.1:453

ani laya handala wa halu...
Seeing as he had said like that I threw it away...

The salience attributed to this adjunct by women indexes the different interpretations they have of the relationship between specific language usages and outcome production. As a reflection of perceived structural imbalances, women presume an increased pressure to make explicit the inferential bases on which their own behaviour was founded. They phrase such reports through strategic choices of evidential markers, the clustering and density of which lends their speeches a wholly distinct texture.

Male texts, by contrast, do not exhibit the same frequency of 'reason' clauses and, where these do occur, they tend to be in the -gola form

D.1:606

oba hayagola o i keba biya
Because/when they laughed I was angry.

Reports of events are predominantly organised in terms of temporal connectiveness. The subsidiary discourse is (as I have shown elsewhere for male speech, cf. Goldman 1983) composed of gambits which function to review or restate previous reports. The emphasis is on marking the action as an historical occurrence:

GAMBITS

Restatement/summation/emphasised aspect/repeats

ani	} laru	} laro	<i>it was said like that I am saying</i>
au			
agua			
ogoni			

au laru hendene	<i>it has been seen that you said like that</i>
au laramagoni	<i>we are saying like that</i>

ani	} bini	<i>thus it was done</i>
au		
ogoni dagua		

Where such glosses are used as linking clauses the sequence of time is given preferred expression over reason

D.1:615

ani laru pene laru
thus when-it-had-been-said I-went I-am-saying

I shall not detail any further aspects of male speech in disputes as text data presented in previous publications bears testimony to the overall distinctions I have drawn.

The status of *ani.../handala* as a semifixed expression in women's speech is further supported by two concomitant features:

(1) The most recurrent verb forms used are that of *bia (do)* – as a deputy for any episodic verb – and *la (say)*

ani biya/handala
seeing-it-was-done-like-that (227; 336; 345)

ani laya/handala
seeing-it-was-said-like-that (147; 191; 211; 273; 308; 326; 367; 373, etc.)

Now these are precisely the verb forms which predominate in the routine lexical phrases of men; in subsidiary discourse they have a formulaic character. This is consonant with the overall focus of dispute activity on the verbal component to any previous event. The interest is on what people actually said, rather than circumstantial information about manner, disposition or attitude. Throughout the transcript it is evident that claimants and mediators alike thematise reports of utterances as a basis for subsequent inferences or actions. In many instances the adjunct *ani laya/handala* links verbal events to personal movements (99; 211; 308; 326; 457).

(2) The punctuational structure of Dalowa's speech also indicates the prepatterned nature of this conjunctive phrase. As a critical resource for text formation, it functions additionally to provide time for conversational planning; an invariant frame packaging variable information. This explains the tendency for such phrases to occupy first position (in a linear not sentential sense) and to be preceded or followed by the voiced and unvoiced pause:

0 (2) *ani laya/handala* (126; 227)

Ani laya/handala 0 (147; 336)

Ani laya/handala (1) 0 (411)

There is here a functional equivalence between the causal forms examined above and the temporal ties assigning connectivity to events. The internal structuring of events in Dalowa's speech follows the sequence of external happenings. An impression of intolerable and irreconcilable behaviour is promoted through the enumeration of 'times' (*ha/lu* – repetitive D.1:4; 7; *angi* – used with ordinals to mean occasion). It is noticeable that the number of threatening actions by Andira steadily increases (D.1:4-9; 721; 1297) in the various reports suggesting an assigned prominence. Temporal conjunction is imposed by juxtaposing anaphoric and cataphoric time expressions that most usually include an adjectival deictic and the emphatic use of the pause marker 0

D.1:295-299

0 *biagoni kiru* (1.5)
0 that was twice

Tebone angi 0
the third time

311-316

ogoni angi tebone angi
that time was the third time

mane angi (2)
the fourth time

Again, this concatenation of negative behaviour by a husband – and therefore the type of textual cohesion markers used in speeches – is quite specific to women's talk in marital disputes.

A somewhat more difficult parameter to assess is the degree and type of emotional expressiveness found in the dispute talk of women. Irrespective of sex, it is always necessary for claimants to index the effects of others' verbal/non-verbal actions on psychological states. Anger (*keba*), shame (*taga*) and refusal (*manga*: D.1:540; 550; D.2:19; 25) represent the material consequences of wrongdoing. Personal disclosure of these states is a prerequisite for the success of any compensation claim precisely because indemnity represents a type of healing ritual to Huli. Notwithstanding such observations, there are important differences between men and women in the kind of sympathy-evoking strategies relied upon. Most particularly, women recount affectual experiences of sorrow (*dara*) and grief (*gende* - *heaviness*) and tend to stress their dependency on men. The relationship between sex and the expression of specific feelings, as an aspect of the cultural construction of gender, is institutionalised in Huli through the speech genre *Wali 0* (*woman's* (*wali*) *wail* (/ɔ:/ is the distinctive refrain produced during performances). This type of lament for the dead is exclusive to women; there are no comparable verbal conventions for men. Moreover, examination of spell texts associated with love-magic (*wali dagia*: *woman's* (*wali*) *platform* (*dagia*) - preparatory rites for girls of marriageable age) reveal a rich metaphorical language surrounding the expression of such emotional states as pain, loneliness, envy and desire. Indeed, much of the terminological repertoire used to refer to or express sympathy has morphological ties to gender-associated words:

dara or *daraba* (*sympathy/sorrow*) : *daramabi* (*red*) : *darama* (*blood*)

The morphemic base of the above lexemes stresses the semantic ties between women, blood, red, danger and sorrow.

Whatever the emotional content of the claims may be - and they are quite considerable in D.1 - Huli women manipulate affective ploys of appeal by emphasising their vulnerability and dependence:

(Goldman 1983:177; 185)

i mbira
I am alone

i biango andu nene
my breast has been eaten by a dog, i.e. my son is dead

i igini honowa henedagoni
my son is dead

⋮

I am not like you with many gardens, I am in the bush and mountain side
No man came to my leg (i.e. I don't have a husband)
Only myself am left and I am dying.

One notes how Dalowa attributes her mother's death to 'grief' (D.1:543; 1212-1214) and makes reference to her own actions of wailing (435). Similarly, Wanali stresses the sorrow experienced on the death of her son (D.2:63; 84; 362) and alludes to her enforced self-sufficiency

D.2:251

i hangu embera tara...
I was alone and made to sit in the bush

Where this dependency is converted by men into outright subordination and discrimination women will, through innuendo and sarcasm, invoke norms stipulating equal status with men before the 'law' (mana):

(Goldman 1983:186)

Agali ge pouni ha harimago meremago
We are under the legs of men and so we are giving (indemnity). (sarcastic)

(Goldman 1981:415)

*He is woman
 because he wears a string-apron he thinks he is man
 I am man
 when my grass-skirt gets too heavy I will throw it away*

(Implicit reference to cultural definitions of man as 'strong' and woman as 'weak'.)

D.2:152-153

The source that you will be saying
That is woman and her mind is confused.

The rhetorical pronouncement by Wanali that she confronts her audience as *woman to men* (D.2:140-146; 337-372) is an attempt to have reinforced or reiterated a contextually defined parity. These types of ploy are extremely common in cross-sex disputes tending to occur where female claimants experience, or wish to foster the impression of having experienced, bias. The veiled accusation is that males are abusing their power through sexual discrimination in their considerations of claims. This can take many forms. It may be phrased as an attempt by men to obfuscate the 'real' issues by 'covering the source' (tene). Equally, it may charge men with deliberate distortion of truth:

Agali kego hale hai harigo
You men have finished hearing the talk.

Agali binaga o mo tiga bere agile?
Why are you straightening the talk only for men?

Tindule larogoni
I am saying they are lies.

Tindule bi ndodabe
It's lies isn't it. (Field data)

In this particular respect, women evidence a greater proclivity to express their negative assessments of other people's talk as 'lies' (ke/tindule: D.1: 617; 626; 1214; D.2:218; 297; 348; 351-352; 354; 363). This confrontational directness (cf. Keenan 1974:137) contrasts markedly with the metaphorical and circumlocutory nature of male speech assessments. This disjunction may reflect a lack of experience as to male modes of presentation, or constitute a strategy to emphasis incorrectness in intimidating contexts. The latter is a more likely explanation here according as it does with perceptions of disadvantaged status. It is particularly noticeable that, in anticipation of mediators' requests for possible witnesses (e.g. D.1:595-596) to previous events, Dalowa is careful to gradually increase the number of people who could confirm the historical accuracy of her account (nurse 117; aid-post orderly 137; Dalu 204; woman from Andaga 282;

Andira's mother 335, 461; Dabali's father 397; Hiribalu 473; Diliba 504; Kedame 596). A similar familiarity with accredited types of argument is displayed by frequent allusions to acts of claim renouncement as signified by the phrase 'throwing away' (wa halu: 234; 275; 291; 347; 417; 453). By such means Dalowa exhibits a willingness to forget initial provocations and show restraint. Her stated refusal to return to Andira is thus not an impulsive reaction, but a reasoned decision based on past and predicted behaviour of Andira.

Notwithstanding the realisation among some mediators that without divorce the 'stick will still be there' (D.1:1321; 1344), Dalowa (like Wanali) ultimately fails to achieve her desired goals. Assigning relative weight and importance to the many contributing factors to any dispute outcome is inevitably a problematic venture. The complex nature of divorce transactions with their often unwelcome economic repercussions for men has a determinate influence. However, the developmental structure of claim argumentation (as depicted by Figure 1) seems, to my mind, to exert considerable impact on outcomes. Most specifically, the *self-initiated* and *mediator-imposed* forms of autotomy – functionally necessary for goal realisation – serve to promote definitions of conflict which are relatively simple and holistic. There is no separable accounting in decision formulations of the constituent and multiple claims. When allied to the kinds of procedural bias noted previously – giving men the choice of divorce – this reductionism tends to work against women. Furthermore, I would argue these perceptions form part of the communicator's (female) set of expectations and presuppositions brought to any dispute. Some of the accusatory routines examined herein bear testimony to this point. Women, then, conceptualise the *coherence* requirements in disputes as different from those applicable to everyday talk. The surface *cohesion* in opening female speeches, as engendered by a predetermined choice of idiomatic expression, provides the semantic-functional base for participants' interpretations. The kinds of reductionist arguments employed by mediators in the latter phases of an ongoing stream of talk – 'does he/she want to divorce?' – are constructions built on the *coherence* of talk as a 'rational totality' (Östman 1978:103). Importantly, the broad underlying message of female contributions is inferred from the text coloration imposed by the speaker. It would appear that the conversational tactics of Huli women are oriented to accomplishing coherence which, to judge from the absence of any rejection, misinterpretation or questioning of competence (cf. Nofsinger 1983: 257) by mediators, is often achieved but is in itself insufficient to ensure realisation of tactical objectives.

The implications of this study are relevant to nationally defined goals concerning sexual discrimination in judicial fields. The problems are less a matter of language planning than the structural organisation of decision-making bodies and the need to guard against procedural imbalances. How far the conclusions reached here apply to other Highlands societies is impossible to gauge at present given the non-existence of any comparable data base. Nevertheless, the findings highlight an important problem area for legal planning in a social change situation where traditional polities and newly created non-indigenous bodies (such as Village Courts) are male dominated. This may well constitute a needy case for some type of 'affirmative action' policies increasingly adopted by Western politico-forensic institutions.

ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

'	A high-falling tone
'	A low-rising tone
(())	Enclose comments on setting
()	Enclose explicatory comment on text
D.	= dispute number. D.1:35 is to be read as dispute no.1, line 35
::	Stretching of the syllable preceding the colons
(2)	Indicates a time gap the duration of which is indicated by the bracketed number to the nearest half-second
=	Indicates a lack of interval between the end of one person's utterance and the commencement of a second person's turn
[Indicates overlapping speech
<u>No</u>	Emphasis by speaker is indicated by underlining
()	Empty brackets signify a failure to retrieve utterances from the sound recording
/	Used for the suffixes -ore and -handala to facilitate lexeme translation
:	Indicates omitted discourse
foc.	focussed
sub.	subject
pers.	person
sing.	singular
ref.	refer

APPENDIX A: D.1

Issue : Action for divorce by Dalowa based on a number of claims including violence during pregnancy, violence against children as witnessed by a local aid-post orderly, and a death threat repeated some six times. These are denied by Andira who counters with claims concerning non-performance of duties and an inordinate amount of time spent by his wife with her parents.

Disputants: Andira
Dalowa (Andira's wife)
Hiribalu (Andira's father)
Hayabe (Dalowa's father)

Date : August 23rd 1977

Location : Ialuba - Koroba District

Outcome : No divorce ensued

Notes

1. *Throwing away* (wa ha) is used variously to mean renounced, given up, or no further attention paid.
2. The names Tondowa and Hawi refer to a recent incident in which Hawi killed his wife following a marital quarrel. By allegedly couching his death threat in terms of this analogy, Andira is held to have made yobage — a veiled, covert statement of an intention to kill.
3. *Carry* means to pay compensation for.
4. *Come outside* means to have been publicly revealed.
5. *Saw her forehead*: the forehead is the locus of truth for Huli. All intentions, states and moral conditions are registered here.
6. *The nut tree bears the stem before the nut*: a proverb meaning *there's no smoke without fire* (cf. Goldman 1983:208).
7. *The stick is there*: an expression signifying that the means and motives for killing remain.

Dalú:

- 1 Ai bi abāgo Dalowa ibugua howa lalu Andira ina
ai talk what's-her-name Dalowa she from has-said Andira you
Ai the talk Dalowa has said is that Andira

Ibu waraga lu / ore ibu home lolebirago
he six single very her death will-make
Will definitely cause her death for the sixth time

Waraga lu / ore ibu home lolebirago
six single very her death will-cause
For the sixth separate time he will cause her death

O i mini O unu Hawi manda bialu
o my name o down there Hawi when-I-thought
O 'I thought my name was (the same as) Hawi down there

Ibu mini Tondowa manda birugo
her name Tondowa I-thought
I thought her name was Tondowa'

Andira said he thought his name was Hawi and his wife's name was Tondowa

Ogoni manda birigo ibu homabe mangabago
that you-thought she death didn't desire
When she thought on it she didn't want to die

- 20 Agali O kemirume ogoni dagua mo tiga bialu ladaba
men o with those of you that like when you have made straight speak

layagola larimago
because-she-said we-are-talking
Because she said, 'You men talk and straighten this' we are talking

Eh ai nogo ina naribarubi wa halu piridago
eh ai pigs you ate those when-threw-away you-went
When you had eaten and thrown away the pigs (i.e. after marriage) you all went off

O bi ogoreni howa
o talk there from
O from that talk there

Ibu bole winigoria howa pu tagi hayada ogo dagua layago
he will-hit there placed from thrown-outside this like she-said
'From where he will hit me I will be thrown outside' she has said like this

Ì oneme tindule laruabe? (-rua: sense perception
your wife lies is-she-saying-can-he-detect? evidence suffix)
Is your wife telling lies?

Be henenedabe?
truths-can-be-heard? (-da: evidence suffix of having heard)
Or is she telling the truth?

Hondolemiya
 40 *let-us-see*
Let us see

Bi ina laridago
talk you have-said
The talk you have said

Ai la hende
ai said-heard
It has been heard

La hende ndo
said-heard no
Not that it has been heard

Abāgo ina Dalowa ina larigo
what's-her-name you Dalowa you have-said
What you have said Dalowa

O amu Hiribalu hale halu
o over there Hiribalu when-has-heard
When Hiribalu over there has heard

Ì aruni amu Andira ainya hale halu
your husband's-mother over there Andira's mother when-has-heard
When Andira's mother over there, your husband's-mother, has heard

60 Ina agali o kemago hale halu
us men o here when-have-heard
When us men here have heard

Ì hame mbalini hale halu piyago
your father's-brothers when-have-heard gone
When your father's-brothers have heard the talk and gone

Ì agalini hale helo
your husband will-hear
Then your husband will hear it

Ai bi ina abe larigo o ala la dai bia
ai talk you yesterday said o first say-it-again
You repeat first the talk you said yesterday

Andira hale helo
Andira will-listen
Andira will listen

Agali O karubi hale helo
men o those there will-listen
Those men there will listen

O biago la dai beregola
o those when-you-have-repeated
 80 *When you have repeated those talks*

O Andira ibugua howa
o Andira him from
Then from Andira (he will say)

Bi ogo inaga ndoda
talk this mine is-not-from-the-aural-evidence
'This is not the talk I made

Ndo inagada lalu
no mine said
No, that is the talk I said'

Bi ibugua mani la dai bilo
talk he later will-reply
He will make a reply later

((There is a pause while several women pass through the assembled crowd))

Dalowa:

O agali udugo mbirame ngini ndo
o man down there one gave no
Not that a man gave me (i.e. married me) to that man down there

Inime pene edegoria berewaria ibuwa
myself went over there where-I-was-sitting then-he-came
I went myself and then he came to where I was sitting

Mba layagola pene
let-us-go as-he-said went
 100 *As he said, 'Let's go' I went*

Ai puwa amu birarudago amu biraru birua
ai when-I-went over there sat over there sat sitting-it-can-be
detected
When I went I sat over there, and where I sat I am now sitting

Ai nogo hende halu
ai pigs when-tied-up
When the pigs had been tied up (i.e. given in marriage)

Ai wandari nigo ngiyago
ai girl down there was-given
Then this girl was born

O biyadagoni lowa amu berewaria wandari nigo yamoda
o when-that-was-done over there where-I-was girl down there nothing

ba ho wiyagoni
keeps-on-hitting
When that was done, where I was over there, he keeps hitting that girl
for no reason

Balu wiabo hayagola howa
when-continues-to-hit from
Following his continual beating (1)

Niguria tida wali homolebira layagola
down there nurse-woman will die
The nurse down there said, 'She will die'

- 120 Ibu dai buwa í ainya abá andaga biraru
he returned-my mother's father's house I-sat
When he (Andira) had returned I sat at my mother's and father's place

Baya/handala ibu dai bu berewaria
seeing-he-had-hit he returned where-I-was-sitting
Seeing as he had hit her, he returned to where I was sitting

0 (2) ani laya/handala ibu dai bu berewaria ede
o thus seeing-that-done he returned where-I-was-sitting over there

haria ogo halu mbira baya
track this times once hit
Seeing that done like that, when he returned to where I was on that track over there, he hit me one time

Halu mbira haria edegoria baya/handala
times once track over there seeing-he-had-hit
Seeing as he had hit me once over there on that track

0 (1) udu aenogoda andaga pirima
o up there doctor's house we-went (pl.)
We went to the aid post up there

Aenogoda andaga penego ibu lalu ti ini tingini hagu bayadago wane-igini
doctor's house went he said they your body weak he-hit children's

nabedago
don't-hit

- 140 *Having gone to the aid-post he said, 'He (Andira) hit a weak body, don't hit children*

0 mendeangi teboneangi ogo dagua baragola tiketi mule ibabe
o second time third time this like when-he-hits note I-will-give come
When he has hit you a second and third time I will give you an official note, so come'

Ogoni dagua laya homolane 0 bayadagoni la ani laya
that like he-said for dying o hitting and thus said
He said like that, he said like that on the subject of dying and hitting

Ani laya/handala
thus seeing-he-said
Seeing as he said like that

0 dai bu berene dai bu beria wandari nigo taba henego
o returned-sat while-returned girl down there was-born
I returned and while there this girl was born down there

Ai taba hono birua gambolene (1) hanalu
ai carrying being-there baby when-born
I was carrying this baby, and when it was born

Daraboli biago miya/handala
trouble that one seeing-as-it-gave
And seeing as I had all this trouble

160 Amu Beanda haria polelowa amuguria pialu hebaria
over there Beanda track when-I-was-going over there where-I-was-going

amu hariagani gai biya Andira ibu
over there on the track were-met Andira him
When I was going down there to Beanda track Andira met us there

Ibini hangu
himself only
He was by himself

Ibini hangu gai buwa
himself only when-we-met
He was by himself when we met

Iya bi hangu dege gai buwa amu Bebogo uli 0 biago
we talk only just when-met over there Bebogo cave o that one

lola haga birima
we-were-arguing
We two just talked when we met over there at Bebogo cave and that time we argued

0 biago lola haga bialu hemaria
O that one where-we-had-argued
Where we had argued on those things

0 ibugua lalu bamba biago ibule wiribigo agi bialu baribibe
o he said before that one will-come you-placed what have-you-done

laya?
he-said
He said, 'You were going to come before now so what have you been doing?'

180 0 iba nai bedago wane-igini heba ndobe
o water there sits children with aren't we-stayed we-said
'The flood is over there so we (dual) stayed with the children didn't
we' we said

Ani biribidago
thus we-did
We did like that

Ì dindi ni daraboli namule bedabe
your land down there trouble won't-give you-stay
'You won't get trouble on your land so you stay

0 í halu mbira bo wa holiya laya
o I times once hit throw-away he-said
I am going to hit you to throw you away one time' he (Andira) said

Ani laya/handala uli dege howa lalu dai biribago nai
thus seeing-he-said down there just from said we-returned over there

Eganda haria kebage biagoria howa lalu unu biagoria handa
Eganda track conjunction there from said down there that-one-there look

dai bu howa iya amu hondowa halu ibiribagola gi
when-returned we over there having waited when-we-were-coming hand

agua dola howa
like this was-pointed
Seeing as he had said this, after what was said down there we returned to the conjunction of tracks at Eganda; we waited over there looking back where we had returned and then he came and pointed his finger like this at us

200 I mini Tondowa
your name Tondowa
'Your name is Tondowa

I mini Hawi werabagoni ogoreni howa
my name Hawi we-are-placing there from
My name is Hawi and we are placing them there'; from there

O daraboli pu pea harago ogoni buwa i bo wa holiya laya
o trouble finished this when-done I hit throw-away he-said
'When I have finished one trouble from before I am going to kill you to throw away' he said

Ani laya/handala amu haria pole wiribago wa halu
thus seeing-he-said over there track for going we-had-placed threw-away

dai biriba
we-returned
Seeing as he said this, we threw away the track we had planned to go on and returned

Dai bialu hebaria Dalu ogo ede haria gai biya
where-we-had-returned Dalu this over there track met
We met Dalu on that track on which we had returned

Ede haria gai biyagola howa
over there track when-we-met
When we met on that track over there

O iya ede hariani Andira ibu bolebiya/handala dai beraba
o we over there on the track Andria he to-hit-us-seeing we-are-returning

laraba
we're-saying
 220 *'We were over there on that track and, seeing as Andira was going to hit us, we are returning we are saying'*

Amuali porabi laya abiyabe lalu hearia?
over there going he-said what-happened while-he-was-talking
'You were going in that direction so what happened while he talked?' he (Dalu) said

O ani biya/handala dai biriba laribigola
o thus seeing-it-done we-returned we-said
'Seeing it was done like that we returned' we said

O iya ogo dagua bole ogo dagua laya nale yamo bolebiya
o we this like will-hit this like said didn't-say no reason to-hit-us

ani lariba
thus we-said
'He will hit us like this, he didn't say a talk like this, he will hit us for no reason' we said

Andira didn't say he was going to hit us for a specific reason. We said he was going to hit us for no particular reason whatsoever

Ani lalu iya donge halu wa halu piriba udu andaga pu
thus having-said we concealed threw-away went up there house went

berenego alendo angi
sat afternoon time

Having said that we concealed it, threw it away, and went off down to that house and sat; that was in the afternoon

240 O ti bi amugua birua leneyago ni Wali Wano harigani
o they talk over there sitting talked down there Wali Wano on-the-track

tagira pialu hebaria lalu
outside while-he-had-gone said

While they were having a talk over there he (Andira) had gone outside on the Wali Wano track over there

O daraboli O merogo/ore ala bu pea heagoni ayu amu langiruguni
o trouble o I-have-very before do-finish now over there I-told-you
'The trouble I had to finish from before now, I have told you over there

Hale hariguni
you-have-heard
You have heard it

Ì mini Tondowa
your name Tondowa
Your name is Tondowa'

Ibu mini Hawi
his name Hawi
His name is Hawi

Ogoni labo mini yaraga ho werebagoni
those two names lifted-up placed

260 *Those two names were placed at the forefront*

Ogoni ala bu pea harugo mbiru homeloliya laya
that before do-finish-off one thing to-kill he-said

'Before killing you I'll finish off on one matter from before' he said

Horo angi dege
day time just
That was in the day

Alendo ani laya
afternoon thus he-said
He talked like that in the afternoon

Egerepage ede pialu hebaria layadago
morning over there while-we-were-going he-talked
In the morning, while we were going over there, he also talked

Ani laya/handala iya mbirabi la nabi
thus seeing-it-said we one thing say did-not
Seeing it was said like that we didn't say anything
Seeing as he had threatened to kill us we said nothing

Donge ha wa halu libu palenego
concealed threw-away those-two slept
It was concealed and thrown away, and then they slept

Palebaria egerepage
while-they-slept morning

280 *While they slept in the morning*

O nai Andaga wali ibu hale henego ina layadago
o over there Andaga woman she heard us said
A woman from Andaga had heard (of these things) and talked to us

Ibugua howa O í ainya abá la bereria te layagola howa
her from o my mother father both where-sat story when-was-told
She told her story where my mother and father were seated, and then

O udu Bauwa Tombe lamiya ma lowa
o up there Bauwa Tombe let-us (pl.)-talk let's-go it-was-said
It was said, 'Let's go and have a talk up at Bauwa Tombe'

O wa halu mende tebone angi lelowa hama lalu
o threw-away second third time having-let-him-say open-space said

wa harimagoni
we-threw-away

This talk was thrown away too. A second and third time we let him say those things in public, and when they were said we threw it all away

O biagoni kiru (I.5)
o those two
That was twice

Tebone angi O biagoni Sunday nape/ore bialu hebaria
third time o that one Sunday hadn't-passed-very where-we-were-doing

300 amu hina pu hanalu ibalu hebaria nai
over there sweet potato having-gone-carried where-I-had-come over there

hariga dai buwa
track returned

The third time, one Sunday hadn't even passed; it was over there where we were working. Having carried the sweet potato I had returned on the track I had come over there

Hina hailo wa halu ogoni dagua bolebiya
sweet potato pulled-out threw-away that like to-hit
When he had taken out all the sweet potato and thrown them away, 'Like that I am going to hit you'

Andira emptied out all the sweet potato and said he was going to hit me

Bo wa haluya ani
hit throw-away-I-heard-said (-ya: previous evidence suffix) thus

laya/handala dai biriba
seeing-it-said we-returned

Seeing as he had said, 'I am going to hit and throw you away' we returned

Ogoni angi tebone angi
that time third time
That was the third time

Mane angi (2)
fourth time
The fourth time

0 nai amu andaga puwa hina bialu ibugua marume
o over there there house had-gone sweet potato done he some people
 tigua tomo dawalu healalu daro ni heago gange dugualu nalu
 320 *they food when-cooked were-there taro down there were raw pulled-out ate*
Over there at that house I had gone to get some sweet potato, there were
others there cooking sweet potato. He (Andira) pulled up a raw taro and
ate it

Bampkin gange nalu buwa mini pongo ni biagoria biraya
pumpkin raw ate had-done mind tied-up down there that-one he-was-doing
He ate a raw pumpkin, his mind was tied (confused) and he was doing those
things there

Birua bo wa haluya ani laya/handala iraga () ede
doing hit throw-away thus seeing-it-said climbed () over there
He was doing those things. Seeing as he said, 'I am going to hit and throw
you away' we climbed up over there

0 ibu ainya ibuwa ogo dege biayayago agibe berebi lowa
o his mother when-came this just used-to-do-we-know what doing said
 udu biagoria lai lama ()
up there that-one-there argument everywhere ()
When his mother had come she said, 'You both used to do just like this.
What are you doing? You are making an argument everywhere'

Ani biya/handala 0 (2) ede Haluma ibu bi haleneya
thus seeing-that-done o over there Haluma he talk had-heard
Seeing it was done like that, Haluma over there he heard all the talk

0 ede Andira ainya ina handa ani layua ede wali agali
 340 *o over there Andira's mother you look thus he-said over there women men*
 hina dugu piyago ede larogo
sweet potato dig went over there I-am-saying
'You look' he (Haluma) said to Andira's mother over there, 'where the
people have gone to dig up sweet potato I am saying'

0 ogoni dagua bo wa hole biya/handala ogoni dagua lalu
o that like to-hit to-throw-away seeing-it-done that like said
 dambia halu wa halu pirima
closed-down threw-away we-went
Seeing as he was going to hit and throw me away, and that he had said like
that, the matter was closed and thrown away and we went off

Ai ogoni tebone angi eh mane angi
ai that third time eh fourth time
That was the third time, eh the fourth time

Daune angi (1)
fifth time
The fifth time

0 amugua hina mbira pu hebaria
o over there sweet potato some where-we-had-gone-to-get
Over there where we had gone to get some sweet potato

360 O kego / ore gubalini gi ya handalu ogoni dago mbiru homeloliyago
o you-are-there truly breasts held that just some day to die

nahomole ndogo ogoni mbira laya
not-you-will-die no that one he-said
'You are truly there' and then he held my breasts. 'Like that some day you
will die. Not that you won't die'. He (Andira) said that one thing.

Ani laya/handala ibu ainyabi ibu damenebi kagoni ti O tini
thus seeing-it-said his mother his relations there they o themselves

hangu kemagoni i mo walene nahea ndodabe ani laya
only we-were you make held no-one is-there thus he-said
Seeing it was said like that, his mother and relations that are there,
'They are by themselves but there isn't anybody to help you there is there?'
he (Andira) said like that

Ani laya/handala ani lelo palelo iya paliriba boyagua
thus seeing-it-said thus to-let-speak to-sleep we slept if-to-hit

bolelwa
to-let-hit

Seeing it was said like that, we let him speak for we wanted to sleep. We
slept. If he was going to hit us then we would let him hit us

O nabe dege
o did-not-hit just
He didn't hit us

Andira didn't hit us on that occasion

380 Ogoni angi O daune angi
that time o fifth time
That was the fifth time

Ai ani bigi binigo ogoni ainya berelowa bini hangu ogoni
ai thus it-was-done that mother sitting done only that
That is what was done while my mother was sitting by herself

Ai lebe homelolwa O tigi anda wandari tigi anda
ai two-days-ago when-she-was-sick o hospital girl hospital

ibiya hayagola aila polene?
since-she-came who should-go
Two days ago when the girl (Dalowa's daughter) was sick in hospital we
talked about who should go

Toba howa bialu hebaria Dabali abá beraria ma
didn't-know where-we-were-doing Dabali's father while-sitting let's-go

lariba
we-said

We didn't know. Dabali's father was there and said, while we were sitting,
'Let's go'

Dabali abá ma lowa
Dabali's father let's-go when-said
When Dabali's father had said, 'Let's go'

Ina haru puwa dai bialu hemaria ede harigani
we together when-had-gone while-we-were-returning over there on-the-track

yu howa
met

400 *We went together and were met while returning on that track over there*

O ore nabole / ore ì emabia nahole wa ore
o definately I-won't-hit-definately you won't-shake throw-away very

kogoni
I-am-here

*'I am not going to hit you, truly I won't shake you so stop the talk,
 I am here'*

O ibu naga mbalini ogoni ela halu baragoni ani laya
*o his sister that touched hitting thus he-said
 He was touching and hitting his sister, he said like that*

Ani laya/handala (1) O í wa haruguni ogoni dagua laya
*thus seeing-it-said o you I-am-throwing-away that like he said
 Seeing it was said like that, O 'I am throwing you away' he (Andira) said
 like that*

Manda nabido ogoni dagua laya
*don't-understand that like he-said
 I don't understand why he said like that*

Ani layagola wa halu pu birariba
*thus when-he-said threw-away went we-sat
 When he said like that we threw it away and went and sat elsewhere*

420 Pu berenego ogoni angi O í ainya homayagoni í ainya dugu biraruguni
went sat that time o my mother died my mother I-wailed

ede biraabo hene
*over there continued-to-sit
 I went and sat. That time my mother died and I wailed for her. I continued
 to stay over on that side*

Ai ala biago O wandari taba hanalu biraribadagoni
*ai before that o girl carried we-two-did
 We two were doing that (arguing) when I was pregnant with this girl*

O ega kira birariba
*o months two we-did
 We did that for two months*

Ega mendegoria í ainya homayagoni
*month second my mother died
 On the second month my mother died*

Ega tebonegoria í ainya dugu biraruguni
*month third my mother I-wailed
 On the third month I wailed for my mother*

Ai ani binigo
ai thus done

440 *It was like that*

Ede bedewaria lebe ne tomo biago namiya nogo
over there while-we-were two-days-ago food that let's-eat pig

dawamiya lalu
let's-cook said
Two days ago, while we were sitting over there, he said, 'Let's eat food and cook pig'

O biago layagola amu haria Andira i ainya hame la
o that when-he-said over there track Andira your mother father both

lamiabe ani laru hewaria
you-tell thus I-said while-we-were-there
When he said that, I said to Andira, 'Tell your mother and father'; that was while we were over there

I ndogo ini handalu bia laya
I no yourself go-and-see he-said
'I am not going to go. You go and see them yourself' he said

Ani laya/handala wa halu ina hondo piru
thus seeing-it-said threw-away I went-to-see
Seeing as he said that I threw it away and went to see them (Andira's parents)

Ina hondo piruria
I to-see while-I-went
While I had gone to see them

Ainya ibugua limbi lomba (reduplicative) biya
mother she anger was-making
 460 *His mother was angry*

Iya baba bi laya
us with talk said
She made a talk with us

Lai bi laya
argument talk said
She argued with us

Ani laya/handala (1)
thus seeing-it-said
Seeing as she said like that

Ede hame ogo beraria piru
over there father this where-he-was-sitting I-went
I went to where his (Andira's) father was sitting

Hame ogo pialu O lamialu ibu nogo dagandia ibaguago
father this when-I-had-gone o when-told his pigs' house I'll-come

dai bidaba laya/handala
you-return seeing-it-said
When I had gone to his father and told him, he said, 'I'll come to the pigs' house so you all return'. Seeing as he said this

480 Dai buwa ede mabu hina bialu hebaria Andira ibiniya
when-returned over there garden sweet potato where-worked Andira he-came
When I had returned Andira came to where I had been working with the sweet potato

Ni kegoni / ore ai mabu kebe unu puyaridago
down there you-are-there definitely whose garden are-you-on those went-held
 eberegoria ngela pole. ibu laya
those leave to-go he said
 'You are down there, so whose garden are you on? Those things you have
 held, you leave them and go!' he said

Edegoria ndi lalu beregoni 0 nogo bole ndi lalu bedago
over there secret said you-there o pig to-kill secret said you-were-there
 ai hondo ibiribe ibu ainya hame la ibiridagoni ani laya
who come-to-see his mother father both came thus said
 'Over there you made some secret talk. You made some secret talk about
 killing a pig so who did you come to see? You came to see my mother and
 father' he (Andira) said

Ani lowa ibuwa i baya
thus when-said when-came me he-hit
 When he had come, and said that, then he hit me

I bayagola howa 0 inaga wane ibu ainya ibugua dugu hanalu piyaya
me when-he-hit o my daughter his mother her picked-up-carried went
 500 When he had hit me, his mother picked up and carried off my daughter

Dugu hanalu piyagola ibugua i bayagola howa igiri Diliba
picked-up-carried since-she-went he me when-he-hit boy Diliba

nahenedale
if-not-there

Since she picked up and carried off the child, and after he (Andira) had
 hit me, if that boy Diliba hadn't been there

0 i henemane bo ngale ogorieni
o I truly would-be-killed there
 Then I would truly be dead

Ai igiri Diliba henegome minalu 0 tigua minarimigo mangaba layago udu
ai boy Diliba was-there caught o they caught he-didn't-like up there

andaga puwa tai bu piya
house went went-to-search

The boy Diliba was there and caught him (Andira) which he didn't like. He
 went off to his house up there and Diliba went off to search for him

Au biya dagua Diliba talima piya (1) 0 udu andaga payenda ho biraya
how done like Diliba followed o up there house closed to-stay
 That is how it was done and Diliba followed him and closed him inside
 the house

0 Hiribalu ibiya ibugua minaya
o Hiribalu came him caught
 Then Hiribalu came and caught him (Andira)

520 Ogo dege buleyago 0 biagoria howa gungu biya
this just to-do o there from they-fought
 They were going to do these things and from there they fought

Ani buwa lalu hariga obenenibi gai beragoriabi 0 ogoni bolego
thus when-done track that one met o that I-will-kill
 When that was done, 'For the track and our meet I will kill you

After that Andira said he would kill me for the incidents on the track
 and the time we met

Nu timbuni hene Hiribalu ibu bedagoni to wa haluya ogoni hangu
bag big there Hiribalu he sits to-kill throw-away this only

layago
he-said

There is a big bag. Hiribalu sits there. I will kill you to throw away'
he said only that

Hiribalu carries the compensation for when I kill you. Andira said that

Ibu ainyahanda ibu honowialu
his mother him carried-placed
His mother gave birth to him

Í hamehanda i honowialu í ainya hame lame
my father me carried-placed my mother father both
My father bore me, both my mother and father

O nogome dege dawa honowiagago ai í ainya abá lame mbiyaore honowinigo
o pigs just many used-to-bear ai my mother father both one bore
Pigs used to have many children but my parents gave birth to only one child

540 Homole i mangaba dai bialu i manga larogoni
to-die I refuse to-return I refuse I-am-saying
I don't wish to die or to return I am saying

Ogoni dagua ba bo hayagola au layagola () í ainya gende halu homane
that like as-going-to-kill as-that-said () my mother heavy was died
As he was going to kill me like that, because he said those things, my
mother was grief stricken and died

Ai í abá ogoni dagua lamuleda
ai my father that like will-tell
'I will tell my father like that'

Dalowa said previously that she would tell her father of what had happened

Ani buledagonaga manga timbuni harogoni
thus for-to-do refusal big I-am-staying
In order to do that I am remaining in a state of refusal

Andira:

I didn't think of saying anything
Now I am here

For the talk on killing, it should be thrown away
That woman there (Dalowa), what is in her heart has come outside I am saying
She said, 'You ate the raw pumpkin and taro'. O those ones she has lied
I don't know anything about killing that woman, truly I am saying
I wanted to cook and told the small boy Haluma, 'Heat the stones'

560 *I said, 'Let's go and cook sweet potato' and then I pulled up the taro*
Then while I was doing that they came and got the sweet potato and they
jumped over (i.e. contaminated) it; with the spade she dug up the garden
Men, I was digging for sweet potato and she came and jumped over them
Ai like this it used to give trouble; 'I am throwing it away and going, ai
Haluma, you come and we will cook food'
The one thing that was said was that only
The raw pumpkin and taro she has talked on
For cooking food with Haluma it has been said and done, only one thing was
said O

I don't know what she is talking about down there

She has said what is in her heart

The matter over there at Bulibi track has been said, I did a Damba (compensation payment) two days ago, a pig was killed and cooked there yesterday They (the compensation recipients) said, 'You kill pig. One female pig and twenty kina pay. You come and give those' they said

For saying, 'Come and give' it has been thrown away. The pig and the twenty kina have gone so we throw it away. 'I have put a pig at Dai's father's place down there. You two (i.e. Dalowa and child) throw it away and go' I said

'Ai you have made two talks

You (Dalowa) go and kill and give pigs to Hiribalu for the trouble Paqubi gave

580 *The pig from before is at Dai's father's place so we'll give that one*

I am going to give the pig at Dai's father's place for the compensation

You two (i.e. Dalowa and child) go off and throw it away

You two go back to the house over there or go over there' I said like that When that was said she argued with me; 'The cooked pig, the head and intestines should go to us. Where is the pig?

Seeing as she said that I threw it away and came

That was the second thing that was said

I don't know about anything else that was said.

They

Dalu:

I am saying something, wait

Ai Tondowa and Hawi have been marked (i.e. named), so have you said the pigs are coming now?

Andira:

I didn't mark it (i.e. make the analogy)

The talk that is coming now, about the woman that was killed and thrown away (i.e. Tondowa) she had argued with men and continued to argue with them Now I am here. 'Don't talk to me like that, you (Dalowa) go' I said

I said like that

What Hawi has done is over there, and now I am here I have said

Egawi:

Were those two people (i.e. Andira and Dalowa) by themselves there? Or were there many people gathered when you had the talk?

Dalowa:

Kedame was up there and he heard it

Payawi:

When you were up at Ogobi over there nobody else was there

Over there where Hiribalu fought, when they were taking the taro out, then what's-his-name was there (1) Haluma was there when you were taking the food out

Andira:

Down there we had the fight

While I was coming, Wale was one, and Dalowa and the little girl Gauni, they were all going together over there

They laughed there

When they had laughed, Dalowa and the woman Wale they laughed up there too Because they laughed O I was angry

They were laughing while going
 They did like that
 Following their laughter I went
 'We are just walking around aimlessly' (they said) and then they laughed
 O I hit Wale and while I was hitting Wale, Dalowa caught me
 O I didn't hit her (i.e. Dalowa) and I went off
 I got hold of and hit Wale
 'You (Dalowa) go' I said. 'If I touch you with my hand blood might pour out'
 It was said like that and I went off I am saying

Dalowa:

He is lying on those
 For the laughter, I don't know (what he is talking about)
 His mother was sick so did he bring sweet potatoes for her pigs? You should
 620 have done it but I did it. So why are you angry?
 Having said that, so why are you angry? I was coming, following that woman
 I was going to throw it away (i.e. the laughter) so do you understand or not?
 He came, caught and hit Wale
 Having done that we fought
 'O I am not going to touch you' he said. 'You go, I am hitting Wale only'
 he has said
 I am saying what you have said is lies
 I am not going back to his house, truly I am saying

Egawi:

She won't return back
 Alright, that man there has looked after pigs. ['You =
 Kuyago: [Over there

Egawi:

= go' we didn't say that. You saw each other by yourselves and you went
 (i.e. married)
 When the talk has been said then it will be straightened
 Once we have talked about this then we can settle it

Dalu:

On the day that you took out all the sweet potato, then he hit you
 When you were carrying sweet potato over there
 O what was said?

Andira:

That time she was carrying sweet potato O I didn't hit her
 When I came there I said, 'You are not digging the gardens, you are just
 640 carrying sweet potato all the time; what for?' She said, 'There is your
 sweet potato' and she threw it at my chest

Dalu:

On the ground or outside?

Andira:

No, in the drain
 Seeing as the sweet potato was there I went
 Gauni and myself were going down there and I said, 'O I have one garden so
 you come and we will dig'
 She said, 'Here is your sweet potato' and seeing as it was thrown at my chest

*I didn't hit her back, I didn't reply back to her, I just went off
You (Dalowa) are not making gardens, you just keep digging out and carrying
off sweet potato*

Hiribalu:

*The pigs and the gardens that are there you yourselves are going to see them
with the eyes*

Dalowa:

*Those ones I have said
He saw you people and he is talking
When he saw all of you he started making up the talk
That woman, his mother, told you yesterday, so did you hear it or not?=
Hayabe:*

*For those ones (talk) when you hear his talk then you want to eat his
penis (expression for being angry)*

Dalu: ((see Goldman 1983:273))

*Now you are sitting there decorated
No, when you go down there anger will come out
You will be making a big insult to us men here
660 You will expose your arse down there
You will rudely gesticulate down there
It is not just you we are saying
For man and woman a mana (custom) has been placed there
On the public space it shouldn't be said and carried outside
'Ai that man there is killing me
'I am not going to die' (this is what Dalowa has said)
We are saying you have said, 'Speak to make me stay alive'
O that one (i.e. talk) we are talking on
Let us do it (i.e. talk) to keep her alive*

Hayabe:

*'I am the sister of Tondowa' we are talking on what you have said
We are talking on the parallel you have drawn between yourself and Tondowa*

Dalu:

*Don't say any talk, you sit, we are talking
Ai, will some of the others talk then? (4)
Ai the talk Hiribalu has said
Yesterday it was put (made)
The talk that your (Andira's) mother said yesterday was also said
We heard it and are carrying it
Ai the talk you have made and answered back now, I have replied to
Now that woman (Dalowa) over there are you (Andira) refusing?
680 Or 'That woman is my wife' will you say that?*

Andira:

I didn't say, 'I don't want her'

Dalu:

*Now, are you saying, 'That's my wife, my wife and daughter sit down there?'
Or 'That woman is a different woman sitting there, that's not my wife?'*

Au manda bu kebe laro?
how you-thinking are-you I-am-saying
How are you thinking about this I am saying?

Andira:

I am here to say, 'My wife and daughter are sitting down there'

Dalu:

Who is talking?

Andira:

I am

Dalu:

You say, 'I am a different man
I never used to play
The talk is in me'

I am mature and capable of solving this matter
Did you think that is your wife and child there?
Or did you think that was a different woman?
That is how it is I am saying
You have said, 'That is my wife and child'

Andira:

You send her back to my house

Dalu:

700 *Ai you have said, 'I am going to say give me pigs (i.e. the bridewealth*
back); give me only pigs I am going to say
I don't desire that woman'. You have said like that
Ai did you think that was your wife?

Andira:

I only said, 'Don't sit there all the time'
You men there, do you ever just marry and throw away the pigs?
The father of the pigs or the father of the girl do they do like that?
Where is such a man?

Dalu:

We never stayed like that
O we never stayed like that, see
O the one who will answer the talk
O, the girl's father is there
Ai because she sat at his house, the talk about that one that has been said
(i.e. about Dalowa staying away), she sat there
Ai the one who gets your (Dalowa's) hand will hold onto it, they will hold
firmly

If your mother holds you then she will hold firmly
If your father holds you then he will hold firmly

Like that you will be carried off

Now you are sitting there

Ai when your mother has held onto you

When you have held onto yourself

720 *Then you will be carried off*

For the seven talks that have been made (i.e. about Andira's behaviour) she should sit there

Not like this now

For the fighting, arguing and death threats that have been said

Ai pull them out and throw them away

Ai they are nothing (i.e. of no consequence)

Yesterday your mother told us she has seen a sign (gandeba: premonition of the future) and we all heard it

Yesterday your father told us he had seen a sign and we all heard it

Now you said we are holding them so will you (Andira) carry Dalowa and your daughter away down there?

Or will you say, 'No, we are saying leave them here?'

You have said, 'That's my wife'

You have said, 'No, that's not my wife'

You have said, 'The pigs will be given back (i.e. there will be a divorce)'

Have you said, 'For sitting with Hayabe (Dalowa's father) the pigs will come back?'

Because Dalowa stayed with her parents there will be a divorce

Andira:

You all think of the days and years (i.e. that Dalowa has stayed away)

[((overlapping speech)) ()]

Dalu:

The crying was yesterday

The crying was yesterday

One month

740

Andira:

Who is the man who just marries women and throws them away?

[((overlapping speech)) ()]

Dalu:

The crying was yesterday

The crying was yesterday I have said, and it has been seen

The crying was yesterday, one month ago

Ai Dalowa and Andira had made a war

The talk now (1), seven talks have now been said so is that the only times when you have cried?

When Andira himself has replied then

When Dalowa herself has replied, O

Her mother was alive but died while her father was there

They were doing it (i.e. fighting) on the same day she was buried

That was a good thing (sarcastic comment)

No, we never used to do like that

When the smoke comes from the skeleton we kill homanego (funeral pigs); this used to be done first

Bi ogoni dabadaba

talk these choose

You all choose the talks to be said

Egawi:

There won't by any man there to choose those things (i.e. talks)

760 *The mother and father will talk*
'O this boy is getting trouble with this woman
That woman (Dalowa) has been sitting there
She followed to her father's place'
We will talk =

Hiribalu:

= *What your father is saying*
What numba (pidgin for councillor: i.e. Dalu) is saying
What the middle-men are saying
You listen
What the mother has said
The source (i.e. of this trouble) was said while we were all there
What the mother has said (i.e. reported Andira as having said is),
'My wife I used to hit'
 [()]

Gangaro:

You men there
You have said, 'An angry talk and an argument can be said'
The talk has been covered over and you have both stayed for two years
We are saying the mana (custom) goes on the track of our ancestors
We are saying that man's wife has held (the trouble) in, and on those you
have got angry

Andira:

I was angry, the talk said now makes it seem as if we were enemies

Gangaro:

780 *O not that those things said can't be said*
They can be said can't they?
For two years you (both) have been talking
With sticks or axe or 'I hit you'
If the witnesses talk on these, or if you have lied, then truly that woman
(Dalowa) is going to die and we will have a court (i.e. it will go to the
official courts)
When the witnesses see then they will court this man
It is true for two years you have looked after this woman
'This woman died yesterday'
The witnesses will say Dalowa died only a short time ago
'One month' you have said down there, but she is going outside
She has stayed over there (i.e. at her parents)
She has stayed at Dabali and Gambogoba
And then they will take that man Hayabe to court
We are saying, 'Let's go to court'
The source is that she has been held for one year, they have been arguing
and fighting with axe and stick and she has been hit; she is going to take
you to court
She will say, 'I am angry' and she will talk on the days she has been
staying away
Then truly they will share it
Truly the matter will be debated
That's how she will reply

- 800 *'I married that woman (Andira will say)'. But now you have hit her once with a stick and it has been carried outside (in public) with the father (i.e. of Dalowa)*
'We go to court' it has been said
First we said, 'Let's go and see what the aid-post orderly says'
That time we threw it away
We never used to hit women when they were pregnant
Hiribalu heard it
'I am giving you'
 Hiribalu heard the orderly tell Dalowa he was giving her a note about
 the hitting
For that one you hit her with a stick
The doctor saw it, the aid-post orderly saw it
'I'll give you a note' it was said
That's how the talk was placed and that is one source (bi amane: source of the trouble)
Now we are talking from that point and it is climbing and mixing with a second and third talk and it is hard, it is a hard talk (i.e. difficult to 'soften' or 'settle')
Because they are choosing (the talks), if she says, 'I was sitting for two years' or 'I wasn't sitting for two years'
Then they (the witnesses) will say, 'That woman has made a true talk'
We are saying then, 'Let's say the father (Hayabe) was also making a true talk'
For the two years, the middle-men and witnesses will be saying, 'She is telling the truth'
- 820 *If they say that then truly he (Andira) used to hit you*
Now, have some people seen it or not?

Ganabi:

Now what we are saying is this
The one for killing, the man who came to that woman for killing, seeing as he is there, we are talking on it
If there is no law there for the woman
You will see when she has borne a child, it will grow strong and return here
When we pull out all the pigs (i.e. divorce)
He (i.e. the son) won't know the source of this
The son won't understand why his parents divorce
O if it's like that then the source will become bad
We are the middle-men
Woman, your husband is down there
Man, your wife is down there
That is how it is when we have trouble with a woman, half of the talk will be with middle-men
You left a little talk there and we will see on the mana we are saying
For that man and woman there, it is true they are biting themselves like pigs and if they scatter away then truly the stick for dying is placed there
If she returns you (Andira) won't know what to do

Gangaro:

- 840 *What your mother said yesterday. 'I am not going to carry (i.e. pay compensation) for your bones'*
 Andira's mother said she won't be responsible for compensation if Dalowa
 is killed
She said that yesterday =

Ago:

= O ayu ina biyime dabale kemaria
o now we talk-holding-men to-choose where-we-are
We middle-men are here to choose the talk where we stand
Yesterday Hayabe and Andira's mother said one talk (i.e. made the same talk)

Gangaro:

Yes

Ago:

O what your father said yesterday, he has said the same talk today
What you have said is joining it
Hayabe and what's-his-name's mother made one talk

Gangaro:

From Hiribalu there was one talk, his wife and daughter are sitting down there
He replied like this, 'A big bag has been carried there, are you the one?'
He said someone is assuming responsibility for compensation, is it you Andira?

'I am not carrying any bag' he (Hiribalu) said
Then the mother burnt a house there
Then the mother made a big issue out of this
'I am not going to walk around' (the mother said)
When somebody was hitting he (Hiribalu) used to stop them
'I don't know why you are hitting, you didn't say out' =

860 *'I don't know why Andira is hitting he didn't tell us' Hiribalu said*

Hiribalu:

= What the mother has said, the source has been said like this

Gangaro: *[Those two*
For two years Hiribalu you have been talking

Hiribalu: *[Now*
We are in the second year now

He has got two blocks of garden, another is flooded
If the middle-men want to see it with their eyes then we should see it =

Gangaro:

No

Hiribalu:

= The woman planted her digging stick there and then went off

Gangaro:

What's that?
She sat there, truly it's the second year now or has the second year passed?

Hiribalu:

The woman (Dalowa) has been staying there
I thought the husband and her were coming to visit me so I stayed over there
That's how I thought

Hayabe:

You didn't think like that =

Gangaro:

= You didn't think like that =

Hayabe:

= This could become an argument

We are going to talk on the one when you said, 'Don't come here

[you stay over there'

880 Hiribalu: *0 for that one, am I going to creep over the woman's thigh*

Was I going to have intercourse with my son's wife?

We can see all the men are here, if we are going to talk on it then we should talk ()

I am sitting here and my strength is gone

He (Andira) is going to kill [me

Gangaro:

()

Hiribalu:

wait

He is going to kill me [0
((multiple overlapping)) =

Hiribalu:

= Wait

He is going to kill me, not that he isn't going to kill me

Are you listening?

I sent his wife to stay there, but he (Andira) didn't hear what was said

Only the woman heard it

Other people didn't hear what was said; are you listening?

The aid-post orderly said, 'The baby is going to die' it was said while I was sitting there

'We'll choose a good woman so you go and sit there' I said

The man (Andira) didn't hear it

Egari:

He doesn't want to make lies, the Administration is here now so he doesn't want to lie

Didn't he say, 'That woman is going to die?'

As I thought I married a bone (i.e. a strong woman) but I think I may have married a flesh (i.e. weak woman)

900 *You choose what you want to do and then stay' it was said like that*

Hiribalu:

If she dies (2), well I am not sick any more like I used to be and we can still walk around

I am still capable of seeing to matters should she (Dalowa) die

Now the children are going to die it has been said

So who is going to choose a good woman?

'You (Dalowa) sit where your father and mother's place is' I said

Having said that, 0, 'You sit there' I said like that

Hayabe:

*That year has been broken (i.e. upset)
I am going to say a little something
That year has been broken
The woman that was pregnant (i.e. Dalowa) has been broken (upset by Andira)
The pigs that were shared (i.e. the bridewealth) have been broken
When we shared those pigs how did the woman stay?
Following the bridewealth distribution how did Dalowa conduct her marriage?
You count from when the woman was pregnant or when the pigs were shared and
then break it off there*

*Let's count the months of trouble either from when she was pregnant or when
the bridewealth was distributed and then finish off on this matter*

Payawi:

*Since you shared the pigs has one year passed?
[(multiple overlapping)]*

Hiribalu:

*Once when the woman there came to Gambogoba we saw her forehead (i.e.
intentions)
920 [Gama's father (i.e. Gangaro) made one talk here
((multiple overlapping))*

Hiribalu:

*He (Gangaro) made a small talk and then he cut it off, I heard
'The children's mother shouldn't [be hit with a stick' =
Payawi: [That's a good talk isn't it*

Hiribalu:

*= They all went to the aid-post and heard the talk
Over there at Gambogoba we all heard the talk
On that day at Gambogoba over there we saw her forehead
How did she stay I am saying?
They had gone to the aid-post and when they returned they stayed over there,
and then the child was born
When the child had been born, one month didn't pass and her (Dalowa's)
mother died
A different talk now will go there on another track, so you all go off*

Gangaro:

*O for that one, you hit her a second time down there
She was pregnant and ready to give birth and that was a second time
Once you hit her over there before she was carrying children, and she
nearly died but ran off
It was like that the first time, and we are saying the second time was just
the same
It has been seen, the stick, the hitting, I am saying, both times
When woman has something inside her we men never used to hit woman with
children inside there
But you have hit twice I am saying
Twice you have hit her and it is coming outside now (i.e. being made public)
940 Now that it is coming outside, and you have said you hit her twice
Having done that all these things are mixing together*

On all these things only yourselves (i.e. Andira and Dalowa) used to talk about them

When you said, 'I am going to kill you' there were no witnesses

'I didn't say it' you (Andira) have now said

'No, he said it' that's what you (Dalowa) have said

Not like this

There is no third person now, but a third person came out when you hit her before down there I have said

Another time the aid-post orderly saw you had hit her, 'I'll give you a note' he said, it has been said

The source of this talk are these two things which have been placed here

The other things (i.e. issues brought up) are just being mixed together (mo tago)

Payawi:

A third talk Hiribalu said up there, I am not interrupting

Hiribalu said, 'You come and go'

The aid-post orderly said, what's-her-name, 'Dalowa, you come to Fugua'

He (Hiribalu) made a talk like that for there was a stinging pain there

'You stay over there' he (Hiribalu) said. 'You find a strong woman and

stay with her, go' he said like that

The talk of Hiribalu is that talk

960 Hayabe: [Ai

Gangaro: [()

Hayabe:

I am saying something

The time she was hit she went to the aid-post and a note was given

The second time she was hit, 'O bring the note' he (aid-post orderly) said

'I'll give you another note and we'll go to Koroba (police station)'

When the note was there he (Andira) said, 'I never touched the children,

you all return' he said

That was the first time

The incident that occurred later

O when we have chosen (the talks) we will say it was done like that

Gangaro:

This is how you two have been doing

You have been arguing and fighting like man and wife; we thought like that

'I am coming outside, I am saying' your wife

Your wife said she was bringing this issue out into the open

Ai now what we are saying

'You (two) have done like that so come and talk'

We are not saying that

You should have finished this off when her mother died

From the fight the source came out from there

The pig that you looked after you didn't eat, you threw it away

'You go' she herself said like that too

980 *We are saying all the talks got mixed together*

Hayabe:

When the mother died she was really heavy (i.e. with grief), so you talk on how it was

Gangaro:

*We are saying like this
 'You will do what you said' it was said (by Andira)
 'My wife will return, I am thinking like that'
 You (Andira) didn't say like that
 Ai it went outside
 I am going to talk like this
 Like this let us do it*

Hayabe:

*I am talking for the baby she is carrying down there
 I brought her back from the aid-post and I built her a house, the smoke is
 ready now
 I built her a house and the smoke can be seen coming from it*

Gangaro:

*For that I am talking
 All those things (issues) you have been cutting them off for two years now
 The fighting and arguing that have gone Dalowa has talked on and Andira
 has talked too
 All those things that have come outside now, 'You all talk on these' I
 have said
 'I have said these things and I am going back'
 'I am throwing these things away'
 You (Andira) didn't say you will say this
 'I am going outside (i.e. into public)' you said
 1000 You shouldn't want to talk about going outside. No
 'I'll follow and bring her back' or 'Let's go to court' (Andira should say)
 'Those two sources of the talk will take me to court and imprison me' or
 'They won't imprison me, they are nothing (bamo: of no consequence)'
 If you (Andira) have said these things then will you say, 'I'm leading my
 wife back, let's go and hear the mana (court) over there?'
 I'm replying to your wife so she can hear, I am saying a straight talk
 What is the talk now?
 The woman's fathers and brothers have talked with you two and all those
 talks we have seen and heard
 We have heard that the pig wasn't cooked and eaten, that you threw it away
 and went. So for that one you talk
 It has come outside now, I am saying like this*

Andira:

I didn't say, 'Let's go and cook pig'

Gangaro:

She said, 'He said it' so was it said or not?

Andira:

*No
 What that woman said I didn't hear it =*

Gangaro:

*= 'Let's cook pig' it was said. Did your affinal relative say something
 or not?*

Andira:

1020 *It was while I was returning from the compensation payment in Wabia that they sent someone to get me*
When they had sent someone for me I arrived
When I had arrived then he (Hayabe) he said like that (i.e. 'Let's cook pig')
That woman and man made a talk like that down there
Seeing as they had made a talk, when a man wants to eat something or do something, then if a sour talk is made we never used to stay for these
 ((overlapping talk)) ()

Gangaro: [*When you arrived there did that man (Hayabe) say something, an important talk and did you hear it?*

Andira:

The people were talking with us both, that woman (Dalowa) has said it

Gangaro:

Not that woman down there
'You have changed one talk' she has said
That is your wife so you leave that one alone
Not like that
That man down there said, 'We'll cook pig so you go and see that man' it was said
And then another talk was added and it was said on another's forehead (i.e. in front of him); that time you looked after a pig and you threw it away
We'll talk from here
Your daughter is sitting down there and you have fought and argued with her and it has gone inside your heart
When you wanted to cook a pig you made a talk like that and added other talks
 1040 *Are you going to say like that (now), I am saying?*

Hiribalu:

You all didn't marry his wife and so you are not going to talk
For making it straight we'll finish off like this
'I am going back up there'
Dalowa should say she is going back to Andira
Andira, 'That is my wife, I am not going to throw her away'
When you have said that then it will be finished straight
I used to marry and throw away (i.e. divorce) women
I used to divorce women but you, Andira, shouldn't do the same

[*Can you see, wait*
 Gangaro: [*We are here ()*

The one (Andira) they bore and threw out there, that is the one that married
He is going to hit her himself
He is going to bring back his wife
 He is going [*to court himself*

Hiribalu: [()

Gangaro: [*His wife's relatives are there and they have made a talk, to you reply =*

Hiribalu:

= I once killed a chicken and tore it into pieces with an axe, for that they thought Pagubi had killed someone
Truly, he (Andira) is not going to kill her

- 1060 Andira won't kill Dalowa because he knows the violence I am capable of
My son used to come to my house and clear out the excreta
He didn't have a spade or a stick to dig it away
If someone cut her neck off and I buried him (Andira) then I should say he killed her

Payawi:

The mana (law) is there, it is on man's son [himself
Gangaro: [0

The affines are there
The girl's father is there
You all are the middle-men, the ones who used to marry women
'I am throwing her away' (or)
'She (Dalowa) is a sweet one and I am eating (i.e. keeping her)' (or)
'Now, I am throwing her away, when she is ill I am throwing her away' (or)
'No, I'll break the bones' (or) 'No, I won't break the bones
She is his (Hayabe's) daughter so I will send her back'
These talks are for court, that's all
You did the pigs (i.e. the bridewealth) for him so why are you (Hiribalu) getting pain?
He used to talk with his wife there, he never used to talk with you
If he is lying or telling the truth it will be seen
Men, that woman down there made an important talk
You (assembled men) never said, 'That woman down there is lying'
So we will throw it away
This talk came outside and was hitting people

- 1080 The matter has come to the public attention and people are finding it painful

The source is from the time the stick came outside and the aid-post orderly saw it down there
It was like that I have said
Ai ogoreni howa bi mbira unu Hayabe ibugua layadago
ai there from talk one down there Hayabe he has-said
From there Hayabe has said one talk
'We'll kill and cook pig so you (Dalowa) go and look for pig'
So what type of talk did you make, and then you stayed, I am saying?

Purawi:

Which talk was like an arrow (i.e. sharp and penetrating) and then you stayed, I am saying

Gangaro:

Yes

Andira:

That man didn't say anything
That woman said, 'I am saying don't come here, but you have come'
When she had said that she was going to do some things and I stayed
Then I said, 'I am going' and I went

Gangaro: [One talk

Kabo: [The thing you have said you didn't come here to choose
There was a thing to be done but you didn't come here to do it
For that one you went away and we were angry
we were angry because you didn't kill funeral pigs when you were
supposed to

- 1100 But (we didn't say), 'Come back and find out what happened'
No, the eating of the pigs was for nothing, we didn't see your forehead
and you were searching around (for the cause of all the trouble)
The nut tree bears the stem before the nut
That woman (Dalowa) down there made a small talk but you scattered away
What is the source, you are looking to choose the talks
The source (of this trouble) has been thrown outside and now you are
searching for it
What you have said now is nothing, it is on top (daliga: superficial)
It was done like that we are saying
You didn't eat with that man (Hayabe) and you threw it away, there was no
talk made. The ones who should eat the pigs have eaten, but they didn't
cut them off and throw them away. For the pigs and dogs we are talking
Those ones have been left like that
These are the talks that you have placed there
'That woman (Dalowa) down there I am going to cut with an axe, I am going
to kill you and throw you away'
'He (Andira) has eaten the raw taro (a sign of extreme anger), while the
children were there he hit us and threw us away
I think he is going to kill us, the one he hit before that was my spirit
When he finishes the job then I will be dead, I am thinking that I am not
going to go with you' she (Dalowa) has said
1120 Your father (Hiribalu) up there never does pigs (bridewealth) with his
affines like this
The mother and father who are tied up there, we never see the talk of
their affines
We never hear of any trouble between your parents and the respective
affines
They are not saying, 'We are going to give you back your (Andira's) pigs' =

Hayabe:

= No
The talk (of divorce) will be put there
We are saying, 'You reply back to us on this'

Payawi: No, [wait

Kabo: [I'll reply, to let me speak you wait (), stop
We will do it like this
From you, 'O that is my wife' did you say like that now? (2)
Did you say, 'My wife' so she can reply back?

Andira:

O 'Don't sit down there, you return to your house' I said

Kabo:

What you are saying is like trying to build a house while water is there
(i.e. attempting to construct a marriage on unsound foundations)

*It is not like building a drain beside the road
While the water is there you are putting a roof on the house
In your mind one small talk is going there and it might be bad
For that drain what are you saying?
1140 For the roof what are you doing?
In your heart you are happy I have said
The talk that is inside your heart, you say it*

Andira:

*These things I don't know, so we all go to court
You all go to court*

Ola:

What Kabo has said is an important talk

Andira:

*Did anyone say there is a person with Toro (deadly sorcery) up there who
will kill you, so sit down there?
Did anyone tell you there is sorcery there so you (Dalowa) should sit at
your father's place?*

Ola:

I am talking because she said, 'I am not going back'

Hiribalu:

*For the talk that was said yesterday it is being said like this
Dalowa, you swore and the talk went outside, the mother over there (she
said)
It was done like that, and after the swearing then with your tongues (i.e.
talk) you two were arguing and cutting each other
Don't say anything, leave those things
Andira, you have pulled it out from your forehead
Andira, you have said what is truly in your heart
You (two) were carrying sticks to hit each other so when you do like that
you are not going to sit in front of my forehead ()*

Gangaro:

*'I am not going to carry the daughter's (Dalowa's) bones' he has said
1160 Andira will refuse to pay compensation for Dalowa if he kills her
I am saying
He said only one thing*

Hiribalu:

*He (Andira) has the one thing only
'She (Dalowa) continues to stay up there at that house (i.e. her parents'
place)'
He saw her face one day and then he hit her
When he had hit, 'I'm not going to carry (compensate for) her' he said,
it has been said and heard*

Gangaro:

*He said like that
He held it over there and went off*

Yesterday he (Hiribalu) said, 'You have been staying with your father down there

You showed your face one day and it was hit'

Following the hitting, 'I am not going to carry (compensate) your bones, for you have been staying like that over there'

Truly what you have been saying is coming out here now

Now, not like that

You are mixing it together down there (i.e. compounding the issues)

He didn't say this and went, if you say this one later then you will be covering it over

Dalu:

'She stayed away for a long time' he has said

()

When they were staying at home I used to see them fighting each other and now we are seeing the pain there

1180 From these troubles we are not going to see it

For that man's daughter (Dalowa) you are tying a knot (making trouble)

Hiribalu has said a talk like this

Gangaro:

((tape reversed five seconds of speech lost))

Now we are saying with the boy's mother; when she was pregnant they built a house

When she is the mother of two or three children you (Andira) can look after it, if she is the mother of one he (Hayabe) can look after her

When she had borne he (Hayabe) looked after it but that is nothing (of consequence)

'This woman has brought the talk out into the open and it is going inside my son like an arrow, with the stick it is hitting him' it will be said you should say this and it will be heard

Hiribalu will be urged to say that by Dalowa's actions of bringing the issues into public his son will get pain from the talk

'Like this she is making garden or looking after pig' and when you (Andira) have said a talk like that then the main talk will go there

Men, what did they used to do?

'The talk is in that woman' we will say like that

'With your own talk you (Andira) are cutting the stick (i.e. revealing your plans)' we will say like that

All these things are not understood

You were hitting her and I used to say you are hitting for nothing and stop them

1200 'I am not going to carry the bones' he (Andira) has said

'My son has a big bag'

Hiribalu has said his son has a big capacity for compensation

'I am going to carry her in my bag' he (Andira) said yesterday

: ((Two speeches relating to extraneous events have been deleted here))

Gangaro:

Now, while we are thinking about it here you two have argued like a wife and husband

The woman has said it to make it come outside

*You have been arguing and fighting like wife and husband
 You take your wife away
 Your talk has been heard down there
 You are not going to make this talk
 The talk you have said is, 'Let's pull out (divorce) the pigs for that
 woman, I don't want her'
 If what is in your heart is that you don't want her then it will be
 coming outside
 'I want my pigs (bridewealth) back so you go' you will say
 And then we will go to court
 When we say, 'We are throwing it away' it won't be settled
 ()*

Dalowa:

*When he talks he is saying lies
 When we were by ourselves my mother was ill
 'What are you two doing' she asked
 Then she got heavy (i.e. grief stricken) and died*

Andira:

*That woman and child stayed where that house (Hayabe's house) is
 ((overlapping talk))*

Gangaro:

- 1220 *The talk that man (Andira) is saying now, 'My wife and daughter return to
 my house
 One year (they have stayed)'. O that one you have said is a lie
 One of the source talks is that you hit that woman and it has come outside
 and been seen
 'Let's go to court, you (all) go and get him' it has been said
 'We'll go to the doctor first' it was said, and then he (Andira) said he
 didn't touch the child
 Then it was said, 'Don't hit her' and a second time he hit her
 The talk will come outside from this man (Andira) and it is coming outside
 'O the talk he said up there is lies' (Dalowa has said)
 'I pulled out the taro' you (Andira) said, but she said, 'You ate the
 raw taro'
 One of the talks has been exposed already
 'I never touched her' (Andira said)
 'Who are you, you are lying' it has been said
 'I haven't eaten the taro' you said, but she said, 'You touched the taro,
 you ate it raw and you are lying'
 The small boy that was there with you, he will speak
 Now you are wandering around but what belongs to dama (malevolent
 supernatural beings) is of a different order
 When it comes then truly the dama will get space inside you and then we'll
 go to court
 When you lie then truly the spirits will have possessed you*
- 1240 *'That woman will return home
 Let's pull out the pigs (i.e. divorce)'
 We shouldn't say this
 One agalini la lai gungu timbuni habane keba haruago mo hada
 wife husband both argument fight big heart anger is-there make untie
 hamiya
 let-us*

Wife and husband have had a big argument so let us untie the anger in their hearts

Ogoni hangu
that only
That's all

Hayabe:

*We are saying, 'Are you a small boy or a man?'
Do you want those ones you have borne?
We will say the sources (for this dispute) so you come back
(Andira had been gradually making his way to the perimeter of the meeting
which was interpreted as indicating an intention to leave the dispute)
The talk is still in progress (wene), so you come back*

Dalowa:

*He never brings any food to us, he is hitting us and I have said these things by myself I am saying
'For going back to him, I don't want this' I am saying
That is Andira's child
If he doesn't want to divorce then I am carrying off my daughter*

Egari:

*'Andira you come up there, I am not going down there (to your place)' she has said
Did you hear that?*

Dalowa:

1260 *When my mother died he didn't come
It was like that so I don't want him
Without a special reason he never came
When I was mourning with these two, he never came
For carrying sweet potato to us he never came
When I had finished sitting there then we wanted to eat pig*

Andira:

I was making a compensation payment

Dalowa:

*Compensation, no
You were thinking of doing pig but I didn't say anything*

Egari: $\left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \\ \text{For, wait} \end{array} \right.$

*For the fighting and arguing that have been done the middle-men are not going to say, 'Pull out the pigs (i.e. divorce)'
The talk you are saying, 'Andira, you come up here; if I go there then there might be no witnesses and I might die'
Are you (Dalowa) talking to say a talk like this?
Or, 'Andira, now it is finished' are you saying that?
I am saying*

Dalowa:

Over there he will be doing all these things and now it is finished

Ogoni dege laro
1280 *this just I-am-saying*
I am saying just this

Egari:

You are saying a talk to finish the marriage
Are you talking to do the pigs (divorce)?

Dalowa:

The men with mana (knowledge of custom) will share the talk and with the
talk will say, 'Go'

Egari:

With the husband
With the woman's fathers and brothers
I have seen them get many troubles
We have seen many making talks like these
What you have said over there are just jokes
'We were angry and we did these things' you (both) speak
For anger, for hitting, for these things you are refusing him
You are saying a talk like this
No, when you say, 'Finish' in court, and when you have chosen the talks
in court
'Let's return home', this talk say I am saying
For divorce I am not choosing the talk now

Dalowa:

What he said for killing he is saying he didn't say
For killing he has said it eight times
That's all I am saying
1300 *At two days ago I said a straight talk, a middle talk, and I went*
When he had hit me, his father was carrying a heavy bag to give me
Andira's father was willing to pay compensation to my family if I died
I am not going to return

Egari:

She is not going to go to your place over there, she is going to Gambogoba
Andira should talk on that, part of your land is there and another part is
over there
'I am not going over there' she has said
So what will you say?

Dalu:

That woman there has said, 'I am not thinking of Andira'
She doesn't want to die and she is finishing it now
He is saying, 'You come over here' =

Egari:

= If they say, 'We are not coming up there' then in your heart what will
you say I am saying?

Andira:

'She won't sit over there' I am saying

Egari:

[No
 (multiple overlapping) =
 = If she says, 'We are staying over there' then what will you say I am saying?

Andira:

I don't know what to say for those talks
 If she stays over there, and if she stays over here, then she will be going back and forth I am saying

Dalu:

The talk you made up there, what were you chasing after?
 O when you don't divorce, she is still not going to come I am saying
 1320 O how will you divorce?
 What is this talk of divorce?
 O for killing her the stick will still be there and she wo::n't come I am saying
 For pulling out this talk, then when Hiribalu and Andira have pulled it out
 When Hayabe has pulled it out
 The talk that has gone on this road (i.e. Ialuba) is, 'Throw it away'
 Ai the talk I am saying is Dalowa is lying
 There is nothing in Andira (i.e. no liability or fault)
 No
 We are saying what Andira has been doing
 We should all say a talk like this and cut it off now
 It is raining now
 The talk which you keep throwing out should be left now
 She is not going to come I am saying
 Which talk is pulling out the stick?
 Which talk is going to kill Dalowa
 The stick will still be there and she is not coming it has been said
 If you say the talk is in us (i.e. to settle this issue) then we will go to court on Thursday
 All the talks are lies and we have gathered them here
 You married that one so if you say, 'I am carrying her off' then truly we
 1340 will see the matter finished
 The girl's fathers and brothers, you all go
 They will stay together over there
 When this talk has been said, then cut it off I am saying
 It is getting dark now so let's say, 'We go'

((Some of the participants had begun to dissipate and two speeches were inaudible on playback))

Gangaro:

Women and men used to argue and fight and this is like that it is said
 In your mind now do you think we are divorcing your wife? What are you saying?
 Or do you think it is the woman herself?
 One talk has been placed on the road here
 When you are with your neighbours, your friends, will you think the talk has been mixed and is coming outside, I am saying?

Andira:

*I don't know, I never used to make a long talk for women
You all go home, I am going*

((Following Andira's departure informal talk occurred among small sections and recording was discontinued))

APPENDIX B: D.2

Issue : Ogoli claimed that Wanali had accused him of involvement in her son Baro's death by drowning. This accusation is idiomatically referred to by the phrase *the stick (i.e. for killing) is in you*. The text shows the generally bad relations between Wanali and her husband Garibe on account of the latter's failure to provide her with adequate land and housing.

Date : February 19th 1978

Location: Ialuba - Koroba District

Outcome : The matter remained unresolved after protracted debate and Ogoli did not pursue his claim any further.

Notes

1. *Source* (tene) refers to both a person and/or issue identified as primary in the causal aetiology of the dispute.
2. *It's in you* means *you are to blame*.

Ogoli:

- 1 *O now, 'The stick is in you' you said over there, I am saying. Did you say it?*

Wanali:

*O i ha tene lenedago dabalimu lo ala laro
o me in source said you-choose to-say first I-am-saying
It has been said the source is in me. In order to say, 'You choose (the talks)' I am speaking first*

Garibe:

((inaudible))

Wanali:

*Uru nale libi laba (reduplicative) nalabe
those don't-say stutter don't-say
Don't say those things and don't stutter*

*Tene / ore dabama bialu agua dagua leneda laga
source definite we-choose when-done how like said used-to-say*

*biabeha ndodabe?
can-be-done can't-it?*

When saying, 'Let's choose the sources' it's possible to talk like we used to isn't it?

Ayu i ore uduali bamba i Baro homaiya/handala piruguni
now me very up there before me Baro died seeing-it I-went
Before, seeing as Baro had died, I went away

O biago mangabiyene
o that one I-didn't-want

20 *Because of that I didn't want to stay*

Agali eberego ibugua biyago hondo ha dege bialu
man that one he did saw just did
I saw what that man (Garibe) had done

Wali haga la binigo honda ha dege bialu mangabiyene
woman second-wife with did saw just did didn't want
I saw what he did with his other wife and I didn't want to be there

O aila biruleda lalu?
o who to-sit-with I-said
'who shall I sit (stay) with?' I said

I igini Baro iba piya / handala piru
my son Baro water fell seeing-it I went
Seeing as my son Baro had drowned I went away

Pene iba piya / handala pu birarua
went water fell seeing-it go where-sitting
I went and seeing as he had drowned I went to where I am now

That man (Garibe) there came and was looking for me, he came with Dalu to
fetch me back and I came on that track there two days ago
When I arrived, 'Why did you come and get me?' I said

40 *'I came with your husband for the argument you've had, for the argument'*
O Gangaro said like that

'I am doing this, saying this, staying here' - this wasn't said (at the time)
'Seeing as you were holding something you just went'

Gangaro said that as I was thinking of some trouble I just went away
from it all

Now O, 'We are here to hear the source' it has been said
O you are talking down there on those

O, 'You come back' (they have said to me)

O, 'Your pigs and money used for buying, you give them back' (they have said)
O because that was said, since Dalu talked about my money and pigs, 'You
go' I said

They said, 'You go with your children, you all go
You go back to where your husband is'

That's how it was done

We were looking for the place

'Let's go back (we, the family said) 'but my house that was there before
was destroyed and bad, and I was going to break it down

Ai the old gardens had been completely covered and dug up and I went, so
then that was that

'I am not coming back, so you all go' we said. 'I am going off'

'Say, "Go and chop some wood and make the house first"' it was said

I told them to tell Garibe to chop wood and make my house before I return
 60 *'I'll tell that to that man there'*

*'Let's build the house'
I didn't want to build it myself*

*Igiri biago dara honowiya / handala i piru
boy that one sorrow carried / seeing-it I went
Seeing there was grief over that boy (Baro) I went*

*O and then you came
O that one, O he said, 'You all sleep with that woman, Hidamu's mother
over there'*

*Garibe told us to sleep with Hidamu's mother
O, 'Seeing as you have given land and houses to Hidamu's mother there why
are you throwing me down there with them' (I said)
Before, one thing was said*

*One land
One house together
For those things that woman (i.e. other wife) was big and strong (in her
desire)*

*My gardens were taken
My houses were taken
Now it's been done like this. 'You are there staying bad and with leprosy'
(Garibe said) and I went away*

*80 On this land and houses they will stay
Now why have you come to fetch me I am saying?
I am coming and going, when my gardens have been dug up and my sweet potato
eaten they will stay there*

*I have done like that
When I had carried and cried for my son Baro, I went
You have told me twice
You have told me three times
For the one that bore the son?*

*Is that the sort of thing the father of a dead son should say to the
mother?*

*O biago lari / handala pu haabo halu piruguni
o that one you-said seeing-it continued to-stay-together I-went
Seeing as you had said that, and that you continued to stay together, I
went off*

*Now we have argued, but I was going to say a different thing
The one that was born, is that your son? Did you hear him?
I stayed and threw it away; just a little, for three days, and then I went
Where I was sitting they were looking for me up there. I was making business
With my money I got some sweet potato and they looked to see how much pig
or sweet potato I had*

*100 They (Dalu, Gangaro and Garibe) were looking for me up there two days ago
And then they brought me down from up there
O truly, not that I wasn't doing anything up there
God up there, on that track, he provided. Shouldn't the husband give too?
When the men had looked for me I went
Now that's a good thing you have done
To say, 'Shall I come' you should say, 'Let's make a house'
When I came to where he was, he said, 'You go and sleep in the men's house
in Hiwanda'*

*Ai, 'You have to come here so what have you done?
Now you go and sleep with the other wife' he (Garibe) said*

Seeing as he said that, I went, but what was the source of why I went?

'You make a house' I am saying

'Cut down the trees and let's make the grass roof so I can come'

'Are you going to sleep with me?' (Garibe said)

O, men and old women they never sleep together

'I'll be going back and forth so I'll wait for my son Dindipu' it was
said like that

Then Dibawi's father and Digima came to gather and talk about my returning
home or not returning

From there O, 'You (Wanali) killed and hit your son Baro'

Dibai's father and Digima

Dibai's father and Digima said that I had killed my own son

'With what did I kill him, was it a stick?

120 Did you see me hit with a stick or hand?'

'We never kill the one we bore' my husband said like that

'Are you arguing with them now' I said like that

I didn't know it was in them (i.e. the responsibility for Baro's death)

It has been said, 'It's in you (i.e. me)' I am telling you I am going off

O biago tindule Dibai abá ibu

o that one lies Dibai's father him

Dibai's father (Ogoli) has told lies

You, just you

For no reason, while I was down there, that man told lies

I didn't say to that man (Ogoli), 'How did you kill him?'

I am saying like that

O truly it is sufficient or it isn't sufficient, we will see how it was said

I have argued with my husband over there

How did I point my hand and say, 'It's in you'. I don't know, that's what

I will say

O up there he (Garibe) was on one side and he (Ogoli) was on the other side

'Did you talk to me?'

Ogoli asked if I talked to him

When that was said he talked to give it to me (i.e. the blame for Baro);

that was the track this issue came on, I am saying

140 I said, 'Truly he drowned', and then I went off

: ((Another two minutes of speech recounts an argument over payment
for a pig))

í agali

you men

You are men

í walida lowa ndodabe

I woman said wasn't-it

'I am woman' it was said, wasn't it

:

Garibe:

Throw away all those talks

Throw them away, the men down there are getting swollen stomachs from
the talk

Those talks are not the source

That isn't the source

Hagai: [Source

Wanali: [The source that you will be saying
'That is woman, and her mind is confused (burugu)'

Garibe:

Dangeria came and Baro came and we were talking =

Wanali:

= I didn't talk on that one

Gurubugu:

*That one (talk) is not going anywhere
O we are saying the men are doing it
You are going around and winding the talk in men and women
It is not bearing fruit, it is in progress (wene)*

160 *It isn't a productive talk, we are still debating
'I am mad' you said
'I am not mad' you said
So which is the mad talk you are holding there?
Which is the source you are talking on?
What have you said with that man there?
You have said, 'That man there killed my son' you said that first
O for that one a source has been placed there
'I said, "That man there will carry (compensate) for him (Baro)"' it has
been said
We are here making that one come (making the talk on it happen)*

Hagai:

*You are coming on one important thing I am going to say
Down there it has been placed like this
Dama (supernatural beings) went there
Hambu (deadly sorcery) went there
Poisoning went there, it has been said*

180 *All these possibilities for your son's death have been mooted
O 'My son was killed' you have said like that
Which one of these talks should be said, we will say
The source is from here
How did they go up there?
They went by foot
From there you were talking on your son
Ai Dangeria came and your son came, both on foot
If you want to talk on that then we should talk from there
No
If you want to talk on how the wife and husband have argued and fought -
No
That is nothing
It will be thrown away*

⋮

*O down there, first, he (Baro) went to the water and he fell in
Ai Dangeria and him were swimming together and he went
When Dangeria came down there, how was the talk said (with him)?*

*O from there the story (te: of the drowning) went inside you
 The talk on this matter had a profound effect on you, Wanali
 Since it went inside you then wife and husband argued and fought, and you
 were both pulling yourselves there
 To choose these issues, speak, I am saying*

Wanali:

*Ai you have said like that to me
 What have you said?
 If you are going to say like that, I am not coming
 I am talking for pulling him out
 I am talking to bring the issue of my son into the open
 'Yourself, did you come to pull it out and eat?'
 My husband said like that when we buried him
 A second time when he had come back (Garibe said)
 'Have you come to cook Baro's death compensation?'
 O, 'We did it together, we bore him together, it was an accident he
 drowned. Yourself what have you said?*

*I hembo tandaga biyago i nadai bule udu bedogoni / ore
 I anger pain had I will-not-return up there I-am-sitting truly*

larudagöni

I-said

*I was angry and hurt. I said, 'I am not returning, I am staying over there'
 When that had been said they were together up there, talking like we used
 to talk
 Then Digima and Yuguai said, 'You killed him'
 'Did I kill him with a stick or an axe?'
 Hewa kill the ones they bore, Dugube do it
 Our foreign neighbours the Hewa and Dugube peoples, they kill their own
 children
 With what did you see me kill him?
 Those two men (Digima and Yuguai) are different (i.e. not of sound mind)
 Wives and husbands used to argue all day and come and go
 That is a different talk
 O that one (i.e. the killing) is causing me to be angry
 Since that was said
 'It's in you' - I don't know what he (Ogoli) means
 'It's in you' - O Dibawi's father (Ogoli) has said lies
 We are saying you told me, 'It's in you'. That is lies
 That's all*

⋮

Hagai:

*Ebere i horombe haganego larego
 that one you daytime used-to-stay you-are-saying
 You are talking about how you used to stay in the day
 Ayu ina tene yaruago tene ago yide?
 now you source holding source which you-held
 Which is the source you are now holding?*

Wanali:

Tene ogoni
source that
The source is just that one

I anda dindi uru
my house land those
My house and my land

O i hagalene lai gungu la bule / ore mangabiyene pene
o my co-wife argue fight both will-make truly didn't-want went
I didn't want to fight and argue with my co-wife so I went

Hagai:

Ndo
no
No

240 Ogobi ndo / ore
this no definitely
It is definitely not this

Tene irane /ore kuni mbira yidago la
source reason very bone one holding say
You say the real reason and source, the bone between you that you are holding

Wanali:

Tene irane ogoni
source reason that
That is the source and reason

Hagai:

Ogo bamo
this nothing
This is nothing

Walani:

I hangu embera tara / ore bere lalu
I along bush different very when-made-to-sit
I was alone and made to sit in the bush

Inaga wane-igini hewago ina haru hea lalu i erekui biabe mangabiyene pene
my children there I looked-after I tired doing didn't-want went
I was tired of looking after my children there and I went

Hagai:

Ogoni bamo larogo
that nothing I-am-saying
I am saying that is nothing

260 O bamo
o nothing
Nothing

Irane kuni /ore mbira yuwa i igini unugo / ore
reason bone very one held your son down there very
naduguabehego
shouldn't-be-pulled-out

When you held the one reason and bone, you shouldn't have pulled out the issue of your son

Inime dugualu haridago
yourself pulled-out there
You pulled out the issue yourself

Irane kuni / ore mbira yidego
reason bone very one holding
That is the one reason and bone you are holding

Wanali:

They are doing it to me
For my son I really didn't want it
I didn't want to raise the body from the water
Ai my husband over there said, 'You pull him out yourself'
I didn't want to do it

Hagai:

O you are saying the arguient you had over there
One track down there is that you thought on your son
Over there he had drowned

280 *He fell off a tree*

No

He died

'He died' we said like that and we were throwing it away

But you raised your son's name

You brought the matter of his death up again

Your mind is continually on that

Kuni irane / ore mbira mbiyaore ()

bone reason very one only one

That is the one bone and reason together

Wanali:

I didn't know what to do, I wanted to see his (Baro's) body

Hagai:

To see his body?

Ogoni naga irane / ore mbiyaore yidego

that for reason very only one held

For that, that is the one reason you held

When you held it, then you spoke

Wanali:

I am not holding something, not holding, O mother (exclamation)

Hagai:

No

Wanali:

Don't say like a lie

Hagai:

What lies?

300 *The boy's body turned to sand and you threw it away*
When Baro died then the issue was dead
For what you have said, that is the one thing you held

:

You should say you want to talk
O it was done like that

Iba piyagoni
He drowned

Homaiyagoni
He died

Ira piyagoni
A tree fell

Dandame bayagoni
He was killed with a bow

O then we buried him

Agalime bayagoni
A man killed him

O then we threw it away
O this man has paid you in your hand (Garibe is your husband)

Hinule
He will look after (you)

320 Honowule
He will bear (children)

Hongole
He will plant (gardens)

If another man is there while you are there, then you will get trouble
The source is in you and you are making it come
All these big things (issues) you are carrying everywhere, they are nothing

Onene agalini la lai gungu bialu howa
wife husband both argue fight since-done
You have argued and fought like a husband and wife

For that one you are saying you are angry

Wanali:

I wasn't talking backwards and forwards with you
I was talking with my husband
I was talking to him and I thought, 'It is in you'
I am saying, 'It is in you'
If you are making it so that it is in me -
Now O God is up there
O my God will choose
Now that is what we will say

Ayu i o bedo wali
now I o sitting woman
Now I am here, a woman

340 Ayu ti agali
now they men
Now they are there, men

I am on this road with you alone
I didn't say, 'Let's have an argument'
I thought it was in you
You thought to finish the matter off and put it in me so you said, 'Let's say that'
 You thought to put the blame for Baro on me in order to finish this whole dispute

Hagai:

You were saying that up at Peronge

Wanali:

That's a lie

Garibe:

While up there

Wanali:

Eh:::::O:::eh

Why are you saying lies?

Why is he saying that?

Hagai:

Another mana (custom) is like the shout you have just made (sarcastic comment)

Wanali:

That's lies

That man is by himself it has been seen

Now my son Baro was only one

I am carrying it has been said

I'm responsible for his death they have said

Now all of Koma clan you join together and do it (i.e. pay compensation for Baro)

Ago:

Koma we are talking, so you listen

360 *We are saying how you two should stay and how to straighten it up*

Wanali:

No, I am saying what are you talking about?

I am the mother of the dead and you are talking for me to carry him (Baro), those ones are lies I am saying

⋮
 ⋮
 ⋮

Gangaro:

Agalime

bi damene ayu laremago agua laga

men (-me: focussed subject) talk all now we're-saying how used-to-say

wirima

we-paced

Men, all the talk we are saying now we have put like we used to do

Ina agalime larimagonibi
we men-with (-me: agentive) we-said
We said the talks with men

Bi walime larimagonibi
talk with-women we-said
We said the talk with women

Ai bi ina larigo agali ha ogobi anda piyada
ai talk you said men in this inside went
The talk you have said, it has gone inside men (has penetrated them)

Au lo mitangi bialu bi debene la dai nabirabali (1) wali
how to-say when-thought-on talk sweet never-reply woman
When we have thought what to say, for a good talk we never used to answer
back to women

⋮

380 *Alright then*

Ai that woman over there what have you said then
You came, 'Let's make the house' (you said)
Then which is the mana (custom), you placed this in order to say it (i.e.
the mana)

The talk we are saying down there, 'Truly she came and she has talked
to stay'

'You should have brought the talk' they have said

No

'I am going back' you will say

O, 'When they have found the talk then, seeing as it is like that, I will
come back'

From that talk you are following that track

You have said, 'You (Garibe) go'

Ai before we talked like this and with the talk you rebuked us, you are
sitting there now and you will say that one

Ai it is like that now, the talk is going everywhere like the hard nuts
that have been eaten (i.e. scattered around)

For going backwards and forwards I have made a talk

For travelling back and forth I have already said what I think

The talk you made we have thrown away

Then you came back down there, 'Yes, the house we talked about, I am making'

Then you are saying you came back?

400 *Anda maga mo beregedane walimedago beregedare ago hondoliya au*
house struts make turned around woman is-turning what let's-see how

laru
I-said

Woman turned the struts of the house around for me; woman is turning them
now, so let's see what she does, I have said

⋮

Wanali:

*O from you, what did you do? We have said like that
We should talk like this
They were joined together up there (Garibe and his other wife)
I was saying a different talk with my husband and we were pointing our
fingers*

*I was talking on another matter and we were angrily gesticulating
'Did you plant it?' I didn't know
Did you, Garibe, accuse Ogoli?
'You planted it' he (Garibe) said*

*O ini mo weruago tene aginaga?
o yourself make placed reason why
Yourself, you laid the blame, so what is the reason?*

*Libu one agalini lala kabi bi dombeni ogoni dagua pu kabi
those-two wife husband talked is-there talk middle that like go is-there*

*wali hangu bialu kabi ogoni dagua labe ngabe?
woman alone done there that like say isn't-it-put-there
When a husband and wife have argued then, 'Make a middle talk' it is said;
when only a woman is there then (she should), 'Speak like that' it is said?*

NOTES

1. Citations from previously published texts form part of a deliberate policy to generate a working corpus of Huli disputes capable of being used by analyst and reader to cross-reference contextual occurrences of salient speech. The data base thus becomes a constantly workable resource for culture-specific or cross-cultural analysis.
2. This paper is based on fieldwork conducted in the Koroba district of the Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea. Some of the material was initially presented to the Anthropology Department, Queens University, Belfast. I wish to thank members of that seminar for some valuable discussion. I am also indebted to Dr Kay Milton and Professor Bruce Rigsby for further incisive comments and suggestions. Responsibility for ideas and interpretations forwarded remains solely mine.
3. The problem of 'politeness' as a universal phenomenon, and the difficulties associated with cultural variation and comparability, have been sketched by House and Kasper (1981).
4. Huli describe and conceptualise human behaviour on 'public' grounds as paralleling that displayed by birds of paradise. In the same way in which some of these animals clear their display grounds of all debris, so 'dirt' is eliminated from the public gaze in human interactions.
5. Lang (1976:355) makes a similar point for Enga speech patterns in judicial contexts.
6. Although I haven't developed the topic of spatial deixis here, I am suggesting an increased use of locative adverbs and spatial expressions in dispute talk by both sexes. In contrast with the temporal emphasis

frequently given in testimony in Western Courts, Huli pay much attention to locating events in terms of a well understood geography to enhance the evidential veracity of their accounts. Importantly, Huli adverbs are based on the contrast between high:low elevation

li (up there) vs. ni (down there)
 udu vs. unu

– phonemic contrasts mirroring directional contrasts – and a visible: invisible dimension, for example, amu vs. ede (*over there*). The term unu can also be used in constructions such as vi unu laya (*the talk said down there*) to indicate the location of speech in terms of an ongoing conversation (*textual deixis*).

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