

A MARRIAGE DISPUTE IN THE NEBILYER VALLEY
(WESTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA)

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General introduction

One of the most striking first impressions upon European visitors to the New Guinea highlands is of the sheer volume of talk in the air. People spend hours a day at it, often in focused gatherings where it seems to be the main activity. Many of these gatherings are disputes, often ostensibly about marriage problems. In this region, the organisation of marriage by bridewealth payments creates rights and social relationships among groups and individuals of a kind which insure that such disputes always involve other people besides just the marriage partners. Considering the amount of talk that goes on at these disputes, it often seems that surprisingly little is resolved.

This chapter will comprise a transcript and tentative analysis of one such occasion, a marriage dispute which goes on for two and a half hours without making any apparent progress toward resolving the issues which are explicitly contested. (The same topic had been disputed on at least three previous occasions.) We will try to show that those two and a half hours were not wasted, but that, in order to understand the efficacy of talk on this and other such occasions, we need to look beyond what the dispute is ostensibly 'about' and consider issues which it implicates even in the absence of explicit debate about them.

Before attempting to demonstrate this with respect to the case in question, we will briefly consider some recent work by anthropologists on similar issues arising from other ethnographic material.

In several studies of oratory and dispute settlement in small-scale societies (e.g. Kuper and Richards 1971, M. Bloch 1975) anthropologists have remarked on the apparent inconclusiveness of public 'political' meetings. M. Bloch's (ibid.) widely-discussed notion of 'formalisation' in the political discourse of such societies was prompted partly by his initial inability to fathom the 'political' content of Merina village council meetings in the absence of overt dissension (loc. cit. p.6 ff.). It is an attempt to transcend the limits of the conventional view of politics as 'the conscious exercise of power' (loc. cit. p.3), and address the problem of how particular ways of speaking create or enforce power relationships by rendering dissension impossible in practice or even inconceivable in principle. Subsequent investigators (Burling 1977, Werbner 1977, Irvine 1979, Paine 1981, Lederman 1980, Brenneis and Meyers 1984, Parkin 1984) have found serious problems with his concept

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of formalisation, but even while rejecting it as a solution to his problem, have often benefited from his way of formulating the question, and from retaining certain general features of his attempted answer to it. Thus, for example, while none of the authors of papers in Brenneis and Meyers 1984 accepts 'formalisation' as a useful concept, their various discussions do – as pointed out in the introduction – show how 'Political talk ... compels specific visions of the social world through its own organization. Individual issues may be doubted, but the understandings implicit in the conduct of political discourse are rarely addressed and even less frequently challenged' (loc. cit. p.28).

In the dispute which we will be examining here, many 'individual issues' are explicitly debated. As has been pointed out by Goldman (1983:14) about disputes in New Guinea generally, claims tend to be responded to with counter-claims, so that the dispute tends to proliferate into a 'multiple-claim' affair involving a hierarchy of issues ranging from central to peripheral. And there is much explicit debate about 'meta-issues', such as what kind of dispute this is (official village court vs. bo unq *traditional talk*), and what the relation is among the various claims that have been made (e.g., which are central vs. peripheral).

But despite the field worker's initial impression that, in this typically Melanesian affair (unlike among the Merina), nearly *everything* is up for grabs, the dispute of course takes place upon a ground of unquestioned 'understandings' about it and the world at large, as does all social action everywhere. Some of these are understandings which probably *could not* readily have been questioned by any of the participants, as they are buried too far beneath the surface of that ground. Others are tacit understandings which were achieved at this particular dispute without explicit discussion, but which, we know, could have been questioned, as we have heard debate about similar matters at other, similar occasions (cf. Bourdieu's (1977) distinction between doxa and orthodoxy).

We agree with Bloch and with Brenneis and Meyers (and with Bourdieu and Foucault) that, for studying the politics of discourse, it is at least as important to observe what is *not* debated as what is, since unquestioned understandings are as much a part of a dispute's 'outcome' as are decisions about acknowledged 'issues'. In our analysis of the dispute which is transcribed in the body of this chapter, we will consider both what is debated and what is not, and conclude by comparing the outcome(s) with respect to each. Our analysis is in no way exhaustive, and we invite our readers to try to improve upon it. The main aim of this chapter is not to provide a definitive analysis, but to open up the ethnographic record for comparative studies of the kind for which only full verbatim transcripts can provide some of the necessary data (cf. Goldman 1983, Chap.1 and refs. therein).

Ethnographic introduction

The peoples of the Nebilyer (Napilya) Valley, Western Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea, belong to a sociocultural and linguistic continuum which merges north and east with the Melpa, and south with peoples of the Southern Highlands border area. Melpa society and culture have been extensively documented by A.J. and M. Strathern, while much less has been written of people at the southern end of the continuum. The marriage dispute described in this paper involved Nebilyer people, and was heard at various times and places in the Nebilyer Valley.

The Nebilyer peoples often use the label Melpa for Hageners and tribes¹ near the Kubor Range, extending to the Sepik-Wahgi divide in the north. However, they have no single term by which they identify all peoples of the Nebilyer as a single regional bloc. Within the Valley, several smaller blocs are identified by names which carry implications of dialect differences, location within the valley, and general socio-political orientation. In the marriage dispute of this paper, the bride's father's family are ku waru (*steep stone or cliff*) people. Groups belonging to this bloc live on the fairly steep eastern slopes of the Tambul Range. The ku waru tribes tend to be much smaller, and to have much shallower segmentary group structure within each tribe, than the Meam peoples of the Nebilyer Valley floor. The ku waru peoples maintain strong ties of marriage and alliance with certain tribes on the other side of the Tambul Range. Linguistically, the ku waru dialect shares many features with some Tambul-side dialects, and both of these differ in those respects from Meam. Some of the ku waru tribes have constituted or reconstituted themselves in very recent times, drawing their membership to a very significant extent from Tambul-side groups, and from groups towards the Southern Highlands. The oral history and mythology of the larger Meam groups, by comparison, suggest longer residence on the Nebilyer Valley floor, with splinter segments of some groups moving away, some into the Melpa area.

The wife in the present case, Sumuyl², is a member of a ku waru tribe, Kopia, in whose territory we lived for 16 months during 1981-1983. This tribe numbers approximately 450 people. It is paired with a tribe called Kubuka, of approximately 300 members. The husband belongs to a Meam tribe called Upuka, traditionally paired with Ulka, one of the largest Meam groups (so large that there is no single or invariant account of its component sub-groups). From oral history it appears that ku waru and Meam tribes were periodic enemies; enmities and bouts of warfare were (and are) more intense with some Meam groups than others. For several decades, earlier relations of greater hostility have apparently ameliorated, to mildly-hostile to neutral political relationships. In 1983, we recorded seven current Upuka-Kopia marriages, of which six were between Kopia women and Upuka men. The hearing represented here took place in November 1983.

The present case

The husband and wife in this dispute, Koya and Sumuyl, at that time had three children, the eldest a girl, then a boy, then a girl. Sumuyl was pregnant with a fourth, and one of the chief objects of the hearing, as structured by remarks of the magistrates and others, was to discover whether Koya, or some other man, was the father of the unborn child. The court makes clear its opinion that Koya is not the father, partly based on circumstances of the couple in the immediately preceding months.

Sumuyl, after having the first child and becoming pregnant with the second, had left Koya's home in Upuka territory periodically (lines 792-795). After she had spent some time away, the Upuka paid compensation to bring about her return (797-800, 807, 875, 1311, 1314, 1338, 1592). What may have been her personal reasons for leaving, and why the Upuka decided to give compensation, is never discussed in detail at this hearing. The salient fact, from the Upuka point of view, is that they paid compensation, which resulted only in the brief return of Koya's wife. After this, her husband saw her only rarely. Hence the question of the unborn child's paternity.

During the hearing both Koya and Sumuyl allege that they made a work-trip into the Melpa area, to pick and process coffee for someone else (826-838). It is during this trip that Sumuyl alleges three acts of intercourse to have occurred, Koya recalling only two. This small number of occurrences to produce a child is inconsistent with wide-spread traditional Hagen beliefs about conception, a point upon which the magistrates call testimony.

Nebilyer people often refer jokingly to efforts to conceive children as *kongon work*, *daily work* (used to refer to garden or other physical work, and which can also mean *day*; see e.g., lines 251-260, 747-749, 1091-1093). It is difficult to produce a child, and requires many acts of intercourse. Unless enough of these occur, the partly-formed foetus may 'dissolve' (see remark at 248-250). Its growth fostered for some time by increments of semen, eventually the foetus is viable on its own and will continue to grow, the wife withdrawing from sexual contact with the husband. Given these ideas, Sumuyl's claims to have become pregnant (with a 'large', or quite developed baby) on the basis of three acts of intercourse are considered incredible (see, e.g., lines 619, 625-630, 718-719). Nearly everyone at the hearing supposes that the child was fathered by someone else.

(Although the theory of the cumulative effect of semen in making the foetus grow might be thought compatible with a notion of 'mixed paternity' — a partial contribution by different men — this idea is not suggested by anyone during the hearing. See however M. Strathern (1972b:43), who says that Melpa people sometimes suggest this about the children of allegedly promiscuous women.)

The magistrates question Sumuyl extensively about the number of times of intercourse, trying to make her reveal what they think is the truth (564-612, 649-689, 614-624). They also ask her to reveal the identity of the father. But she defends herself (562, 667-671) by saying that, in the case of the first child, she and Koya were inexperienced and conception required many acts of intercourse (confirmed by Koya, 705); by the time they conceived the second, they were more experienced and it only took a few times, and in any case the husband did not take her to court over it. Does he now doubt the paternity of their son? In other words, she introduces an idea that nobody else appears to deal with explicitly: that 'experience' makes a difference in that fewer acts of intercourse are needed in order to conceive and nurture a child.

Part of what we discuss below is that the actionable court case (what is admissible into the court here) never includes Sumuyl's 'personal' views or inclinations in the matter of her marriage. Her family accepted compensation recently, by which the Upuka effected her return. Then she left again. This is the substance of the Upuka case. The outcome they hope for (stated emphatically at 1705-1709) is to get her back; they are willing to accept compensation for her misconduct which they assume has resulted in the last child. The blame is not only Sumuyl's — her family and 'line' failed to control her behaviour. So the approach of the Upuka to winning their case is to allege that the child cannot be Koya's. To prove this, they had taken Sumuyl to a doctor in Mt Hagen shortly before this hearing, to get him to pronounce on the 'size' of the child. If the child is already very big — so their argument seems to run — and especially if the husband and wife are known to have spent little time together — it cannot be his. Evidence in the form of a doctor's report is produced and read by the Court Clerk, Lalka Wak (354-367); but the evidence, it is eventually conceded, is inconclusive (e.g., 1373-1374, 1613-1614). It further fuels everyone's suspicions, but only a clear-cut

admission by Sumuyl would enable the court to declare with certainty that she was adulterous. The court calls evidence from any woman who wishes to speak about how children are conceived, and a woman bystander emphatically confirms the dominant view of the matter (613-622); one man then suggests that the wife's unusually short time of making the baby may be 'in the blood' (726-740) — perhaps her parents were the same. Efforts to get her father to speak on this embarrassing and personal subject are short-circuited by his counterclaim that he himself has looked after and fed the children throughout these troubles; and in any case, the disputed second boy-child looks like the Upuka father (755-783).

The Upuka husband's case is largely presented by an Upuka big-man, Temal. The husband Koya's lack of resources is referred to at 1362-1365 (cf. 1179-1180); and it is made clear that, were they to lose this wife, Koya could not manage to get another.

Sumuyl answers questions for herself; nobody represents her. It becomes clear, when men from her group are questioned, that they think she is in the wrong and her conduct is troublesome to them all (e.g., her father at 1428 and 1434 says she has always deceived him). Their major concern is to deflect Upuka claims for compensation to which they would have to contribute within their own line.

This case had been heard at several previous venues; see 165-179, 1426-1427.

Especially from 1050, the jockeying for conditions of possible settlement becomes intense. The various possibilities — jail for the wife, compensation to the Upuka, or both — are suggested, but a satisfactory resolution cannot be found. The Kopia are unwilling to pay compensation for a troublesome wife who, they say, is an 'old' one: she has long been married to the Upuka, she is already theirs (1129).

This is, in fact, the apparent basis of a countersuit involving Kubuka Magistrate Unya, who during the walk to see a European doctor in town concerning Sumuyl's pregnancy, told the Upuka 'she is yours' (473-474). In saying so he was felt to imply they were not entitled to compensation because the Kopia were not responsible for her. In order to ensure that they receive compensation, the Upuka repeatedly argue that the Kopia are responsible. Sumuyl had returned home; her family should have been mindful that she was married and watched her (964-971, 990-996, 1167-1169, 1187).

In other places, the Upuka clearly assert their rights to Sumuyl. This is apparently to forestall any suggestion that the marriage might be dissolved. In fact, such a possibility is only mentioned tangentially by Kopia Noma at 1131 and briefly again at 1143-1144; it is mentioned only to be excluded as an option by Midipu Kujilyi at 1593, and briefly by Kubuka Komi at 1730-1733. The Upuka say: the woman is ours, no matter what happens. But this, in their view, in no way clears the Kopia of responsibility. The Upuka want the wife, and compensation. Jailing her will not solve the issue from their point of view. An unspoken but central issue throughout is the general, privately held knowledge that the wife's real desire is to obtain a divorce at any cost. But she is powerless to direct the course of the hearing, especially in view of the previously-accepted compensation, and the difficult position her immediate family will be placed in if her public behaviour is unseemly and rebellious. Thus the court's questioning is directed towards trying to get a direct admission of guilt from the wife, rather than trying to get at personal issues underlying the wife's discontent.

Sumuyl is questioned intensively and quite aggressively (e.g., the peremptory command to get her to be seated in the middle at 352); efforts to get her to name the adulterer so he too may be brought to court and made to pay compensation at 507-512, 546-547, 557-558, 608-609, 634-637, 1558-1559; and the otherwise intimidatory style of interrogation which partly seeks to shame her, e.g., the suggestion at 912-914 that there is a 'nail' or a 'bee' at Kailge that got her pregnant; the jocular comments on the couple's trip to a place near Mt Hagen to grind coffee, where Upuka Temal suggests (840-855) they simply could not have copulated as they say — how could anyone, in a strange household?

The assumption that Sumuyl is lying made by all the magistrates (e.g., 251-260, 543-545, 1202, 1576, 1639); the tone of accusation, the claims that she is 'yours' and 'ours' (e.g., 1625), synechdochic references to women as 'vaginas' even by the magistrates (1470, 1584-1585), all construct her presence as not only that of someone in the wrong, but as irresponsible and as an object of (male) disposition.

Nevertheless, Sumuyl does not admit to adultery (566, 610, 724). She refuses to be intimidated, and, having had her say, makes effective use of rhetorical questions to deflect the men's attempts to push her further (610, 659, 690, 724). By refusing to confess, she forces speakers to admit that 'no one really knows' what happened (1201-1207, 1511, 1612-1619, 1658-1659). This admission is accompanied in several places by a standard trope to the effect that 'only God knows' (1162) — God who is able to see all things, even into the inner pulp of trees (1370-1374), everywhere. Several efforts are made to match this trope rhetorically: the omniscience of God above is matched by that of the doctor below (953-954). And the doctor, the Upuka claim, is on their side (cf. 430-451, 530-539, 956-960). All of this still fails to prompt a confession.

No possible solutions are suggested until well into the hearing. Evidence (from the doctor, etc.) is discussed until it seems necessary to test out possible settlements without having reached an absolute determination of the significance of the evidence. Because the resolutions desired by each side are mutually incompatible in some ways, the nature of the proceeding remains unclear too. Is this a village court with the power to make a decision and impose penalties under the Village Court Act? Or is it a *mbo ul* — a *customary matter* — implying that the magistrates will not have to pronounce a decision, but some sort of compromise will be reached by mutual agreement? It is important to notice that the apparent distinction being made by participants is not between 'official' and 'unofficial' court, but between 'village court' (originally envisioned as a customary court, distinguished from Local and other more formal court venues) and *mbo ul* (*customary moot*).

Types of courts

The comments of several magistrates and others (60-62, 1000, 1008-1010, 1022, 1036-1043, 1388-1391, 1392-1393, 1480-1483, 1489-1506, 1513, 1608-1610), show that they are reluctant to view the proceeding as a (village) *kot*. They hope instead that a settlement will be made which relieves them of the responsibility of making a decision. Several contrasts are mentioned which relate to people's understanding of the hearing as a *kot* or something else — whether it is private (inside the small thatched courthouse within the sing-sing ground) or 'outside' (in the *pena*, or cleared ground near the courthouse, cf. e.g. 1513); who may talk (people are admonished to be silent and observe court procedure, 100-103, 818-821, but some parties are invited to speak), and so on.

This hearing was conducted in the area recognised as the venue of the local village court. This consists of a large cleared pena (*sing-sing or gathering ground*) off the nearby road (though four-wheel drive vehicles may pass, most of the traffic is on foot). The court area is within the territory of two Meam groups, Epola and Alya, close to the territories of other Meam groups. It is about 30 minutes' walk from the concentration of Kopia at the base of the Tambul Range at Kailge. The court has a Peace Officer, Clerk, and elected magistrates.

Though the area is set aside for village courts, often informal moots occur within the same area. As Scaglione (1979:128) found in the Maprik area, and Westermarck (1978:87) in Kainantu, usually the magistrates hear informal moots as well as village courts (cf. Warren 1976:22). In this area, the difference is captured in the expression *krus-kot* (literally *cross-court*, signifying *preliminary hearing*, where *krus* is used in the sense of *grievance*), which may then go on to enter the village court system proper. As in the areas described by Warren (1976) and Westermarck (1978), the Nebilyer people think in terms of the proportion: official Village Court is to unofficial dispute as 'inside' (i.e. inside the court house) is to 'outside'. Note Upuka Timiji's definition of the present proceeding as a *krus kot* at 1190.

The Village Courts Act of 1973 (No.12 of 1974) established these as venues which were intended to be an improvement on the older hierarchy of courts (Local-District-Supreme) in a number of ways. First, Village Courts were to be staffed by magistrates who would have a good understanding of local custom and practice, and so deal more equitably with matters largely outside the experience of conventionally-trained (and initially, largely expatriate) officials.

Second, in keeping with the perceived Melanesian ethos, its deliberations, theoretically informal and accepting or inviting a wide basis of participation, would emphasise mediation and compromise settlement, as opposed to sentences passed on the basis of fairly strict legal procedure:

The primary function of a Village Court is to ensure peace and harmony in the area for which it is established by mediating in and endeavouring to obtain just and amicable settlements of disputes. (Village Court Act, paragraph 16)

However, the court does have 'compulsive' jurisdiction, and is empowered to impose fines, award compensation or damages, and (loc. cit. Division 6) enforce its decision within the limits of its jurisdiction.

Scaglione (1979:127) found that:

... rather than providing a forum for settling traditional matters according to customary law as originally intended, the Village Court in its formal settings functions as a court of primary jurisdiction for matters involving introduced law and/or introduced problems.

This is not the case here; as M. Strathern (1972a,b) notes, marriage disputes have always been a large area of traditional dispute, though under present conditions they may be taken to a variety of agencies/offices for resolution. They were under the Local Court System often relegated to last place on the docket, since they were not criminal disputes.

Scaglione further notes: 'Such use of the Village Court is encouraged by Village Court magistrates, who attempt to Westernize both procedure and substance in the court' (ibid.). However, the courts operate on an 'informal level' as well:

'nearly 70% of all conflict cases arising in villages do not enter the formal introduced system in any way' (loc. cit. p.128).

Westermarck (1978:87) has found that:

Village Court officials perceive another forum beneath them. This forum is typically less legalistic than the Village Court; it takes place directly outside the court house or in the village; many more people are included in the discussion, both as participants and audience, than the few who meet inside the Village Court; the ideas and events introduced are much more loosely associated with the dispute under consideration.

However, these different types of courts typically involve the same personnel:

... defeated magistrates ceased handling both Village Courts and outside courts, and they were replaced in both forums by the victors ...

From the perspective of those who manage them, the two forums do not stand in opposition as official and unofficial courts. Rather, the two forums have been integrated by Village Court officials, and they serve to support each other. (loc. cit. p.88)

There is an absence of such a clear-cut distinction in the present case as well. But different outcomes (e.g. 'making a decision' versus reaching an agreement) are associated with different types of procedures (such as *bo ul* versus *kot*).

Sumuyl's father seeks to deflect claims upon himself for compensation by saying: she deceives me, you take her home and try her (1428, 1434-1435, 1437-1439). There is a general agreement that jailing Sumuyl would require a 'decision' in the court house. Gradually a consensus emerges that a jail sentence will be imposed (e.g., 1687), and compensation ought to be given by the Kopia to the Upuka (985-995, 1145-1204, 1293-1295, 1454-1456, 1586-1587, 1704). But throughout, the Upuka in particular and the magistrates at different points, argue that compensation, a *settlement* (*molupa kujuyi kupulanum*), should be arranged *first*, outside (1450, 1457, 1459, 1465-1467, 1513-1514, 1515, 1569-1570, 1571, 1589-1590, 1608-1610, 1655, 1678, 1680). If this does not happen, they fear compensation will not be given. In this regard, it is made clear that only an agreement to give compensation can be viewed as truly restoring the marriage (e.g., 1022, 1036-1044). The Upuka feel anger and resentment over Sumuyl's behaviour, and for this reason, it seems to be suggested, compensation should be one of the steps taken towards resolving the issue (1656-1674). Here, the type of procedure is not firmly established in advance. Instead, the outcome, as it gradually develops, may retroactively help to determine what kind of procedure has been conducted. This particular hearing, for example, does not become unambiguously a Village Court until all the evidence has been heard, and the court officials go into the courthouse to decide on a verdict, even while urging the disputants to stay on and settle the matter 'outside'.

The role of agnatic groups

As mentioned above, the relations between the Kopia (Sumuyl's natal group) and the Upuka have been more or less hostile in the past, the Kopia variously allied with other *ku waru* and Tambul-side tribes and the Upuka with the Ulka

and other Meam tribes of the central Nebilyer Valley. Although those hostilities had been dormant for six years at the time of this dispute, relations between the two groups remained guarded. Given the way in which disputes develop into matters for inter-tribal warfare and/or compensation in this area, it is likely that some or all of the parties to this dispute were mindful of the possibility of that happening here. This theme is taken up – albeit somewhat obliquely – in an opening speech by Upuka Su³. He likens 'woman trouble' to 'land trouble' and speaks of the strong feelings which are aroused by matters relating to human reproduction (45-48). At 40 Upuka Su points out that several other Kopia women are married to Upuka men and suggests that this has implications for the present case. This theme is taken up by Kubuka Unya at 483-486. Another magistrate, Numje (whose tribe had recently fought against an alliance which included Kopia) closes his first speech of the day by invoking an ideal of impartiality, referring explicitly (for the first time) to *Kulyur* (synonymous with *ku waru*) and Upuka, and saying that people from either side will be given an equal hearing, or penalised if they do not conduct themselves in an orderly way (146-153).

Given that such an admonition was thought to be warranted at the outset of these proceedings, it is interesting to note the way in which the issue of the role of agnatic groups in this case is subsequently 'managed'. At various points in the dispute, parties to it are referred to as Kopia (or *Kulyur*) and Upuka⁴. One of the matters which is under dispute is the extent to which other Kopia-Kubuka are culpable for Sumuyl's actions. The Upuka generally agree that the Kopia are culpable, for not keeping closer tabs on Sumuyl when she was living with them (e.g., 1167-1169, 1184-1188). No one suggests that the Kopia should have refused to let Sumuyl come back to them⁵, but several speakers do fault the Kopia for not watching over Sumuyl more carefully in order to guard her husband's right of exclusive sexual access to her, which is entailed in their receipt of bridewealth for her. At least one speaker (Upuka Temal at 978-984) even suggests that they incited her to prostitute herself for their own material benefit. Kopia-Kubuka speakers disavow their responsibility for her, pointing out that she has been married for a long time, and has produced three children who have Upuka 'grease' (1619), the implication being that it's up to the Upuka to look after her rather than the Kopia-Kubuka. Sumuyl's father is able to make what one observer (privately) called a *kodu ung* (*speech to gain sympathy*), saying he looked after the children when she was married to an Upuka (775-783). It is never claimed or even suggested at the hearing that Sumuyl might be acting as the agent of the Kopia in some kind of plot against the Upuka in general. This is noteworthy in view of the fact that women in this area of the highlands are regularly accused of such things. This is the darker side of their otherwise positively valued 'in-between' status as points of contact and links for exchange among agnatic groups (M. Strathern, 1972b). Strathern (*ibid.*, 1972a, ms) and Goldman (1983) have shown that one of the main points of many disputes seems to be to determine the extent and nature of the significance of domestic conflicts for relations among agnatic groups, and, if possible, to neutralise their potentially disruptive effects upon those relations.

To the extent that this dispute works that way, it does so partly by default. That is, by concentrating their attention on the question of whether or to what extent the Kopia-Kubuka are guilty of mere negligence, parties on all sides of the dispute have implicitly colluded in pushing aside the question of corporate ill-will as a non-issue.

Interestingly, one of the magistrates — who is from a group which is neutral with respect to this issue — does allude to the 'typical' relevance of such issues. Puyl (631-632), in an apparent attempt to soften the witness (Sumuyl) says to her:

'we're not after you (as if) you poisoned someone,
'father', or killed someone, we're not putting you outside
in the sun, not that ...'

On the face of it, Puyl seems to be bringing up the subject of poisoning here merely as an example of an offence which is much more serious than that of which Sumuyl is accused, so as to convince her that, by comparison to a case involving an offence of that kind, this one affords ample room for leniency if she will cooperate by naming the adulterer.

But there is probably more to it than that. Among the class of offences more serious than adultery, why should Puyl mention poisoning in particular in this context?⁶

Among the Nebilyer people, as among the neighbouring Melpa (M. Strathern 1972b: 72, 174 ff.), poisoning is the prototypical form of subversion of which 'women in between' are accused. In mentioning it as a crime of which Sumuyl is *not* being accused, Puyl can be taken as down-playing not only the seriousness of her offence, but the extent of its relevance for intergroup relations.

Instead of the case being defined as having negative implications for intergroup relations, speakers at various places describe all of the agnatic groups as joint victims of Sumuyl's deception, and united by bonds of affinity, friendship and shared activity (e.g., 1573-1580, 1639, 1680-1683, 1698). This point is also made in the hearing by Kopia and Kubuka use of affinal terms for the Upuka (e.g., 485, 1019, 1136, 1142, 1680, 1684), a usage which the Upuka at the hearing pointedly decline to reciprocate. Compare also 1217-1218, where one of the Upuka renounces a reciprocal 'food name' relationship (for details see A.J. Strathern 1977) which he had had with Sumuyl.

Conception beliefs

Of Hagen beliefs concerning conception, A.M. Strathern (1972b:42) says:

Several acts of intercourse are thought necessary to conceive and then mould a foetus, and even where a wife has been adulterous it is assumed that her husband alone has had frequent enough sexual relations with her to cause a successful pregnancy. It is from the mother's womb blood (mema) and the father's semen (kopong) that the child is formed. In reference to the procreative substance, the term kopong ('grease') may be used for both; if the emphasis is on the general physical ties between child and parent (either parent) the link is said to be one of 'blood', mema.

Some of the speakers' remarks show that they consider many more acts than 'several' necessary. At 448-449, 1592-1593 it is emphatically said that even six times would not be sufficient, much less the three times later claimed for the boy. The women asked for her opinion says that six times is not enough, but in two or three months a child will be formed (618-622). An observing

(unidentified) Upuka remarks that after just a few times *weyai telym it dissolves* (250) — that is, the blood will not clot sufficiently because not enough semen has been applied to it.

These physical details go along with the view that conceiving children is really hard work. At 750-753, Upuka Temal remarks sarcastically — partly with intent to shame through humour — that if people could conceive children in three tries — as pigs can — the place would be full up with people.

Obviously, nobody accepts Sumuyl's story that the child is her husband's. Nor do they accept her defence that conceiving her second and third children took progressively less time than the first (650-652). Sumuyl's account makes clear that her husband disputed that they had copulated sufficiently to form their boy child (653, 670-690, see also Upuka Poya's expression of doubt about the boy at 701-709).

Why is the question of the child's paternity and number of times of intercourse so important? And in what way do the participants think the doctor's evidence can contribute to the case?

It appears throughout the hearing that the real goal of the Upuka is understood by others to be the return of Sumuyl (e.g., 798-802). It is clear that they will negotiate on the issue of the child's paternity: compensation would satisfy them. The pursuit of the question of the child's paternity is part of the larger Upuka attempt to get Sumuyl back. They clearly have a consensus that Sumuyl is in the wrong. But it is not clear that this consensus alone is sufficient to move the magistrates to take an authoritative decision in their favour.

By repeatedly questioning Sumuyl on the particulars of her children's conception (565 et passim), the magistrates hope to shake her story, get her to admit the father is another man, and to name that man. As Magistrate Puyl remarks (507-513), if the father were discovered, he could be taken to court (see M. Strathern 1972b:42 'Adultery is a wrong for which the lover must compensate the husband'). This might provide a satisfactory resolution to the desire of the Upuka for compensation. But Sumuyl remains firm in her denials — and so the Upuka cannot seek compensation except from Sumuyl's family and tribe, which, it later becomes clear, they are unwilling to give (1096-1106).

The Upuka thought they had found a means of getting at the truth of the child's paternity by consulting a doctor. Upuka El gives at least one reason why they had decided to do this (189-192). Previous courts had been held, and the Kopia side had said 'She's an old woman' (i.e. has been married a long time) 'so why are you going to court?' He goes on to say that their own words and understanding may be doubted in court; 'They may say "How did you see this matter?"; and then the Upuka will be able to rely on the doctor's opinion. If they could prove Sumuyl is in the wrong, this would be a first step towards solidifying their claims for redress.

What did the Upuka want to know from the doctor? The court clerk reads the doctor's report (354-366), and subsequently the visit to the doctor is described in great detail, seemingly to add authority and authenticity to the story for the many court-observers who did not go along.

The gist of the doctor's report is that 'The woman is four or five (this varies) months pregnant' (*Sumuyl em i gat bel long foapela mun*); 'and so whoever was having intercourse within this time is the genitor' (*husat i stap wantaim meri inap faipela mun i go pinis, man ya givim bel long meri*).

In this account an ambiguity appears. Is the clerk reading an actual doctor's report? or interpreting it? We know from the account of the doctor's visit that the party first made contact with a local New Guinean *dokta*, who wrote out an admission slip for them (380-381). But the examination was apparently made by a European doctor. The doctor is reported to have said: *kalyeb faipela omba purum five months have elapsed*, i.e. Sumuyl is five months pregnant.

To the European way of thinking, these two statements could reflect quite different ways of understanding conception. The first might be taken to be consistent with the indigenous view, that conception is a process which requires repeated intercourse over time; the second might be taken as a more faithful version of what a European doctor might say, 'She's five months pregnant', from time of conception.

However, it becomes clear as the account of the doctor visit progresses that the party does not recognise two different views. They understood, and repeat, the doctor's remarks as supporting their own claim: the child cannot be Upuka Koya's because Sumuyl and Koya were not together enough for conception to have occurred. Kusika Yangan's further account of the doctor's words amounts to an explanation of conception consistent with the indigenous view ('the child's blood congeals inside, there's something like a hen's egg inside ... Then ... it grows, the hands and feet develop, they really do it a lot' etc., 425-430).

The doctor is reported to have taken an interest in the future of the court case (441-446) allegedly writing out papers so they may be used in court. And further on, the doctor is reported to have concurred in the view that Sumuyl is lying (448-451): 'Your husband over there did it (to you) six times, I feel you're lying, you practised some deceptions, if for five months a man and a woman really work hard at it, all right, then there's a big child there'.

An unidentified observer confirms that this is an exact account of what the doctor said (452).

We cannot know how the European doctor expressed himself. In any case, the Upuka party took everything he said as confirmation for their view of conception, equating what may have been 'five months pregnant' with their understanding that it can take several months to form a large child.

Later, Magistrate Puyl repeats this understanding of the doctor's words, and includes the doctor along with themselves as people who know Sumuyl is lying: 'No, in only six days, just in that time, you didn't conceive the child, no, do you hear?' (592-593). 'Men think about this, 'native' men understand about it, like the government, just like the doctor up there knew what he was talking about ...' (605-607).

But despite the fact that the doctor's authority is understood by everyone to come down on the Upuka side, the general conviction that Sumuyl is lying cannot stimulate decisive action. For what the Upuka ultimately want is Sumuyl, and compensation. To resolve the case they must find a sure-fire way of forcing her family and line to make her return. Upuka El attempts to establish the potential usefulness of the doctor's report (180-183), but from the first indicates his greater interest in a settlement (involving compensation): 'I am not here to have court ... I'm sitting here to hear what the relatives will say' (203-207). When the relatives are asked to speak, they do so not so much in positive defence of Sumuyl, as to show that they too have had to make sacrifices, looking after the couple's children (for which the husband should be responsible).

Deflecting Upuka Temal's witty and sarcastic remarks concerning whether Sumuyl's rapidity in producing children has been inherited in the blood from her parents (726-740), Poya the father emphasises the strength of attachment ('blood') which must be imputed to him for looking after the children (776). Anyhow, her father concludes, take her and 'court' her. But this will not achieve what the Upuka want. The doctor's report failed to shake Sumuyl's story, or to produce any new avenues of possible resolution.

The transcript shows that Sumuyl was on the defensive throughout the hearing. She was never asked, nor did she volunteer, her own opinions or feelings. This is because there was an agreed-upon sequence of earlier events – Sumuyl's homecoming from Upuka territory, her family's receipt of compensation, and her brief return to Upuka – which, everyone feels, put her in the wrong, leaving no room for her to express personal preferences.

Sumuyl had a very clear personal position: she wanted a divorce. She said this to FM several times in private conversation (but did not talk about the question of the unborn child's paternity). The time she set fire to her husband's house, took the children and left, she said there had been a whole series of annoyances, and failures on her husband's part to treat the children nicely and to give her money. She said privately she would do anything to achieve a divorce, and did not mind going to jail. Her parents knew her feelings, but were fearful that Sumuyl would be taken to court, and they would be liable for damages and compensation. Consequently they urged her to return to Upuka despite her own feelings – but they let her live with them since she was so utterly opposed to going back.

The questions at the hearing were so structured that Sumuyl had two choices, either to admit adultery, or not to be believed. When she refused to do the former, the Upuka hope of getting a decision by a clear-cut moral victory disappeared. Two possible outcomes were discussed: jail for Sumuyl, and/or compensation to be paid to the Upuka. Though Sumuyl would have urged on her family acceptance of a settlement which would include divorce (even if it meant paying compensation), this was never suggested by the Upuka. They took the offensive on this issue, stating that whatever else happened, they would retain Sumuyl (1331, 1385-1387, and especially Waria's speech at 1701-1709).

We may ask: what were the factors that determined the course of the hearing as outlined, the limitation of issues so that divorce was never posed as a real option?

In short, though many of the matters discussed were personal, even embarrassing, the court itself never posed questions regarding the 'personal' feelings of husband and wife. Husband's side held a clear position of moral superiority which meant that they could try to ignore underlying causes of Sumuyl's discontent. Nevertheless, the outcome shows that they could never overcome the problem of her (here, tacit) resistance to continuing the marriage. (See A.M. Strathern 1972b:239 on the interpretation of divorce as female hostility to male interests).

We might wonder at the failure to come to grips with underlying personal feelings and motives, especially as A.M. Strathern (1972a:20) has identified the emphasis frequently found in Hagen disputes upon finding the pukl *root*, *cause*, *base* of trouble, and aki *digging it out*.

'In searching for the root of talk, people were concerned to trace the reasons that underlay action, and thus had a wide frame of reference ... Talk revealed a disputant's attitudes and feelings, both as they were at the time of the offence, and as they had become in prospect of a settlement ...'

Further, Strathern (loc. cit.:21) remarks that emphasis on 'digging out the talk' develops from the expectation that disputants will 'dissemble, bring out only half the truth, obscure issues and twist facts, and in short 'trick' those trying to get to the root of the matter'. Given these expectations, the 'ideal confrontation led at some point to an admission or confession' (loc. cit.:22).

While the magistrates certainly hoped to get a confession from Sumuyl, they did not try to get at the cause of the trouble. Questions of this kind, they probably knew from hearing talk, would lead to unwanted publicity of Sumuyl's real state of mind. So even though some of her previous acts (such as burning the house down) are mentioned, there is no public inquiry into why this happened. Sumuyl's own defensive answers reveal that she, too, was deliberately avoiding being provocative; so that she conspired in the failure to 'dig out' the *pukl* of the case (e.g., 689-690). Why?

A number of reasons suggest themselves from the transcript: the implications for intergroup relations, the problems she would create for her parents, etc. Especially the latter was probably uppermost in her mind. But the basis of the Upuka moral superiority lies partly in the deficit created by their having given compensation to the Kopias, with expectations that Sumuyl has not lived up to. What is the relation between the Upuka giving compensation, and the resulting difficulty of Sumuyl's expressing a 'personal' opinion?

In a bridewealth society like that of Mt Hagen, the payment of goods for a wife in theory makes claims upon her moral commitment to her husband, his family and her new situation. Bridewealth itself generally must be amassed by a wider network of the husband's family, including, significantly, members of the husband's group (e.g., clan) (see A.M. Strathern 1972b:116, also Appendix XVI, which demonstrate the preponderance of contributions from the man's group in this northern Melpa area). Groups assume importance in the amassing of bridewealth and any subsequent negotiations so that, as A.M. Strathern (1972b) has made clear, women are seen as interstitial between groups, her husband's and her own natal one. On the other hand, women are recognised as having independent *numan will, disposition*. There is always a possibility that women will opt for the dissolution of a marriage or in other ways threaten marriage arrangements. In the Preface to *Women in between*, Strathern cites a case of the 'good wife', who repudiated her own kinsmen's efforts to get her to leave her husband on account of their dissatisfaction with the bridewealth. The compliance of women can by no means be assumed; and as we see in the present case, even though suppressed in a public forum the wife's privately-held preferences can make resolution of marital disputes difficult or impossible.

The hearing could have attempted to sound out Sumuyl's *numan*. Probably some of the magistrates knew her feelings already. But she was a long-married woman, who had already produced children, and whose loss could probably not be recouped sufficiently for the husband to acquire another wife. Each person who had formerly helped the husband with bridewealth would be unable to recoup his losses. Sumuyl's family was unwilling to pay any large amount of compensation or to return bridewealth. A.M. Strathern (1974) shows that the *ideal* of 'digging out the talk' is often undercut in practice. Similarly, this is a case where woman's troublesome *numan* has negative implications for conduct of politics in the male-dominated political arena; and so no opportunity is given for addressing of personal issues. In this situation, all participants in the court prefer to rely upon the most unqualified and simplest interpretation of the compensation payment accepted by her family: that it commits her and them to a restoration of the marriage.

The symbolism of exchange (using the term broadly to include any sort of compensation, damage etc.) has potentially a very simple two-way interpretation: if accepted the gift is understood to establish or restore a relationship of a particular kind, and if rejected not to do so. But in practice the choice is hardly binary. The state of a relationship becomes a function of the state of play in exchange of material items, subject to many more interpretations than simply either/or.

Much has been written on the special characteristics of material items as tokens in exchange systems:

Items of exchange, as elements of discourse, have the advantage of tangibility. Unlike words, they cannot be easily qualified, contradicted or disavowed. Relationships established and maintained through conversation are open-ended. They can develop in any number of ways, many often threatening to the status quo. Exchanges, on the other hand, can only be accepted or refused. If accepted, the terms of the relationship remain substantially the same. If rejected, the relationship as presently defined is terminated. (Gewertz 1984:211)

Gewertz goes on to make one qualification of this:

For all their tangibility, items of exchange are characterized by a special ambiguity. There is always the possibility of their being wilfully shorn of meaning. (ibid.)

We think this passage exemplifies the possibility of our being lulled by the supposedly solid and unquestionable tangibility of valuables. In Melanesian exchange systems, wealth objects are understood as establishing relationships and commitments, the state of each qualified by and varying with the state of play in exchange. If material objects were fully equivalent to relationships, the interpretation of the latter would be simple and untroubled. But objects become problematic even as they are understood to stand for and to create relationships (or aspects of them). Their transfer creates expectations which highlight the distance between the material exchanges, and the systems of relationships they are supposed to sustain.

In on-going work on Nebilyer materials, we elaborate the view that many features associated with Highlands exchange systems – the reflexivity of talk, the very volume of talk about exchange, its significance and the transfers of particular items – are related to the problematic of the public encoding of social relationships in a semantically-limited system of material exchanges.

The difference between the objects exchanged and the marriage relationship supposedly sustained by it is denied in the present case, probably because all realise how difficult the situation would become if attention were focussed on particulars of the marriage relationship itself, rather than the exchanges which symbolise and publicly sustain its existence.

Conclusion

To conclude, we will discuss the dispute's outcome with respect to its two main areas of explicit contention, and compare this with its 'outcome' in some areas where there was no explicit debate.

The main debated issues were:

- A) By whom was Sumuyl pregnant and what should be done about it?
- B) Should the magistrates try to settle the matter by treating the hearing as a 'full court' and passing sentence on Sumuyl, or could it be settled out of court by an agreement to pay compensation?

With respect to the second issue, the hearing was brought to a close by being treated as a 'full court' case against Sumuyl. During the approximately two hours over which the matter was discussed 'outside' on the pena, there was no discernible movement toward a consensus in favour of treating the matter in this way, nor was there any single moment in the proceedings at which the question of *bo ul* vs. *ful kot* was explicitly decided. Rather, at a certain stage in the proceedings (around 1390), certain of the magistrates start 'tuning out' and shifting toward the courthouse, as if about to go inside and discuss a verdict. At that point, Magistrate Numje makes a speech (1391-1419) admonishing the disputants to settle out of court by compensation. Magistrate Kujilyi shortly thereafter says that the magistrates should not try to decide the matter at the present stage of play because not enough has been heard from Sumuyl's family (1478). The magistrates who have already shifted towards the courthouse keep suggesting to each other that they should go in, and at the same time they say the relatives should reach agreement outside. By the end of the recorded proceedings, Kujilyi and at least one other magistrate (Unya), and the village court clerk and peace officers remain outside. There are more speeches, mainly by Upuka, who become more evidently cross at the prospect of the matter being adjudicated by the magistrates. There are comments such as 'I'm here saying no! who will go in the house? no!' (Upuka E1, 1571). The Upuka make a last-ditch attempt to shame the Kopia-Kubuka into settling the matter out of court by a promise of compensation, saying things like 'Is she just going to drain a boil?' (Upuka E1, 1449), i.e., no, she's pregnant. But one by one, the magistrates and other officials leave the pena and go into the court room. Twenty-six minutes after the first move by a magistrate towards the courthouse, magistrate Unya goes in, accompanied by a peace officer who carries the court record books in. At this point the speeches in the pena cease. After discussion among the magistrates in the courthouse, a verdict is announced: Sumuyl must pay a fine of 300 kina (currently about US\$325, well above the annual cash income of most *ku waru* households) or go to jail.

There is a general recognition by Kopia-Kubuka and Upuka alike that, in ending this particular hearing by treating it as a full court and passing sentence on Sumuyl, the magistrates have not thereby settled the dispute, or removed it from the sphere of *bo ul-ma customary matters*. For their part, the Upuka make this abundantly clear in their final speeches against the magistrates going into the courthouse. Even as they are about to go into the courthouse, at least two of the magistrates themselves say or imply that they are powerless to settle the matter, and encourage the disputants to stay and negotiate compensation outside while the magistrates discuss the matter inside. When the sentence is finally announced, this is taken, not as a settlement of the dispute, but as attesting to a failure to settle it.

With respect to the other main issue under dispute (A above), the only matter which seems to have been firmly settled is that Sumuyl was pregnant by someone other than her husband. She herself is the only speaker who explicitly contests this, and her position is generally treated with ridicule or scorn. But no evidence is brought forward as to who else the genitor might be, and if

there was an adulterer, Sumuyl steadfastly refused to do him in. This lacuna in the Upuka case really precluded any final disposition of the matter, at least until the child was born, at which time the identity of the father might become evident.⁷

The issue of what should be done about Sumuyl's adultery involves a subsidiary question: to what extent are other Kopia-Kubuka culpable for Sumuyl's actions? As we have seen above, this question is debated extensively, but not resolved, partly for lack of evidence about who the adulterer is.

Thus, neither issue A nor B was satisfactorily resolved. With respect to those issues, its outcome can only be described as a deadlock.

Now let us consider what the dispute accomplished with respect to some matters which were not explicitly debated.

- 1) It established a public consensus among Upuka and Kopia-Kubuka alike (except for Sumuyl) that Sumuyl was an adulteress, pregnant by a man other than Koya.⁸
- 2) It upheld the indigenous theory of procreation in the face of possibly valid counter-evidence posed by Sumuyl's account of her pregnancy. In doing so, it managed to draw support for that theory from western medicine, which we might expect to have posed a threat to it. A western doctor was successfully assimilated to the same class of knowledgeable men exemplified by the senior Upuka and village magistrates in their ability to see through Sumuyl's 'story'.
- 3) It limited the field of conceivable outcomes to imprisonment, fine, or compensation and excluded the outcome which Sumuyl privately wanted: divorce.
- 4) It undercut any inferences that might be drawn from Sumuyl's behaviour about inter-group relations, and effectively isolated her as a *suku molym ab woman in between*.

If we now compare the dispute's 'outcome' with respect to 1-4 vs. A and B, it seems clear that most of what was accomplished by this two and a half hours of talk lay in the realm of tacit 'understandings' about matters which were not explicitly contended. To conclude this is by no means to downplay the importance of these proceedings for Nebilyer social life. For although matters 1-4 were not explicitly contended, all were potentially explosive. Indeed 4 was probably deemed by most people present to be of far greater importance than A or B. By managing these potential issues in such a way as render them non-issues, the disputants disposed of them more effectively than they could have done by overt deliberation, and achieved a result which was probably of greater significance than their failure to settle those issues which were explicitly contended.

NOTES

¹Throughout this discussion, we use the word 'tribe' to mean 'named segmentary unit not included within any other', a usage established for this region (for German *Stamm*) by the writings of Vicedom and Tischner and followed by the Stratherns. Because the size of this maximal named unit varies greatly even within small areas, one should assume nothing about the structural or functional comparability of various groups referred to by this term.

- ²This and some other personal names have been changed to avoid possible embarrassment to principal parties in the dispute. Most of the magistrates' and other male speakers' real names have been used, because they have been quite explicit about their wanting those names to 'go up' to a wider public.
- ³It is perhaps relevant to note that this man was involved as one of the principals in a series of altercations which brought the Upuka and Kopia close to open warfare in 1977.
- ⁴Across a wide range of speech situations, personal names in this area are frequently compounded with agnatic group names, Kopia Noma, Upuka Temal, etc. (cf. A.J. Strathern 1971:15).
- ⁵Compare A.M. Strathern ms. where the Hageners are contrasted with the Wiru in this respect.
- ⁶It is perhaps relevant to note here that this magistrate had himself been accused of collaborating in an attempt at indiscriminate poisoning of Kopia-Kubuka people. This happened shortly after a war between the Kopia-Kubuka and his wife's tribe-pair, the Tea-Dena. In the wake of this accusation, Puyl's house — near the border of Kopia-Kubuka territory — was burned down and his gardens destroyed. He was still living in exile at the time of this dispute.
- ⁷Sumuyl gave birth after we left the field in 1983. On a return trip to Kailge in 1986, Alan Rumsey found out from her that during a visit to a nearby hospital, she had asked the doctor to take a blood specimen from the baby boy in order to establish his paternity. She then challenged her husband to go and have his blood compared with the child's. He refused. She thereupon sued him for making a false allegation, and was awarded one hundred kina. Later her husband died, after which she returned to live with his tribe.
- ⁸It is perhaps not quite true to say that this issue was not explicitly debated, since Sumuyl alone did oppose the consensus. But rather than counter-argument, the response to her claims was more like harrassment, intended to humiliate her into revealing the identity of the presumed adulterer.

DISPUTE TRANSCRIPT (verbatim, with interlinear English translation)

Date: November 3, 1983

Location: outside of the village courthouse at Palmung, Nebilyer Valley, Western Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea

Participants, in order of first appearance (each identified — as per local usage — by 'tribe' name, title in case of magistrates, sex 'AB' in case of women, and personal name):

UPUKA SU
 MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI
 LALKA WAK (the court clerk)
 DENA MAGISTRATE NUMJE
 ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL
 UPUKA EL
 KUBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA
 KUSIKA YANGAN
 KOPIA AB SUMUYL (the defendant)

LALKUWU AB SURUB
 UPUKA TEMAL
 TEA KUPALI
 KOPIA PAYO (the defendant's father)
 UPUKA POYA (the defendant's husband)
 EPOLA PUP
 KOPIA NOMA
 UPUKA TIMIJI
 ULKUPUKA TAIM
 UPUKA? WARIA
 KOBUKA KOMI

Transcription conventions:

- 1) unidentified speakers are shown by a question mark at the left margin, i.e., ?:
- 2) gaps in the transcript are shown by parentheses, with explanations enclosed, e.g. (many voices)
- 3) explanatory comments or interpolations are enclosed by square brackets, e.g. 'up and down' [*i.e. furiously*] (from line 430).

- UPUKA SU:
 1. ilyi ya kalyeb kari nyikin ilyi, mol
 'you say a few months, but no

 nu kalyeb kubilepa
 it's more than that

 yi kopong payl tekin adakun telyno
 you go around fornicating with a young fellow'

 i nyiba nyim
 that's what he said
- ?:
 5. kot nai tekim?
 who's having court?
- UPUKA SU:
 eh, stori, i tep ilyi-nga i tepa nyim ilyi-nga ilyi pe olyo-nga
 kudanga nyiba modukum
 that's the story he told, he said this and he's talking about us

 i numan-te pilyipa um ilyi-nga
 that's what he thought when he came
- MIDIPIU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
 yabu-te kum ted sipiyl kot-na manya modukun disisin tekn
 let one person hear it in the court, you talk softly and make a
 decision

 ul ilyi yabu welsi yabu pilyipa mepa pum-kin, ol tru, ol wokim tru,
 that person hearing it and taking it around to the people outside
 [they will say] 'they really are doing it right'
- UPUKA SU:
 10. ung kalyayl meri obo ung-nga te kalyayl pilyip udu-kiyl
 I came to hear a traditional-style talk like that over there

MIDIPIU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

pe altepa lo mel-kin nu oba sekap tim-kin, yabu te pilyipa koni teba yabayl
the law will come and check up on you, somebody who understands will straighten it out

UPUKA SU:

kang, na-nga ing-iyi kolum naa telymeli
boy, nobody cuts off my words

Ulka Oropa-men lu-n tobu kaniyi pilykin-i?

I kill people with an axe like Ulka Oropa, did you know that?

(laughter)

MIDIPIU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

yabu akiyi pilyipa koni tepa pepa puba nyiylo mola
those people hearing it and straightening it out and staying, or ...?
[i.e. when Su wants to kill them]

15. kot-na yabu pipilyika mola-molangi-na angina i tek nyilkunayl
[as] people in court, you should say this in public

sika sika mel i nyin
what you said is right

UPUKA SU:

ilyi ekepu-nga tobulup nyimulayl
we'll discuss this now

olyo kotayl meri yi-ke pena wangi-na temulu
let all the court men come out and we'll hold court

kotayl ekepu temulayl ya
we're going to hold court now

20. eni-n ekepu pilyai
you all listen

MIDIPIU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

barata, na aku nyikir nyik pilyini?
brother, you think I'm saying this?

ilyi kot awilyi ya pena teangi
let them have this big court outside

ya ful kot pena teangi matres-ma pena ongi tekimil
let them hold a full court outside, the magistrates are about to come out

i nyibu tekir-a
that's what I want to say

25. yabu pilyimulu nabolka ung nedu sik nedu sik kum sing
we'll hear whatever the people say to each other, they'll listen

akin disisin manya pupa puba meri yabu pipilyika pilyik tengi
and the decision will be publicised and the people will hear

meri reti akin mel kapola peba
like Radio Hagen, it will be right [i.e., certain, not rumour]

- aki sika-sika-ko nyik mek pungi
that way they will tell the truth around
- ya nyikin-iyi sika nyimulu
what you say we'll talk properly
30. akiyl-nga lyik apra-nsikin
you're forgetting about this
- ung manya nyangi nyikin tekin akiyl
you say let them talk softly
- ung pilyi-kayi naa tengi, i nyikir-kiyl
they won't understand it properly, I say
- UPUKA SU:
 i tepa pekim-ily, pilyip pilyip kayi teamiyi
that's how it is, let's hear it properly
- uj kep mu kudanga pul kudanga naa pulym-kin
when the firewood won't split from the top or the bottom [sic]
35. mu kudanga palyimulu kanumel
we split it from the top, like that
- numan senis tep pilyi kayi tep olyo ab lyirimul yi kam-kam yi-ka-ko
*we'll change our minds and understand it properly, we took [your]
 woman, the close relatives*
- nyib ekepu ya kubukiyl ing ola modulka, ung mura-mel tekimil-ko
we're talking and the Kubuka [Unya] spoke up, they're arguing too
- eni ab siring yi kam-kam yi-ka-ko molyimelayl
you who gave the woman and who are her close relatives, you're here
- ab suku namel-na monsip i tep tobulup nyikimulayl
we'll put the woman in the middle and discuss this
40. olyo-nga oib sikis-pela sika suku naa pulka-ja
*if our six penes didn't go inside [i.e. six Upuka men have Kopia
 wives]*
- pe olyo-nga numan kudanga pe nabolka ul temulu?
then what will we think about that?
- akiyl wi no Trul pengi kudanga kabi-lyik-na
'Up there at head of the river Trul where you cross it
- meri pera-top peaba no-n lyipiyl nyirim adu-mel
*I'm going to lie down across it and let the water take me', he said,
 like that*
- olyo aku temulu mola mola tek tengi mel-nar?
will we do like that or what will they do?
45. ya kolya-na mong pekim-ilyi abu-nga mong pekim
trouble brewing in this place, there's woman trouble
- pe mai-nga mong pekim-mel lkupandi moluyi
like when there's land trouble, it stinks
- yabu kalupa-lyiyi ul-ilyi-nga i tepa kupi-kapi pelym ul ilyi-nga
people reproducing, about this there's anger, about this

mai-yabu-nulyiyi
the ground which eats people

i tepa pelym ekepu nyib nyib ilyi-nga disisin temulu tekimul
*that's how it is, now talking and talking about this, we're about to
 make a decision*

50. kapola mol nyiba ola-manya tep adakumola
if he says no we'll argue furiously

wilyi-nga pulkomela pulkomela
this could go on and on

kuduyl-kin ung te-ko nyikimil
Europeans talk in a different way

pe kam-kam nyikimil ilyi naa kolum-da
if they talk forever and it isn't resolved

pe aima kuduyl kare-ko molymeli-na pumulu-mel leba
we will go to where some Europeans are

55. abayl midi ya kang-abola mim-kin pora nyim-kin pilyamiyl nyib tekimul
when the woman has the child we'll hear people talking about it

ilyi ya, i tep ilyi-nga mol pe ekepu adi-d eni-n mare pilyiku pilyiku
 molku nyai
now, not like that, you people think about this and talk about it

olyo-nga ing kalya-ko pora nyim-iyi
our talk is finished

olyo takan ob mongayl kanap molkumul ilyi-nga
we have come and we'll watch quietly

ekepu eni-n pilyik pilyik molkumul kansil ing nyikim kalya-mel
*now you (pl.) are listening and the councillor [Midipu Kuyilyi] is
 talking thus*

60. mola kot teamiyl nyin-da i kapola-ko
if you say let's have court that's o.k. too

mola temal-tiyi palupiyl
or let precedent sort it out

mola mola bo ing nyamiyl nyi-pilyin-da aku kapola-ko
or if you think 'let's talk in the traditional way' that's o.k.

ekepu olyo ing-te naa nyimulu
now we won't say anything

ya kalapura-ni akurum
the freeze has already come [i.e. the damage has been done]

65. abu-te na kiku-na pensikin tun-kep
a woman, even if you put me in the ashes [i.e. treat me badly]

kayi-na pensik tun-kep
or put me in a good place [treat me well]

abu kayiyl wilyi lelym-ilyi kalya mol
is that a good woman over there? no way

na akum-iyi akuna kep peaba tatau au-jikin tui
it made me move, so let me sleep in the mud, decorate me, kill me

i nyiba nyirim kanumel
that's what he said

70. olyo-nga ing nyimulu ung kalya-ka kor pora nyirim
we've already finished saying what we want to say about that
 yabu moluyi-na ing nyib adumul kalyayi ekepu naa nyimulu
we went around talking in public, so now we won't talk
 ya eni-nga kerime-n kanumulu iyip ka samiyl nyingi-da papu
we'll watch your mouths and if you say jail her, good

iyip ka samiyl kuduyl-in ka sai nyiba-e?
let's jail her, will the European [court] say let's jail her?

abayl nunu-nga rong te mol nyikimayl
the woman says she did nothing wrong

75. mol nyib nyib weyai tensamiyl nying-lum kapola
if you say let's give it up, o.k.

ilyi ya kapola eni ab yabu-kin nyaing kanamiyl
let's try letting the woman's people talk

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

ilyi pora meri kot-ayi nabolka ul tekimil?
this is finished, what's that court about?

kalyalya wisnes mek ung-kin nying-kiyl
if they said they've brought a witness

ya pena ok ing-iyi pilyangi ung
this is the talk you've got to come out and listen to

80. ya walsung ilyi-nga, i tepa naa pelymayl
they asked him about it, there's no such thing

LALKA WAK:

Kujilyi ung mim telym nyilymeli kaniyl ya tilupu-na moly
you people say Kujilyi 'makes up' things, but now he's here [so you can see what happens]

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

ya kot keli mel tensa
have a small court

ya olyo-nga kot kalyama lipiyi kelkomela
let our court go, we leave it

ya pe kot awilyi melayl pilyip eni ung nyib pora-nsip pena omulu
 tekimulayl-nga
we think this is a big court, when we've finishing talking with you and are about to come out

85. meri na nyikir kalya-na pena okum-kiyl
he's coming out, just as I'm talking

kanga ...
 boy ...

(tape off and on again)

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI (ct'd):

Keap-ayl-kin meri ilyi-nga molku

sitting down there with the kiap [i.e., magistrate]

i tek molku tengi mel i nyikir-ayl ilyi-nga meri ok suku pai

they're about to sit there I'm saying, come and go inside

LALKA WAK:

aki tep pe eni yi kari matres maku tok

when we've done that, and some of you men, magistrates, have gathered

90. *ung witnis mola kot witnis mola nai nyiba aki nyimolu-akin*
we will say who will talk or give evidence

kapola midi kot tingl akiyl yabu nabeli kubilek

o.k., which two will be first

pe medi nai ung sekan molupa nyiba

and who will wait and talk second after that

aku medipulu nyikimul ya we namu ung topa suk-suk mol

we're talking only like that, without gratuitous interruptions

ilyi ekepu kot ful kot tep temulu tekimul

this is a full court we're about to hold

95. MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
ful kot-ayl, yabu akuma ekepu kot baim tengi
a full court, how those people will have to pay a fine
- naa ting-lum sas-im*
if they don't [we'll] charge them

?:

eni-o

you (pl.)

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

em i no bisnis bilong yu

it's not your business

LALKA WAK:

pe kot te-molku pe aku-na ilyi kot eria-na medipulu molymolu-kiyl

we're right in the court area

100. *we namu naa molymulu-kiyl*
we're not just sitting here for nothing

eni ung-te lupa nyik

if you people talk about something else

oi tengi mol[a?] ul tengayl

or laugh or do anything

ilyi tok save mel sikimul-kiyl

this is just a warning we're giving you

eni pe nyiku-kin

when you are talking later

105. *ya ung ilyi-nga nyiltik puk poin tenga lupa nyik angansik*
if someone wants to make another point

- yi taltsi ung fait tengli mola aku tenglayl
or if sometime two men argue or do something like that
 sas te lupa medipulu lelym-kiyl
there's another charge for that
 ilyi nyib nyib kum lemdu ilyi kapola
we've talked about this and decided, so that's enough
 i tep nyimulayl mare kabilyik ting-lum yi akiyli-koyl kam kam nyani
we'll talk like that and if anybody hides anything, you must tell everything
110. ilyi lawa tekim, na pilyikir-ayl
he's making a mistake, I know
 nu lawa tekin, ung tok suk-suk ting ilyi nu sas lyini, ilyi pilyikin
you're doing wrong, they interrupt, you'll get charged, you understand
 aki teamiyl
let's do like that
 ?:
 eni yi mare
some of you men
 MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
 i kapola nyikim, ya
what he says is right, here
 DENA MAGISTRATE NUMJE:
 115. lapa nyani nyiba nyikir, na ung naa nyimbu ...
father, you talk, I say he'll talk, I won't say anything ...
 ya ul ilyi pilyikin-i mol ...
do you understand this matter?
 (unclear for a few seconds)
 luburup tep tekimul
we're repeating
 ola kubilya-na elti-li topa lipiyl
on your face there won't be a smile
 apulu su-kin kana-kelip ud
I was sick but I came
120. ilyi eni yi ola angalyik mel suku ilyi-nga mel nyikimil ilyi
here, you men are standing up and talking in public ['middle']
 meri lku-suku nyilkumela
we should talk in the house
 ung iyl pe eni ya ilyi-nga pena nyikimil kanakur-ayl
but I see you're talking here outside
 pe nyik-kin nying pe eni-nga nyikimil ilyi mel kot tingli
you talked, they two will listen and have court
 yabu-sil ung akiyl-nga pilyik eni nyai nyikir-o
you'll hear what they say, and you talk, I say

125. ung mare pilyik kelku ung mare pilyi-lensik
if there's something left to say, if you think of anything else to say
- ung ausipa naa nyai nyikir-o
don't talk too long, I say
- ilyi ya ab kimul ul kit tek
our sisters fornicating
- ab anum tok
our mothers swiving
- ul aku-mel tekimul kalyayl-nga tep
we do such things as that
130. ekepu midi mai abiyl abiyl oba-kn
and now holding the ground
- aima ul-te eni yi-ma ya pilyik kanak teangi nyiba
you men listen and look
- ul kaniyl olyo ul ilyi mel timul nyik
like that, saying we did something like that
- ki lyip ul-te kep i tep
shaking hands or something like that
- kubikeri kanap lyip ul i-te naa-tep
looking each other in the face and not doing like that
135. we ilyi-nga pe ya gabman-nga ul-ilyi-nga
just about government/lawful matters
- nyib ob-kin nyib ya ilyi-nga ob kotayl tep molkur-ilyi
saying I come, saying thus I come and am here hearing court
- ekepu na-nga yi kalya-sil meri lkusuku kot
now, my two men over there in the courthouse
- Dena Temda Opa-sil kot tekibil ilyi
Dena Temda and Opa are having court here
- tekul, tekul nyikibil-kin
they're having court
140. alte meri elti-ti lku-suku meri elti-ti nyikibil
they two are vying with each other over there in the courthouse
- ung ilyi-nga kalyayl ku foti kina sikibil kalyayl
and something like this, maybe they pay forty kina
- ekepu lim-lum singli
if it's available they'll give it
- naa lim-lum ka-lku-na pungli, naa singli
if it's not they'll go to jail, they won't give it
- kongun tude-kn ka simulu ilyi medipulu molymeli
on Tuesday we'll jail them, they're here for this
145. i tekimul ul ilyi-nga ya ilyi-nga altepa
we do like this, and moreover

- yi-te-n ing topa suku modum-kin
if any man interrupts
 ku moni kapu lekim, yi-te we nawu ka lyik mong lyik tengi
money's getting scarce, they'll jail people or make trouble
 ilyi-nga pilyik olyo-nga ku-lyur-ma kep
whether it's our ku waru people
 ya ne Upuka kang-kil nyikimil kep
or whether the Upuka boys talk
150. kamkam kodup nyikir-kiyl
I'm talking about everybody
 ab aki nyim yi-yl-kin kot tengli
that woman and this man will have court
 mola ya yi-yl-kn kot tengli mola
or they two men will have court
 kupulanum akiyl-ko pilyamily, i nyikir
let's hear that, I say
 mada nyikir, ekepu nu nya
I've said enough, now you talk
155. ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 ekepu pilyikimil-i?
now, do you understand?
 eni mare-n mare kos ui abayl kos pilyiring-iyi
some of you heard the woman's court case before
 eni kare naa pilyiring
some of you didn't
 ilyi-nga ya kot kalya luburup teamiyi
let's summarise all that [preceding] litigation
 ya olyo nyi-pilyip molymulu i nyik pilyingi
don't think we understand everything
160. MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
 mare naa pilyiring
some didn't hear
 ya yi Luburuyi-kin na-kin olto pena molurubul
Luburuyi here and I, we stayed outside
 ung naa pilyiribul, ekepu nya
we didn't hear, talk now
 pul yabu-ma payl pilyiring
all the relatives heard
 i nyi-pilyingi nyib nyikir
you may think so, I believe
165. UPUKA EL:
 ya abayl-nga naba wan
the woman's first court

ne Kubuka Komapiyl-in ne aju Kalyke brukim tirim
Kubuka Komapiyl over there stopped it back at Kailge

pe naba tu oba ya ilyi-nga tirim
then the second time he heard it here

talko naba tri pup ne Waipip
two days ago, the third time we went down to Waipip

ilyi ul ung pilyimulayl ilyi kalyayl
that's what we'll hear

170. ya kot ya pilyip temulu ul-ilyi
the court we'll hear here

ya yi-ma pilyik pora nsiring
the men [magistrates] heard it already

eni ekepu ya eni molung-kin nyamiyl nyikir ilyi
now you're here, let's talk, I say

ya ul ilyi-nga, abayl-nga ing ya kot temulu
we'll talk about this matter, about the woman's affairs

yi painimaut temulu ul ilyi-nga aima na tirimul, mol
we'll figure it out, we didn't manage to do that, no

175. olyo yi kayi-ka topi-na ka mep mep
we men kept on talking and talking

ne yi-kil-in ab eni-ngayl kana-kelku nyikimil
those men [Kopia] keep on saying 'she's yours'

kang-yi-ka ab abiyl-oro, kana-kelka
boys, she's an 'old woman' [long married], it's all in the past

nabitimna kos tensikimil-oro, i nyirimul
why in the world are you having court? we said

ilyi top reses me-pu-pu-pup
we kept on vying [like that]

180. ekepu wilyi dokta-na pumulu nyimul-ko
now we'll go to the doctor, we even said

kani-na pup-okumul-kiyl
and we're coming from there

ilyi-nga kot teba-yl ya pepa-yl ilyi wilyi tim
there'll be court, he [the doctor] wrote up a paper

notip molyo
and I've got it

ya kot eni-kin naa tebu, mol
I won't have court, with you, no

185. ya ing ilyi-nga bo-ung mel na-nu nyib-kin
me talking about it in our way according to custom

yabu ekepu abayl ul-ilyi tirim-iy
the woman did thus-and-such

po-urul taua-urul mel kayiyl
adoption is a good thing

- i nyib ob na-nu molyayl
I'm talking in this way
- nu ul-ilyi nabitekin kanun-i
how did you see this matter?
190. ya nying-lum wilyi dokta nyilym kaniyl
if they talk like that, the doctor said like that
- dokta na nyiba tim
the doctor told me
- mong-sil-in kanap numanayl-n pilyip tid ilyi pora-iy l pilyikin-i?
I saw it with my own eyes and registered it, that's all, you know?
- ekepu dokta-yl-n kolya nar-na kot tingi nyim
where will the court be held, the doctor asked me
- ilyi na-nu komapiyl nyiba tim-ko
he told Komapiyl [i.e., Kubuka Unya]
195. na kep nyiba tim-ko, pilyip molybulayl
and he told me too, we know
- pilyip molybulu ul ilyi-nga yabu anipilyi
we understand; [her] brothers
- lapalyina ya Komapiyl-na ing keli nabolka ing-te nyingi-da
and fathers, here, Komapiyl, what will they say?
- ilyi na-nu ui kubile-pilyibu-kiyl eni pe molku disisin tengi
I want to hear first, and then you'll make a decision
- penga puba aku-na as-te peba tim-kin
it'll be decided, and if there's any unsolved issue
200. pilyik pe ya pepa wedu lyiba eni disisin tek tangi
he'll get the paper out and let them decide
- na-nu kot penga tebu, ilyi pilyikimil-i?
I'll have court later, do you understand?
- UPUKA EL:
ya ekepu ya eni ya tapiya i tek molangi-na-kin
now as you're doing like this
- eni ya ing nyikimil-iy l olyo kot mel naa tebu molyo
what you're saying, I'm not here to have court
- mol nyikir, kot tebu pepa-yl ya na-nu notip moyl-iy l
no, I say, the summons paper I'm keeping here
205. ya yi ab anipilyi-lapalyi kimilipilyi
her mothers, fathers and brothers
- i-me-n nabolka ing-te nyingi-da
what will they say?
- ilyi ya na-nu ekepu molup pilyibu molyo
that's what I'm sitting here to hear
- MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
mel weyl suku lawa mel tekin-iy l
you're making a slight error

pe na-nu *elpim* teab
and *I'd like to help*

210. ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

nya
go ahead, talk

MIDIPIU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

ekepu kep ya wilyi anipilyi yabu-kil naa walytimulu
even now we won't ask her relatives over there

ya kang olyo keap-ma kep naa walytimulu
nor will we ask the magistrates

aki tepa tirim mel nar naa walytimulu
we won't ask how it happened

kang-yi kilak ya ilyi-nga molupa kongun telym
the young man, the clerk, who works here

215. kang akiyl-ni nu-nga pepa akiyl rit tepa
that young fellow will read your paper [from the doctor]

o-o dokta-yl-n ekepu i tepa mel nyiba sim pilyikir-iyi
the doctor said like this, as I understand it

ilyi ekepu eni yabu-ma nabolka nyik pilyikimil
what do you people think about it

eni ab pul-yab pilyai
you relatives of the woman, you listen

i nyiba modaga-kin yabu-me-n pilyi kare-kin
after he's reported this and people have heard

220. ung nyik yadu modung-lum
you might have something to say in return

pilyip-kin lyip nar kupulanum nar tepa lelym nar tepa lelym
and when we hear it, what's the thing to do?

mel aku-ma woksap-ma lupa-lupa lelym
there are different 'workshops' [i.e. courts]

aku-ma-nga mare-ngatop modumulu
and we'll refer it to those

ilyi nu nu-nga ung nyikin-ayl na-nu *elpim* tekir
you speak, I'm assisting you

225. lyi nyib tikir-kiyl
I tell you this

naba tu ya olyo kotayl tirimul-iyi tep-kin yi kare
the second thing is some men

tuku naa pilyiring-ka ok molkimil
who didn't hear it are here now

nyiba ya pena kot ilyi-nga keap-ka-kin ful kot naa tiring-kiyl
they didn't have 'full court' outside here with the magistrates

Temal ya Luburuyl-kin na-kin midi pena molup pilyiribul
[Upuka] Temal and [Kopia] Luburuyl and I just listened sitting
outside

230. pilyipu pupul-kin pe abu yi-kin adalyimeli akin
we heard and left, men and women are going around
 ya toku lyab-a nyib tekir-ayl
I'd like to take a smoke
 tekim-lum sikis-pela i-ke-nga kang-abola molurum nyirim akin
it was said that the child was conceived after six times
 nyik tiring akin pe ya yabu mare nyik-lyanga molym
and some people said
 maku-na-ko molurum nyiring
that's sufficient for it to have been
235. pe mare nyik-kin ya ing-te naa nyiring
and some people said nothing
 tek moluring aku-na pe na-n ya ul ime-nga
they did in that way, well I in regard to these things
 suku kot tep telyo telymulu
I hear court inside all the time, we [all] do
 ul aku-na suku pilyip mel telyo aku-na pe ab yi-nga melayl
I listen to such matters inside, in regard to man and woman matters
 na midi teyl mel, yabu-ma pora ...
I myself do this, everybody ...
- ?:
240. kangayl na toku nobu tekir si nyikim
the fellow says 'I want to smoke, give me [a cigarette]'
 MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
 yabu-kuba poropora tek kanak kelymeli-kuba-ko
everybody has had experience of these matters
 kotayl ing mel kayiyl-i?
you think court is a good thing [i.e., it's not]
 ilyi-nga top sukud modup myilymulayl kelip-kin
we'll contribute [our opinions] about these things and when we finish
 pe pe nyik okumil yabu mare-n lek tek kui telymelayl
they continue to talk, [but] some people say nothing
245. perek telymeli
why do they do this?
 na-n nyib-kin i-kil-nga medipulu olyo kang-abola naa molym
it's my view that in just a few times a child will not be conceived
 mol nyikir
I say no
 Unidentified UPUKA man:
 weyai telym kaniyl tekim
what happens is it dissolves

?:
a?
huh?

250. UPUKA ?:
weyai telym, nyikir, kang-e,
I said it dissolves, man,

MIDIPIU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
aima mol medipulu, aima punya kongun telymeli-kin
really it can't happen, when they do real garden work

bulu-mingi nolym, kelep pulymulu elui telymolu-kin
our backs ache, we go home and we exchange

ki-kil ponga top lku ponga tolymulu kep
we cut posts, house posts by hand or

pala witylymolu kep kalyamel-ko
shape fence posts, that's the sort of things

255. pe ab obi-nga aki tepa suku pelym na top pilyilyo
when a woman sleeps with a man that's how it is, I'm an expert

enebu tokum pilyikir-ayl melayl te teab mel nar
it's tiring I know, what shall I do

abolup kare suku modab molo we kang-abola moly, i nyikimil
holding it shall I put it in, or will a child get there without it, they say

i tepa telym ul ilyi-nga ekepu pe ul ilyi ya yabu eni
that's the way it is, well about this people's

kopong lupa-lupa-yl-nga na-nga na-nu teyl mel nyikir-kiyl
'grease' is different, I do my own I say

260. ilyi-nga pilyik ilyi-nga meb suku naa modup
you listen, I am not contributing?

wed i nyib nyib wedu modup-kin
talking, I'm throwing it out/casting it away

pa ya meri Luburuyl-kin olto molup kot tiribul-iy
well Luburuyl over there and I held court

tep-kin eni boni pim kanapa-lum
and when we did, seeing as how you were dissatisfied

eni-ni Waipip eria nyangi nyibu tekibul-kiyl
we say you should have it in the Waipip area court

265. olto ilyi-nga we nawu pilyikubul-kiyl i nyiribul
'we're just hearing this in vain', we said

pe nyik pangi-na pangi-na nabolka ul tim-lum
go ahead and have it and whatever may happen

- meri haus-sik kolya memi kanap temulu nying-lum
if you say we'll have a look at the blood at the hospital
- eni-nga pawa lelym-iyi
that's up to you to do that
- abayl ne eni-nga eria aku-na nokupa molym
your area court is in charge of her
270. i nyib nyib tokud modurumul mel
we turned her over to you
- ekepu nyib mep tukud okumul
now we're bringing her here
- ya eni-nga yi-kil pilyik-lyanga pe i kupulanum nabolka ul tiring
you men know what you did
- nyiku pilyingayl-nga nyibu nyib na kang-abola-na mel-ma
you'll think like small children, I'm saying
- kudi tok moduk telymeli pilyip kung langi-te nong-kin
you tell them to run an errand [when] you're going to eat pig
275. ya kelkin nongi-na mola kapola kopsingi-na nongi
will you eat it and not give any, or cut it and eat it
- olyo i tep pilyilyumu kaniyi lapalyi anginapilyi
we are thinking of this, fathers and brothers
- eni ya yi ing nyik pilyik tengiyi-nga
you'll hear the talk here
- ya nyib klia tensikimul
we're clarifying matters
- ekepu ya aku-na olyo ung-te suku nyi- naa nyimulu
how we won't interject anything
280. ya ul ilyi-nga ya dokta pepa tim ul akiyi-nga
the doctor made out a paper in relation to that
- kang kilak-ayi kanapa i tepa i tepa nyaga ilyi-nga
let the young man clerk read it out
- ung-te nyi- naa nyimulu wewe tep pora nyaga i nyikir
we won't say anything, let him get through it fast, I say
- UPUKA EL:
 te kalayl naa nyikir, te-nga pe abayl-nga-ko
I'm not talking about that, another matter about the woman
- nyib umul ilyi-nga tude-kn ne kot telkumela-kin telkumela-kin
we came to talk about that on Tuesday when they were having court
290. bonunga-nga abayl haus-sik-na me-pamiyi nyib-kin
yesterday, saying, 'let's take the woman to the hospital'

- ya kang-yi mare wai myimul ul ilyi-nga oba-kin
we told some fellows to come along about this and then
- ya Komapiyl kupulanum-na ung lawa tim
Komapiyl [=Unya] here said something wrong on the road
- keri-ma-n nu-nu nyiba kuni modum mola karaya i tim akiyl
he made a straight or crooked gesture with his mouth like that
- ekepu ya ilyi-nga ekepu ya molku-pilying
they were there and observed it
295. yi-kin kot tensingi tekimil ilyi-nga
the men are going to prosecute him about this
- eni pilyangi-na-kin ya ilyi-nga kapola temulu nyi-pilying-lum kapola
and if you think they can hear it here, o.k.
- mola adi mare-nga lupa tengi nyi-pilying-lum akuna-ko teamiyl
or if you think they should hear it elsewhere, then let's do that
- o, ing-mong te-nga kodup nyikir
yes, I'm talking about another issue
- ya Komapiyl ing mong nyim ing mong ilyi-nga kalyayl-nga ekepu-nga ...
the word that Komapiyl [Unya] said, like that, was a mistake, now that ...
- ?:
300. kang-yi-kil-kin Komapiyl-kin kot tengi
now the boys and Komapiyl will contest in court
- pe ing kalyayl naa nyingi iyli-kin nyib pilyip
and we think they won't talk like that
- eni-ni [or eneni?] pilyi-ko molang nyib nyikir
you keep it in mind, I say
- aku-na abayl-nga ui nyib pora-nsip-kin
when we've finished talking about the woman
- penga aki tep nyamiyl
then we'll talk about that
- MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
305. ing ilyi ing-mong te-koyl o
this is another matter
- ya ekepu ung te ilyi
now this one topic
- eni ilyi ya eni ung-iyil we namu pilyik poransing nyib
I say you just heard these words 'for nothing' [i.e. on a different matter]
- i nyibu nyikir-kiyl
that's what I want to say

- pe eni ab pul yab boni mel we-te suku pim nyimulu nyik pilying-lum
and if you family of Moni think any small problem remains
310. pe na-ni ing stopim tep-kin i naa nyimbu-kiyl
I won't stop you from saying what you want
 eni pilyik-kin abayl-nga kodup nyikir-kiyl
you (pl.) know I'm talking about the woman
 nyik eni molku olyo i tep kur pekim
you've talked [about her], we keep doing so until we're exhausted
 ilyi-ka aku-na ola nosip ilyi tep nyikimul
we're putting her case on top of the agenda
 eni yi-ma-n pilyik i nyai
you men listen and talk about it
315. mola ya nyikir kalya-na pim-lum
or if there's something wrong with what I'm saying now
 ilyi nyik pora-nsikimil
you finish talking about this
 i nyik pilyik nyik mek pai
*having talked about this, listened, and talked, take it [the talk]
 with you and go [keep in mind what we are saying]*
 nu kang nu ung nyiku akiyl
but you, my boy, what you are talking about?
 elti Komapiyl ing tilupa
that matter between you and Unya is different
320. abayl-nga-ko nyingl-nyingl mola ing-te nyingi nying-ko
you should talk about the woman or say what you're going to say
 ?:
 ne ung akiyl-nga nu-nu kot teba-kin penga leylm
you can hold court about that later on
- KUBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:
 na-n ya eni-nga kot tensibu nyib komplén tiridiyl
I told them I would take you to court and I made a complaint
 pe kinya-nga eni-ni ya ung ilyi-nga nyik eni-ni komplén ting
and now you talking about this, you yourselves have made a complaint
 na-n toksave tep eni kot tensibu i nyid, i nyid ilyi
I informed you that I prosecute you, I said so
325. eni-n aji puk eni-nga ya kotayl-nga
you went back and about the court
 eni-nga kot komplén na-n lawa tid nyik
you made a complaint, saying I had made a mistake
 ilyi naba wan mola naba tu pupiyl
is this [to be] first, or shall it be second?

- abayl-nga naba wan pupiyi
let the one about the woman be first
- na-n ne eni-ni toksave tep eni-ni-nga kot tensibu i nyidiyl
I informed you, 'I'll take you to court', I said
330. i nyid ilyi ekepu-nga ne abayl-nga kubilep ui-nga disisin tep
I said so, now first having made a decision about the woman
- penga ya na-ni eni-nga kot tensibu nyid
later on I'll prosecute you, I said
- ilyi meri naba tu nyimulu mola ne ne eni-ni kot bot ting
over there we'll have it second, those who will hear court
- yi akin ne buk-na pelym, aku mel nyidangi-na
those men, it's in the book [Village Court book], let them tell us
- olyo pilyip olyo isip tobulup nyimulu akin
we'll hear it and discuss accordingly
335. yi-ka-kin na-kin el-ko tokumilayl tongi
the men and I will [otherwise] indeed fight
- MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI (to one of the audience):
 ing kalyayl naa pilyid, altekin nya
I didn't hear that, say it again
- LALKA WAK:
 mel pepa-yl naa kanukur-ayl, kamkam rit teab
I don't see the paper, I want to read it all
- pilyani
you listen
- KUBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:
 nu ne kot tini tekin-ayl ne ab pul yi-ka ung-te nyangi
you are about to have court, let the woman's family speak
340. kalyayl pe yi anumuyi molyim, meri Kansipu molyim
the old man [Sumuyi's father] is here, Kansipu is over there
- molyim nyangl, ya ...
he's there, let the two of them speak, now ...
- MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
 ilyi eni-te nyingi nyikimil nyikin pilyini
here you think you will speak [but you won't]
- ya pepa-yl rit teangi-na, pepa-yl-n nyiba
let them read the paper, when we hear what
- mel nyim pilyip-kin, o kudu kep kudu kep nyamiyl
it says, we'll talk [from] one side and then other
345. i kalya nyimul-kilyo, ung aku-na pe meri abayl ...
that's what we said, that talk, well the woman there
- oba ya suku-na molupiyi
let her come and sit in the middle
- ya yi keap-ayl-kin el-uj yiyl-kin nyangl
let the kiap [i.e., magistrate] and peace officer speak

ya nidola aku-na suku pukun mola ...
are you going up there in the middle or ...

(crowd shifts, Sumuyl moves to centre over next four turns,
 some unfocused or inaudible material deleted)

?:
 350. id akuna kolum tek nyingi
now they'll talk briefly

?:
 nabina-o?
why

?:
 abayl ned ilyi-nga un
*woman, you come over here [a strong command form, meaning literally
 'you have come over here']*

?:
 yadupa ui, nedola tabolupunya akin ui
come here, come onto the grass

LALKA WAK:
 ya ilyi-nga dokta-nga ripot mel ilyi
this here is the doctor's report

355. Sumuyl Poya, krismas bilong en twenti, de ol i bin go long haus sik
Sumuyl Poya, twenty years old, the day they went to the hospital

em i asde, kolya adres Waipip, Sumuyl em i gat bel
was yesterday, the address is Waipip, Sumuyl is pregnant

foapela mun, husat i stap wantaim meri inap faipela mun i go pinis
four months, whoever was with her five months ago

ilyi-nga ya ung nying mel-ko nyim-iyi, abayl kalyeb foapela
they said what he said, the woman four months [ago]

kalyeb foapela-nga yi nai-kin pepa adurum i tirim ilyi-nga
whoever she was sleeping with four months ago, did this

360. ab kang-abola lku pelym i nyik tung-kiyl
the woman is pregnant [by him], they wrote

olsem Sumuyl em i gat bel long foapela mun, husat i stap
Sumuyl is four months pregnant, whoever was with her

wantaim meri inap faipela mun i go pinis
five months ago

man ya givim bel long meri, eni pilyikimil-i?
he's the one who got her pregnant, do you understand?

pilyi, klia tekim mola naa tekim
listen, is this clear or not?

365. nu pilyikin-iyi yabu kel-ma pilyikimil-i?
*do you understand, do the 'ordinary' [unimportant, non-official]
 people understand?*

ya ilyi-nga ung mel koltsi-ko wed okum
here a bit of information is coming out

KUBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:

ab-ma eni-ni pilyi molymelayl ...
the women understand

abayl-n mol, kang-abola kang-yiyi-nga
the woman [says] no, the child belongs to the man [her husband]

kang-yiyi-n kang-abola na-nga mol
the young man says the child is not mine

370. abayl-n kang-abola nu-nga nyikim, i nyik tubulungl
the woman says the child is yours, so they went back and forth
- i nyib medipulu molymulu, altepa ung-te mol-kiyl
this is exactly what we're talking about, there's no other issue
- ilyi-nga i nyib molymulu, ya aki nyik nyingl nyiba-kin
we're talking about this, he [doctor] says that's what you say
- meri nyiba-kin ya kanamiyl i nyim
talking down there [in Mt Hagen] 'let's see', he said
- ya olyo tobulup nyimul akin ...
we discussed this and then ...

KUSIKA YANGAN:

375. ya ilyi nyilsip-melysip pukumulayl
we keep on talking [about] this
- ing bekim tin-iyi papu tin, kuduyl-ma lyingi mola
you responded, that was good, will the Europeans take it?
- ya wi naba tu-yl-n kuduyl-iyi molym, pai nyiba-kin
up there the second in charge is a European, he said go
- ilyi fifti toea-n baim telymeli kaniyl ku kare naa pim
they pay a fee of fifty, well there was no money
- ku kare naa lelka-lyi ku-te mol-kiyl kani nyib-kin
'there's no money, no money', saying this
380. adi pup manya dokta-te molum akiyl-kin Daya kang-te
we went there, down there was a doctor, a Daya fellow
- molum akiyl dokta-yl, Daya Berim molum akiyl
was there, a doctor [s aid], Daya Berim was there
- Kodup nyib-kin ang ku-te mol-iyi-kin nyimul-kin
when we told him 'brother there's no money'
- ya na helpim teab nyiba-kin pepa-yl tepa sipa-kin
saying 'I'll help you out', he wrote a paper and gave it [to us]
- ul aku-na suku dokta-na sekim tek naa telymeli
doctors don't check that sort of thing
385. mola telymeli, ul ilyi nu-nu pilyipa klia naa tekim
or do they? he wasn't clear about this himself
- ilyi we top sab-a, nyiba-kin topa sim akin
'I'll just write this and give it [to you]', saying this, he wrote it and gave it
- papu adi kudulyiyi nodupa um, oba-kin pe wilyi
and, fortunately, the European soon came, and then up there

- ya yabu lyik manya karuk kanak telymeli
[where] they examine people
- rum keli koltsi-nga manya mel mare-n pasim tek telymeli
a small room which they shut with something
390. kalya-na lkudu mudupa-kin, olyo ui yabu olu-na sekim tim
standing her into the room, first he checked her belly
- tepa-kin pe olyo meri puk meri rum keli tenga
and afterwards he said, 'go in another small room'
- aku-na suku pai nyim, ya matres-kin, na-kin, Poya-kin
'you go in there', he said, the magistrate, and I, and Poya
- olyo sukud pumul akin yu abayl sekim teab-kin
we went in and then [he said] 'I want to check the woman
- sukudu pai nyim, olyo pup molkumela akin
you go in', we went in and sat and then
400. aji kuduyl-iyi-n sekim tepa-kin puba-kin olyo ing-te mol
and the European checked her, we said nothing
- nu-nu-n pepa-yl topa-kin yadu sipa-kin pe nyiba-mel
he wrote the paper and gave it to us and then he said like this
- abayl-nga kalyeb faipela ilyi-kin kang-abola
'the woman has five months, the child
- kang-abola awilyi-te-ka nyim, kalyeb faipela oba purum
the child is a big one', he said, 'five months have elapsed'
- ilyi-ka i nyim akin olyo aji modup tena
he said this and then we told him about what
405. yi-yl-kin ing resis telkubela suku pilis kot
she and her husband are litigating in the village court
- aku-na kot tingl ul-ilyi abayl pupa yunu-nga kolya molurum
they had court, the thing is the woman went home
- pe puba kompetetin hap mare tepa, lyiba nyi-purum akin
and then he gave 'half' [partial] compensation, she took it and left
- abayl yadu naa urum akin aji molurum-ayl
she didn't come back, she remained behind [at home]
- pe sukusingi-na yadu urum akin yabu mare-n suku kanak-lyanga
then she came back in the middle, and some people seeing her
410. mola abayl kang-abola nyik kanakumul nyiring-kin
'we see the woman is pregnant', they said
- yi-yl yu-nu wate tapu naa turud, i nyiba-kin
the man said 'I was not living with her', and when he said it
- kot-na suku brukim tepa aki tek moluringl
they broke off having court, that's what they did
- ya dokta-na nu kongun mare telymeli akina teani
'here doctor, you do the sort of work doctors do' [i.e., examine her]
- nyib pilyip umul ilyi-ka i nyimul
we thought that and came, that's what we said

415. nyimul aki-kin pe ekepu nunu-n kanukur-ayl
 we said like that and he said 'now I see
 yabu-til stori tel nabolka nyingli
 what sort of story will this couple tell'
 ya i nyingl-kin abayl nu-kin kapola peylbeli i nyim akin
 when they spoke he asked 'have you and the woman been sleeping
 together'
 na mol ilyi ka
 not me
 yi talsi melpa suku aku-na molkul
 two Melpa men, sitting in the middle
420. pepa mel-te suku aku-na tol siringl
 wrote it down on paper and gave it
 akin na bilip mel tirid-kiyl
 so I believed it
 nyim akin ne dokta nyiba-kin
 he said it and when the doctor said
 ab kang-abola memi kobu leylm
 the woman has a baby forming out of her blood
 ul ilyi akin aki-na suku kera mulu mel-te molym-kiyl
 so the thing is, there's something like an egg inside her
425. i nyim
 that's what he said
 molym akin orait pe ab yi-nga aku telymeli
 it's there and as a man and a woman 'do it'
 aku puba-kin yi kopungayl puba-kin aima au leylm
 as the man's 'grease' goes in there, it really grows
 oba kang-abola kub-ki angalyilym
 and the baby's limbs start to form
 i telym ul ilyi-nga ekepu yiyl-kin taki abayl kalyeb 5-mun tepa-kin
 it does this and now that the woman has been doing it with the man
 for five months
430. yiyl-kin ola-manyaya telybeli
 she and the man do it 'up and down' [i.e. furiously]
 ul ilyi kada puk distrik kot ilyi-nga pubu kot tendimulu nying-da
 if they [or you (pl.)?] say 'all right, I'll go to the district
 court and prosecute concerning this matter
 ekepu enayl-nga pepa sikir-ilyi aku-na pai nyim
 now for that time I'll give you a paper and you can go do that', he
 said
 orait, kompetetin ilyi paga nyik pe
 all right, 'let compensation go' [to Sumuy'l's people] they said and
 altepa ne abayl aji molurum ul ilyi-nga lawa mel tirim ilyi-ka
 again the woman stayed back, in doing so she was wrong indeed

435. kompetetin matres nai-n molupa
'which magistrate sitting
 aku-na lyipa koni tirim-da, i nyirim
taking it, straightened it out', he said
 aku kerim-min-na yadu mudupa aki tepa nyirim
he replied making a gesture with his mouth
 nyiba-kin eni ui-nga ya kot i tepa-te ab-te nunu-nga kolya pupa
he said 'you had court and the woman went back to her place
 kang-abola meba kang-abola-te i tepa kang-abola lku pelym
carrying a child, being pregnant
440. ab-te um kot tek resis tek okumil kanap-kin
a woman came, I see that they're having court and litigating'
 nunu i tep pepa kare tikir-iyi mek-kin
he himself said 'I'll write out and give you some papers, and you take them
 puk wilyi distrik kot-na-ko pukumil-kiyi
and go there to the district court
 ekepu eni naba tu taim okumil-ilyi-ka pepa-yl mek puk
now you are coming for the second time, take the papers
 distrik kot tengi nyingi-da kapola-ko mola
and if they hear it in the district court, that's all right
445. eni-nga pilis kot-na puk temulu nyingi-da kapola-ko
or if you go and say we'll have it in the village court, o.k., too
 orait, akiyi ul pawa eni-kin-ko lelym, pepa i tep tikir
o.k., the decision rests with you, I'm making out and giving you the paper'
 elti ab ul kit telymeli yi palyi nu-nga ung nyikin kalyamel-ko-kiyi
you in-laws, what you say about their copulation is like that too
 ya na-nga wi yiyl oba siskispela taim tensirim-iyi
your husband over there did it [to you] six times
 nunu pilyikir-iyi gol tokun, nu-d ul trik mel kare tirin-iyi
I feel you're lying, you practised some deceptions
450. kalyeb faipela ike-nga orait yi tekin abayl-kin
for five months, all right, if a man and a woman
 ola manya telkubela-kin orait ekepu kang-abola awilyiyl molym ilyi-ka
work hard at it, all right, then there's a big child there
 ?:
 olyo wate molumul-iyi nyim mel medipulayi nyikim
we were there too and he is saying exactly what he [the doctor] said
 MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
 ekepu nyikim ilyi-nga ung kum lek
listen to what he's saying
 kalya kopsilymeli aki-kin na suku pup molup abolup naa noyl
it's like when they cut pig I do and sit holding it and don't eat

455. te-te-te meri mulumulu nyilym akin nobu teyl
when it's warm, that's when I feel like eating it
 ekepu ya kot ilyi olyo pilyip tirimul ilyi
now we heard this court
 meri puba ung ilyi-nga keripudu-na topa montipa tim aki-kin
going down there he put these words in the mouth [i.e., the doctor's words are 'warm', they come from an authoritative source and are believable]
 nu-nu-nga ung nyiba yi-te ilyi ola molupa skelim tek
and he talking, a man [up high], they'll consider it
 nabolka mel-te skelim tengi ilyi eni-nga pawa tengi
what will they reckon, you will make your deliberations
460. pilyik-te nyai, ilyi ... nyikir-ayl pilyikir-ayl pilyikimil-i?
think and decide, this ... I think and talk accordingly, you know?
 ing ilyi nyik montik-o ...
cutting off the talk there ...
 (interruption by Kubuka Magistrate Unya -- largely inaudible -- to the effect that he went along and the doctor said she is five months pregnant)
 ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 abayl ul kot mel-ilyi eni nyi-pora-ntiring-iyi
you finished having court about the woman's case
 na wate ilyi-nga molup naa nyirimul
we didn't talk when I was here
 ung kona top te abayl waltip nyimulu, nyimulayl ung ilyi pe
we'll talk anew and ask the woman, we'll talk about
465. nyirim ilyi-ko nyimulayl kelaba-da?
what she said before, [or] should I leave it?
 ya ul stori iy l yik pora-ntiring ilyi pilyik lyiring-iyi
you finished hearing this story
 yabu mare molku pilyiring-iyi mare naa molku pilyiring
some people were here and heard it, some weren't
 KUBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:
 na-kin ung nyikumulayl el tekumulayl i nyikimil-iyi
they say 'we're talking and fighting with you' [Unya]
 na-nu ya olyo lyik mudurun-kiyi
you deceived us
470. ekepu na wase pumul ilyi-kin kalyeb faip mun ya dokta nyim akin
now I went along and the doctor said five months
 kaniyi pe olyo lyikin mudukun mel aima nu tirin pe ekepu
you really tricked us, and now
 yi ya na-ni ya ekepu ne kep ya kep tenga sas simulu
the man [Poya] and I, either here or there, will lay a charge
 mak aku-na lekim, nyikir i-kin ab eni-ngayl nyikir i-kin
that's fair, I say like this, the woman is yours

na-n kalyayl nyib kinsikir i nying, yi-ke-kin na-kin el mek ola ung
*I was wrong to say that, they said, and the men and I came home
 arguing*

475. pe el tekimul kalyayl, ekepu nu ya kalyeb faip mun akiyl pe ekepu
we are fighting like that, how you're five months pregnant and

olyo-n ya ilyi-nga olya pilyikomela-ja ya yi-ke-kin
if we'd heard this, with these men

olyo el-te pimul-i? ung nyilkumolayl nu yi-te ya mong-geng lekin
were we at odds? we would've spoken, you flirt with someone

ena tenga gris telkuna-ja kapola
if you had flirted on another occasion, all right

ola yiyl-n kanupa molym, autim telkumola
God is watching, we would have revealed it

480. olyo ne kupulanum-te naa pilyip-lyanga mol nyilkumola
we'd have said we don't know [if she's done it]

ne eni-kin el tekimul-iyi abayl meri tepa kabilyuyl akiyl
we're fighting with you, the woman is carrying on secretly there

kabilyipa eni kep olyo kep lyipa modukum-ayl
she's tricking both you and us

ekepu ya ab tilupuyi molymayl ne ab we kani-ke naa molymeli mola
*now there is one woman, are there are no others there? [i.e., Sumuyi
 is not the only Kopia woman married to an Upuka man]*

yu-nu olyo-kin ne kanap ya kanap tekimul ilyi bia nob
we do this and that together, drink beer

485. apa-pel-torupalyi kupada bulu-na ilyi naa nyib olyo faul tekim-iyi
uncles and in-laws! with our spears behind us, she's wronging us

faul tekim ul akilyi-nga ekepu ya nunu-n pilyik ekepu nu
she's wronging [us] in this, now you hear yourself, now the doctor

nu-nu witness molupa nu kalyeb foapela, a, tripela ilyi
himself is witness to it, you are four, ah, three months

kinya-nga hap-ayl i nyikim, pe kinya-nga dokta-yl-n
now, and a half, he says, and now the doctor

kalyeb faipela sokud lyipa i tim ilyi-nga ekepu
adding up five months, and now

490. nu-nga yi kot tebulu mola yi ilyi na gris telymayl
your husband [and I] we'll have court, or this man is flirting

na-nga yi sika kani-ke tek popolu monsikin kibolu-n tok tirin
my real husband, 'you get angry and you hit [him] with a stick'

kaniyl-nga ob yi kanap lyirid-iyi ekepu yil-kin kot tebulu
like that, 'I came and caught the man, and now we'll try the man'

i nyindanalyi-nga akiyl midi pilyamul i nyilkumula
*if you had said this, 'let's hear it', we would've said [Unya is
 criticising Poya for not discovering the adulterer]*

ilyi medipulu nyib suku modukur, nu-nga midi unga-ri ya ilyi
I'm just mentioning this, it's your 'word'

495. altep olyo isip naa nyimulu, mol, ilyi nyik-kin mol,
we won't talk like this again, no, you won't talk about this
 lapa molkum-iyi, ya olyo molkumul yi i-kin kep ya nedi
the father is here, we're here, and the men over there
 ung-ma keyameya mel lek ok no nokun nyiring kaniyl
they just came and blurted out, they said you drank beer
[i.e., Poya neglected his duties]
 na-nga ung-te mol olto kot wase teabiyl, i nyik sokudu lyikin
I've nothing to say, let's have court together, you take this in
 aki-na we gau nyiba we lipiyl i nyikir
let it be out in the open and be left to one side, I say
500. ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 ilyi sika nyikim, altepa olyo ung senis tep naa nyimulu
he's right, let's not change the subject
 kot tep hat wok top naa waltsamilyi
let's not ask for another court [i.e., bring up matters unrelated
to this case]
 ne ung nyikim akiyl nu nyini ekepu wi dokta-na pum kani-na
what he says there, you will say, he went up there to the doctor
 kub singi tok yad ung-lumayl ya nyik okumil-iyi sipi molkum-iyi
they 'tracked' you and came back and are bringing back the word,
it's a cul-de-sac [i.e., you are trapped]
 ekepu tek nyini mel nar, nu kot-na
now what'll you do? you in the court
505. nu suku lyik monsuk tengi tekimil pilyikir-ayl
they'll get you in and try you, I understand
 ung akiyl nu ol somongu naa nurud nyik pilyin-i
you think of that talk 'I didn't swallow saliva'
 nu kang-yi-kin ya yi-te kanak singijanga yi-yl na laikim tekim
you must've met a man once and said 'he likes me'
 nyik molkun singijanga yi-te-kin adurun
and once upon a time you went around with this fellow
 pe ya kang-yiyl-kin ul kis-nal ya nu-nu lyilym yi-yl kanurum-ko-ora
you fornicated with him, and your husband saw it perhaps
510. abolup molurumul ekepu ya wi akiyl i kodukun nyangi-na-kin
'we were embraced, now let them tell us'
 yi-yl singijanga yi akiyl pur-pupa naa pupiyl
don't let the man off scot-free
 nu-kin kapola kot teangl, i tenglayl pe ekepu
you two should have court together, you'll do this and
 ya altep kot-na waltsip i-te-tekumulayl pe
we'll ask again in court
 ung nyim kalyayl-ko nyingayl we walytsimulu
what was said before, they'll talk like that again, we'll ask in vain

515. ung yi keap-kin nying kalyayl singabolayl-n ung ilyi-nga-ko
the kiaps talked and you were embarrassed and
 pukun nyikin i nyid kanumel-ko pekim-ayl pe alte-puni ilyi mol
you keep on saying this, I said like that, that's how it is, but
you won't get away again
 wi kuduyl-kin kanak pora-nsing ne kang-abola ai lelym ul ilyi-nga
the Europeans/doctors have had a look, the child is growing
 ul ilyi-nga mani-sik pora-ko-nsing, ab yi-kin adak telymeli
they've given their opinion/advice about how men and women do
together
 ul akiyl to-konsipa timuyl ekepu nu-nu lapang we nyidana nyamul
we've finished talking about that and now, 'father', you have to
reply
520. ya yu ul-te singijanga koni ul adiyl-nga pe ya yi lyilym-ayl
this matter before ... her husband
 ilyi yiyl-kin na-kin we kot te-pabul
'this man and I, let's just go have court
 i kot aku-na isi-way timul
we'll hold court easily'
 mola nu aku-na yabu-ri to-konsikin
or did you kill somebody? [i.e., you didn't kill anybody]
 ul-ur tin-iyi-n nu-n oba ul kit teba yi-te-n oba lyikim
the only thing is that a man came to have sex with you
525. i nyiba adiyl-nga tirim
saying thus, he did it
 nyangi-na kot aku-na we nawu nyimulayl
you must say that and we'll just have court simply/easily
 nyib akin ka simulu mola kompetetin teai nyimulu
when we've done/said that we'll decide whether we're going to
send her to jail or make them pay compensation
 ul akiyl we nyimul-iyi
we just talk about this matter
 ?:
 yabu ul ilyi midi tek okumil-iyi
people all over are causing the same sort of trouble
530. ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 nu mong lyin-iyi
you got in trouble
 ekepu lyikin pora-nsikin moltayl
now you've really got troubles
 pilyikin-i
you know?
 ekepu kuyl tokun naa pukunayl pilyikin-i
now you're not going to be able to wash it off, you know?

- ekepu kumuka mel kub singi top-top
now, tracking you like a rat
535. pilis kot-na nyik pora nsik molkumil
they're having it in the village court
 pe dokta-n kanapa distrik kot-na ti nyim
the doctor examined her and said [take it to] district court
 akiyl nu mong sipa pora-nsim-iyil
he's blamed you for the trouble
 pupa wi distrik pepa akiyl kupulanum aku-na pukum-ko nyimul-iyil
now he's going up for a district court paper, now he's going via that route, we said
 kot disisin teangl payl nyiba
he said 'you two go and make a decision'
540. ya pepa-na lyip koni timul-iyil
we straightened out the papers
 simulu tekimulayl
we're about to give them
 nu mong lyan-iyil lyik pora nsikin moltayl
now you've really got trouble
 na yiyl-kin adap tirid adiyl kaniyl-nga ka sikim-lum
'I went around unseen with a man, now, for that they might jail me'
 ekepu-nga puni kupulanum-te naa leylm
now there's no way for you to go
545. adi mong olysangi
now let them pay compensation
 nu-n aku-na nyang-na nyib me-pumulu
you can say it out and we'll take it from there
 mola yi akiyl kaku toba-e
or will the man break down?
 yi pe Tea-Dena kalya-sil wiji obayl
when the Tea-Dena men came up
 olyo el kani tirimul-iyil
we had that fight
550. meri yabu geku lyikim meri aji pum
now those people from down there went back and are staying away
 ya kung mingi kalya-na kanu-mel tap-yi-ke ya ung moylmeli
they are staying in a pig-grease pot [i.e. confined space]
 Tea-Dena kep meri aji pum
yes, the Tea-Dena have gone back
 ?:
 yi taltsi ab kanglku pekimil-kin lu-ni tokomil kalya mel
sometimes men and women sleep in an embrace, they might get killed with an axe

- ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 mol, ya olyo-nga yi Kusika-Midipu molkumil
no, our Kusika-Midipu men are here
555. Epola-Alya molkumil, Kopia-Kubuka olyo yi suku kanu-ma-ni
the Epola-Alya are here, the Kopia-Kubuka, our men in the middle
- kat tep molup ya kang yi-kin ui ya timul molymulayl pe*
are playing cards, the fellows who had court before, we're
all here
- yi-te yi-te bi todangi-na yi kaniyl-nga nyikimil*
let them name them one by one, and those named
- kot-na puk angilyangi medipuliyl*
let those go stand up in court
- KOPIA AB SUMUYL:
 na ung mare altep nyi naa nyibu
I won't say anything more
560. ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 ya nyirin ilyi mel-ko-e?
just what you said before?
- KOPIA AB SUMUYL:
 ya nyirid ilyi mel-ko-yl, wi haus-sik-na kanak nyiring-iyil
just what I said before, they had a look at the hospital and said
- na ab mori te-ja kapola, wi kang-abola molym*
if I were a woman without many children, all right, [but] there
are others
- ilyi-nga pilyipa nyim-iyil*
he knew this
- ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 pe ui kang-abola singijangayl pe nu ul kit tepa
well, the earlier children, he copulated with you
565. sikispela telym akiyl-nga singijanga aki telym-kin midi melti-i?
it always takes six times, and that's enough for you to bear
a child?
- KOPIA AB SUMUYL:
 pe
yes, of course
- ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 mare wate mol-i?
not more?
- KOPIA AB SUMUYL:
 adi kang kalyayl wase-ko, ui akisip mirimul-mel
and boy too, before we had him in that same way
- ya kang Rowa nyiyl kalyayl*
the boy named Rowa
- ?:
 ul kalyayl tripela tep i tep mel nyirimul
doing it like that three times
- 570.

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

ul kit *tripela* medipulu tepa kang miribul i nyikin-i?
you say, 'we had the boy doing it three times?'

KOPIA AB SUMUYL:

pe, akiyl-nga *tripela* akiyl yu-nu mol nyiba-kin
well, about that three times, he [the husband] said no

Unya-kin kot tirimul kaniyl tep-kin tirimul akin
we had court with Unya, and when we did

ya nyiba pupa altepa ung mare lupa mel nyirim-kiyl
he said something different

575. ya yi-ma-n mol nyiring, nyirim-kilya na-n kapola nyib
and the men said no, he said it, and I said 'all right then'

kangayl na-nga kangayl nyib kelip sukud urud-iyi
and the boy, saying it's my boy I left and came home

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

ekepu ne nu yi ne akiyl-nga ul aki tepa
now you and the man doing like that over there [at Kailge]

kang-abola molyim aku-na molurum
the child is there, it got there

ya kuduyl *dokta-yl-n* kang-abola i tepa nu-n tek ai naa jilyn
the European doctor [said] you don't make it grow like that

580. kang-abola memayl kubulelym-kin, ola-madupa ul kit nyik telymeli
the child's blood congeals, they have to copulate furiously

i-kin tek puk kang-abola tek kayi-jilymeli ilyi
that's how they properly form a child

tingijanga midi kung mel tapo lyik modultu akin
you get a boar and put it to the sow once

kera-mulu mel nyikimil akiyl molupa nyilym
a thing like a hen's egg is there, they say

kub-ki angantipa kang-abola ai naa lelym
forming the limbs, the child doesn't grow

585. kang-abola ul-iyi yabu kalurumayl tep tokumulayl
we shape the child that was formed

ne kang-abola no-na adak ok kub-ki angantik
going to the river, they form the limbs

no-na kang-abola kum tolymeli ilyi
they shape the child

pe ab mol nyilymeli akin suku naa pulymeli
then the women say no [refuse intercourse] and they don't go to them [their husbands]

kang-abolayl kep no-n tepa ai-jilym
the water causes the child to grow

590. yi-kin lupa-ko tek kayi-jilymeli ilyi-nga
and the men in a different way cause it to grow properly

- nu ne kang-abola tingijanga kang-abola kalyeb *sikispela nyikin*
that child, you say six months [times?]
- akiyl naa melymelayl pilyikin-i? a, de i-ke-nga
they don't bear them that way, do you hear? no, in six days
- i-kin medipulu nu kang-abola naa mirin-iyi pilyikin-i?
just in that time you didn't conceive the child, do you hear?
- i-kil-n kang-abola kum tok na kang-abola
with that many, shaping the child
600. kani kiye-wayi-lku kari lim nyilkuna-ja
if you'd said, 'it has cut off the menstrual house' [i.e., kept
you from menstruating]
- we namu foapela i-kil oba suku pulka-ja
after he had gone to you four times
- kapola ekepu kang-abola kiye-lku kari lirim
that might very well have cut off the menstrual house
- kang-abola kum tok tid kaniyl mid nyilkuna-ja kolti kapola-kiyl
if you had said 'I have shaped the child and made it', that would
be all right
- ya *sikispela* medipulu kang-abola naa mekin molayl pilyikin-i?
but after just six times you could not have formed a child, do
you understand?
605. ilyi-n yi-ma-n pilyi-konguntuk bo yi-ma-n pilyik-ko nyikimil
men think about this, native men understand about it
- pe ya gabman melayl
like the government
- melayl wi dokta-yl-n pilyipa-ko nyim
just like the doctor up there knew what he was talking about
- nu yi-te-n singijanga midi ul-te tirim-iyi
some man did something [copulated with you]
- pe kulkunayl, kapola naa tekim
you're hiding it, that's no good
- KOPIA AB SUMUYL:
610. ilyi pe na yi lupa-ma-kin nabina kayi kanap pab?
why should I want to go around with other men?
- ya kangayl-nga tri-pela de-nga gol topa nyirim akiyl-nga
he lied about it's being the three times for the boy
- mol na-nga olu-na-ja nyiba kot tensim, ilyi nyib pilyikir
saying is it in my belly he took me to court, that's what I think
- ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
- ekepu eni ya abu-ma-n te nyai
now one of you women talk
- eni lupalupa-ma kang-abola i tek melymeli mel-i?
is this the way various of you have children, like this?
615. ekepu kapola, eni yi-ma-n lyik ok tripela telymeli kang-abola meku
o.k., you[r] men doing it three times, do you bear?

sikispela medipulu ilyi-nga kang-abola melymeli-da
or just six times, do you bear children?

eni abu-ma-n porapora abu-te-n pilyik konguntuk ne tokudu modai
all of you women consider it and contribute [your opinion]

LALKUWU AB SURUB:

na nyab, ab-ma eni-ni lupalupa-ma pilyi molymeli
I'll speak, the women all understand

pe ya kapola de sikis-pela mel ilyi kapola kang-abola naa molurumiyl
well, in six days a child couldn't have been conceived

620. ekepu wangana pepa tekim ui-nga
now she's sleeping by herself, before in six days

aku-nga kang-abola naa molym
in that time a child isn't conceived

tep-oba kalyeb tupela tripela akin kang-abola molym
in two or three months a child is conceived

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

ekepu abalyi ilyi abayl-nga witnis pora pilyikimil
now you all hear this woman's testimony

ya i-ke-l sikispela i-kil tiringl ilyi-nga fopela i-ke
they did it six times, if four more times were added

625. alte-oba suku pulka, oba suku pulka-ja
if it were added and added again

nu-nu molym makur-nga telymeli
it's there, that's sufficient

i nyib olyo ko-lyip tabu tilkumolayl
this is what we believe

sikispela medipulu i-ke kang-abola naa molkum-ayl, naa molym maku-na
six times only and a child is not there, it's not enough

ul kare-ka autikin ab ul kit tekin kalyeb kare autipa
if you do it a lot, you copulate with her for many months

630. lyik moduluna kang-abola molymayl, ya sikis-pela medipulu molayl
and you continue for many months, a child is there, but not in only six times

mola ilyi-nga nu puluyl korup meb suku nu lapang kopena abolum
we're not after you [as if] you poisoned someone, 'father'

yabu tun abayl lyip ena mul naa monsukumul, i mol
or killed someone, we're not putting you outside in the sun, not that [i.e., your delict is not so grave]

ya ul ya ul pasin aku-na pilyip konguntup walytip meb pukumul-iy
we're trying to consider and ask about this matter

nu-nu nyikin kuni tekin, kot ung tilupa-te au nyikin nyilkuna-na
you talk straight, if you said something different

635. nyilytip melytip pulkumola-da disisin tek tengayl
we'd talk about it, and they'll make a decision

pilyikin pilyi nyimolayl
you understand and we'll speak [made a decision]

nyindanga-na olyo nyib meb pumul ilyi kolti kapola
if you say something, we'll consider it, that would be better

KOPIA AB SUMUYL:

aku mol nyikir
as to that I say no [i.e., there's nothing to reveal],

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

aku mol nyikin
you say no

KOPIA AB SUMUYL:

640. ya wi kangayl-nga yu-nu nyiba-yl, nyiba-yl medi pelymayl
he himself will talk about the boy later, he'll talk, that's later

ui na nyikir-ayl, kang ilyi-nga tripela de-nga yu-nu mol nyirimayl
first I'll talk, it wasn't three days for the boy, he said

nyiribul i mel ya kang ilyi-nga yu ui mirid akiyl
we talked like this, the boy I produced before

yi te-kin lupa adap mirid-i?
did I have that by another man?

UPUKA TEMAL:

ya wi kang wi ilyi tripela de-kil-nga
this boy over here in three days

645. ul ilyi mel tep miribul nyingl kanapa i nyingl kaniyl-nga
we produced him, that's what they said and in regard to that

nyib nyikir-ayl, yabu mare pilyai, tripela de-nga
I'm speaking, you people listen, in three days

yabu ul kit mel tek ...
people have sex ...

?:

kang ilyi kang kumlayeyl molym, kumlaye abolayl molym
there's an older boy, and a previous girl

UPUKA TEMAL:

pe abolayl tripela de-nga ko-i?
so was the girl [conceived in] three days too?

KOPIA AB SUMUYL:

650. abolayl ui yabu wenepu kominsopu-nga mekimil kalyayl-nga miribul-iy
the girl we had the way that a young girl and young man do

pe abolayl ami tonsipa-kin
then, weaning the girl

kang ilyi-nga adi tripela de adurubul akiyl
we went around [had sex] for three days

yu-nu mol nyirim-uy
he denied it

UPUKA TEMAL:

abola-nga kare auntipa-i?
lots of times for the girl?

655. TEA KUPALI:
 abolayl-nga ekepu ki mong tenpela mola twentipela
was it fifty or a hundred times for the girl?
- KOPIA AB SUMUYL:
 i olto ui koyela marit tiribul-kin ...
we were just newly married then ...
- TEA KUPALI:
 mola ilyi meri-kid-ko lelym
or was that afterwards?
- ilyi melynayl lyik mensikin-ko molyo, ilyi-nga
or do you remember how you conceived them?
- KOPIA AB SUMUYL:
 ilyi kapola naa lyip mensip molyayl, na nabisip pilyibu
I don't remember that, how would I?
660. UPUKA TEMAL:
 yabu kanguwa-sil ul kis mel tiribulayl
'we were young and we were having sex
 tena lyip mensibulu, i nyikibil
how would we remember?' that's what they two say
- TEA KUPALI:
 tiringl-kiyl pilyip nyikir-ayl faipela de-nga
you did it on five days, I think
- mola sikispela, sebenpela de-nga
or six, seven days
- kubilek sikis, seben pela kep pe altepa sekan-ayl faipela taim
at first six or seven, and then second five times
665. pe oba medipa ted oba tri, fopela taim
and then later, a third series of three or four times
- i gat pikinini
and there is a child
- KOPIA AB SUMUYL:
 ilyi pe naba wan-ayl-n olyo kangabola meb kanilyimulayl-n
'we know how to have a child the first time'
- ilyi nyib pilyirimul
that's what we thought
- ilyi pilyip naa kuni tirimul
we didn't know properly
670. kang ilyi-nga na-nu pilyirid-iy
I knew about the boy
- pilyip-kin tripela de kangayl-nga medipulu nyib pilyirid-iy
when I knew it was just three days for the boy
- kang-abola nyib pilyirid akin yu mol nyirim akiyl
*but when I felt the child he [Poya] said no [i.e., don't continue
 to nurse the girl]*
- mol nyiba-kin ya abolayl ami kulu sibulu
he said no, we'll give the girl rotten milk

- no-kolku we-d lyi
give him water and take him away
675. abola to-konsinsini nyirim
you'll kill the girl on me, he said
 nyirim akin pe kangayl abolayl wi ami noba molupiyl nyiba
then, saying 'let the boy, ah, girl keep drinking milk'
 lyibu nyiba urum
he came saying 'I'll take him'
 akin na mol nyirid
and I said no
 pilyi-kelipa nyirim
he talked a lot
680. wilyi aku-na Upuka Pangimi-kin peylmelayl
they were living with Pangimi
 nai-kin miring
who nurtured it? [addressed to Poya]
 yu-nu mol
not him
 kangayl no kolku wedu lyikimilayl
getting water, they take the boy away
 yabu-ka-nga kos tensibu yu-nu aki nyirim akin
he said 'I'll take people to court'
685. pe na-d nyirim akin
so he said to me
 gol topa nyikim-ayl
he is lying
 kang-abola yu-nu-nga nyib pilyidiyl
I knew the child was his
 altepa kanapa kelipa nyikim
he talked on and on about it
 nyib mol nyirid ab wayangunu kanumel
I said no, [he treated me] just like a woman who has no children
690. kangayl nunu molurum-i?
did the boy just get there by himself?
 ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 nu yab-sil-n nyikibil aku mel papu nyirin-i
did you agree with what those two are saying?
 KOPIA PAYO (Sumuyl's father):
 kapola nyi nyikimil-iyil na naa nyirid ui aki tirid mel-ko
*at first I didn't say that what they're saying is right, that's
 how I did*
 ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 wenepu-kin nyikim ilyi nu-nu meri apra-nsip moyl nyikim-ayl
*she is saying that she's forgotten what it was like when she was a
 young girl*

pe ab yi-kin adak adak kang-abola meylmeli
*but grown women and men go around sleeping together a lot and
 have children*

695. wenepu-kin kapola marit-te nyingli mel nyiringl
*you said what happened when she was young and you were first
 married*

UPUKA POYA:

pe ob abolayl molurum akin medepa sekan ilyi-nga
the girl was born and then the second one

na ob komplem tirid-iyi
I came and complained

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

abolayl molurum-ilyi nu nabi tekin
when the girl was born what did you do?

UPUKA POYA:

na ya aunsyil nyikir-iyi, de aunsyil mel abolayl miring [miribul?]
*I say a lot of times, after many days [of copulating] we
 produced the girl*

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

700. kangayl molurum ilyi midi tripela taim tiribul nyikin-i
*you say the 'boy was born after we had done it only three
 times'*

UPUKA POYA:

tripela nyilkuna na-n tupela nyikir
you say three and I say two

pe alte(pa) meri lapayl-n yupuk kapola-ko, tal kapola-ko
and then father [says] 'three days, that's o.k., or two

mola tripela, fopela ilyi mada nyirim, i-ja kalyayl kayi-ma
or three or four is enough', he said, 'is that right? [I asked]

te pelym-ja kalya nyib pilyirid, i naba wan abolayl-nga
I thought, for the first time, about the girl, 'can that really be?'

705. nyib pilyip medepa sekan ui kongun tek olymeli aku mel
*I thought, and then later, for the second time, at first they work
 at it*

bihainim tep pe meri lapa-ni oba ung ilyi mel nyirim
I agreed and then 'father' [Payo] came and said this

de tupela kapola-ko, tripela kapola-ko, fopela kapola
two is enough, or three, or four

ul ilyi mada-ko, ing kayi-me medi kang-abola molym
like that is enough, in truth after that a child is there

mel ung maku tenga nyikim na-n ung-iyi altep larim mel tirid
he's speaking the truth, and I let it go at that

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

710. pe nu-n pilyikin ne kot tentik tirin
when you knew you wanted to take her to court

abolayl kapola mel tiribul-iyi, kangayl mebul-kin
the girl we had all right, [but] when we had the boy
 na faul tekim nyirim mola ul-iyi pilyikin kot tenti-tirin mola pe ...
you're deceiving, he said, or when you understood you wanted to
court her or ...

UPUKA POYA:

na pilyip faul mel tekim-da nyib pilyip nyirid
when I found out, I asked myself 'is she wronging me'

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

ekepu lapang abola-iyi kapola miringl, kangayl mengl-kin
now, 'father', you two had the girl all right, but when you had
the boy

715. nu faul mel tirin-da nyib pilyip nu-n tupela nyirin
'did you deceive me', I thought, you said [it was] two days
 nu-n tripela nyirin nyibu-pu-pu-pup kang-abola olto miribul-ilyi
you said three, I thought [about it], we had the child
 olyo kung-iyi akisik tapo lyilymelayl tripela kang-abola
it's the way they put a boar to the sow, in three days a child
 kapola naa molym, tupela kang-abola naa melymeli, kangayl ilyi-nga
is not there, in two days they don't have a child, as to the boy
 i tek naa melymeli ilyi-nga ekepu i tek kang-abola naa melymeli
they don't have them this way, now doing like this they don't
have them

720. ilyi-nga ya nu ul ilyi kangayl tiringl i mel nu ya Poya faul mel
you had the boy like this and like that you deceive Poya
 tontikin kangayl faul-ko tiringl ekepu nu ya meri
and there was something wrong with [how you had] the boy too and
now
 ekepu kang-abola mekin-iyi miribul-iyi faul-ko tekin nyik pilyik
 pilyikimil
and now you're carrying a child, we had it, they think you're
deceiving again
 min nyik pilyik nyikimil
they think you're wrong

KOPIA AB SUMUYL:

faul-te naa tebayl, molayl, altepa we nyibu-i?
I won't wrong him, no, should I talk again, for nothing [in vain]?

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

725. wi Kobolka Wiri Tari kolya ...
there in Kobolka, the Wiri [Wiru] in Tari ...

UPUKA TEMAL:

ya ab anumuyl pilyangi, anum lapa-sil pilyangi,
you listen to the old woman [Sumuy's mother], listen to the father
and mother

ab anumuyl tena molym, nununga kopongayl akitipa lelym
where is the old woman, is her 'grease' like that

anum-lapa-til ul kit medi tel ne tekul ab ilyi miringl
the parents copulated and had that woman [Sumuy]

yabu-nga eni-nga memi-na-kilyi, kung gai punya nolym kalya
*people's traits are in the blood, as a pig eats sweet potato
 gardens*

730. kung gai punya nolym, pe yabu pudu lyilymeli kalyayl
*the pig [its offspring] eats sweet potato gardens, as people get
 in trouble*

pudu lyilymeli-kiyl
they [their offspring] get in trouble

ya yabu-sil-nga ul kit tiringl memayl
here these two copulated and their blood

ne abayl miringl ul akiyl-nga, ya anum-lapa-til pilyamiyl
they produced this woman, let's hear the mother and father

tripela ike-nga kang-abola miringl mola mare autikil tekul-kin miringl
*doing it three times did they have a child or did they have it
 by doing it many times?*

735. ilyi pilyik kayi-teai, yabu memi-na kalyayl yabu mai nolym kalyayl
*listen carefully, people's traits are in the blood like that,
 if people have a headache*

lkitipa pupa pulkan-ayl-m yabu nolym, we lelym akin mai-ko nolym,
*very soon their veins hurt, it stays like that and their forehead
 hurts*

gu nolym kalyayl yabu memayl, i ul kalyayl memi-na midi pepa olymayl
*like when a tooth hurts, that's inherited, these things are in
 the blood and come out*

pe abayl anum-lapa-til pilyimul, yabu ul kit mel tal tel miringl
*well, come on, let's hear the mother and father, did they have a
 child doing it twice?*

mola tripela i mel tekul ya ab ilyi miringl mola, i pilyimul,
or did they do it three times and have this woman here, let's hear!

740. tilupuyl te-kiyl
or even once?!

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
 aku wi anum oba molym mola-mol
is the old lady here or not?

UPUKA TEMAL:
 kuduyl pobera yabu-ma ya molkumil i-me-nga
European and native people are here

ya punya kongun tek puk kerilangi nolymeli
if you garden you can eat the food

ya ujiyl wi so-lyipa nyikim kalya-mel
he's giving an example, like this tree

745. we owa walayl kung ilyi midi tapo lyik tingijanga ola modulymeli
like a puppy and a pig, they just put the male to it once

ya midi tapo lyipa kung walu lelym
just taking the boar, piglets are conceived

yabu ab ya pul-yi-nga tepa pentipa-kin kongun tekun pukun nangi nyirim
*God made people and put them [in the world], and said 'you work
 and you may eat'*

ilyi ab ul kit tek puk puk kang-abola pupa kanapa lyilym melayl-oro
you keep on copulating and a child will be begotten

ama tingijanga wewe mel tek kung walayl molkubela
only piglets can be conceived after doing it just a few times

750. akiyl pe molymeli-kin punya tal taltika oba pulym
they are there, then two or three years go by

kung walayl molym, tripela lyik gi-jil wi kang-abola te-ko mel
*a piglet is there, and if they clinched only three times and
 produced another*

tripela lyik gi-jil kang-abola te-ko mel pulkubela-na
*and clinched three more times, and another child is there, if they
 went on like this*

olyo-nga kolya-na yabu aima puluyl molka
our place would be full of people

papa ung nya
uncle, you talk

KOPIA PAYO:

755. na nyab-e? ilyi ya ui kangayl nyikimil akiyl-nga nyirid
shall I talk? what they're saying I said about the boy

iyi nabitim-na nyirid nyik pilyingi ...
why did I say it, you'll think

ya yi kolupa pelymolu ilyi-nga ab waye-na kang-abola meb molymolu
 akiyl pe
when a man dies we look after the widow's children

yi-te-n ul kis telym-na-ko molym-na melymeli
then another man copulates and they have a child

mola ob kaniyl kulum yi ilyi kulum iyil kang-abola mong langapa
or the child of the man who died, after a long time a child is born

760. kang-abola melymeli kanumel na-n pilyip molup kangayl nyilke
they have a child, I felt like that when I had this child

ekepu kang kala kanak bi-sik nyai, kang kubi-kulyuwa ekepu
now look at the boy and acknowledge his colour, the boy's face now

eni kanak pora-nsang, kapola nyikir, ilyi i nyib pilyip-lyanga
you look and examine it carefully, all right, I say, thinking this

kangayl-nga lo tebu nyirim naa tirim ya Kuningiyil-kin pupa
*'I'll pay compensation about this' he said, but didn't, going with
 [Upuka] Kuningiyil [magistrate from Waipip]*

nela Tela pup kot tirimul el tirimul, ya tekumul mel tirimul
*we went to Tela and had court and fought, we did just as we're
 doing now*

765. el tirimul yunu mol nyirim, olyo aima el tep tep nela Waipip aima
we fought, he said no, we fought and fought at Waipip, really
 el tep tep tirimul kolya-na-kiyl timul-iyi
we fought and fought like that
 na-n i nyib nyi-pilyip-lya kangayl eltili kanap
I thought, seeing you and the boy
 ung naa tonginsulyayl, abayl ya yi kolymeli-kin
I don't discuss it, women when their husbands die
 ab wayeyl puk-lyanga ya na-n adap adap kidipaim di angisik
the widows go and they keep on forming the nails and hair
770. melymeli adu-mel na sikimil pilyikir-ayl, na-n lukautim teab
and produce it, like that you're giving it to me, I think, I'll
care for it
 nyipe-napa, kangayl yadu lyip monsup anum nyib
very well, I took the boy back and said to the mother
 kangayl mek sayl nyirid, ya abolayl mel siringl pe medepa-nga-da
'bring the boy and give it to me' I said, they brought the girl,
and then later
 abola akiyl mel singl nosip molud-kin ekepu
they brought the girl, I looked after her and then
 abayl abu-nga tekimil kalyamel kung mel pala kaylsumuyi naa kanud
the sort of thing women do, they break down the pig fence,
I didn't see that
775. i-ke wi sukudu lyip na-nga nyib nosi-molurud-iyi, i nyikir
I took (them) in and looked after them, I say
 aku memi-na lobolkumelayl na-nu nyib sikir
you talk about its being in the blood, I tell you this myself
 TEA KUPALI:
 ya ilyi kang-abola-kil ya lukautim tekin tirin
that you looked after the children
 ung i-ke nyikim ya yi ilyi manya nyikim-ilyi
but what he says, the man down there, what he says
 ung kalyayl pudu naa tokun-i
you're not going to answer that?
- KOPIA PAYO:
 780. akiyl-nga pudu oniya-koltsi nyikir nyib pilyikir kalyayl
I am responding to it, I think
 ya olto-nga abu-ada lapa akiyl-nga nyikir-ayl ilyi ekepu
I'm talking on behalf of me and my wife and about that
 nabitep pilyip molubu, na-ni abu waye su-lyip
how should I remember, I acted like a widow
 kang-abola lukautim tirid mel ung-iyi nyib modukur kalyayl
I looked after the children, that's what I'm reporting

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

ilyi ya yi-yl kulurum-na ab waye mel kang-abola nokurun ...
as when a man has died, like a widow you looked after the children ...

UPUKA TEMAL:

785. ya ui abayl kalyeb tripela mun nyikim-ayl, ul kit tep
first the woman says three months, copulating
 tripela tintirimul, kang-iyi miribul nyikibil-alyi
'we did it three times, we had this boy' they say
 yabu-til wate-wate ya moluringl ilyi-nga, pe kaime tika nyikim
you two stayed here together, well is she telling the truth
 mola gol topa nyikim mola, kaime ul kit ilyi-nga tekul-kin
or is she lying, is it true that they copulated
 pe gep nol nyikibil mola naa tekul wi yiyl-n kaime komplem tirim
or are they lying, they didn't do it, did that fellow really complain
790. mola ilyi olyo lyip kuni naa mel tirimul, pe elti yabu-til te kep
we have not found this out for certain, well of the two one
 wate tena-ba naa molurum elti wate tilupu-na molybeli-oro-ko
was not there, they live in the same place
 owa-lopa-tal tilupu-na moluringl ilyi-ka nyik-kin
they lived like dog and marsupial in the same place
 ilyi-kin wa turing, ekepu abayl noi lku topa tepi modurum
they have alleged this, and then the woman set fire to the house
 lku topa tepi modupa pantipa-kin abayl keangan ne oba
set her house on fire and then stealthily
795. nunu-nga kolya purum, purum koperi-kornga mel kaniyl
went home, she went away a long time ago
 punya koperi tupela, tu en hap mel, ekepu puba noi molym
a long time, two or two-and-a-half years, now she's living at home
 ilyi-nga ya noi abayl molcum ilyi-ko nyib-kin mel mare meba pupa
and we said she's living there, and he [Poya], taking some things
 noi abayl sokudu lyibu nyirim i-kin mol nyirim
said 'I want to take the woman back', but she said no
 mol nyilkumela-kin pe olyo eni ya yi kali-ni kot-ayl pilyik-kin
when they refused, then you heard court with these men
800. eni-nga kolya-na tiring, tek moluring-kin pe noi-ba
in your place, they had it, and he gave compensation
 telka pe kompetetin lyik mek eni sokud olcumela-da
and if they had gotten it and come back
 koperi kapola, pe ekeda kompetetin lyipa noi tipa
that would've been o.k., but instead, taking the compensation he gave to them
 abayl alte noi aji molurum, noi aji molupa pilyipe-kin pe
the woman still stayed home, she felt like staying back

ya olkala-kin ya yabu ab kang-abola mepa-tilyi
*if she had come, here the people [see] that she's a woman with
 child*

805. ab auntipa yabu *glasim* tek tekimil kalyayl-nga
a lot of people see her like that

tuku yabu auntipa mel, yabu auntipa mel molku-kin
there are a lot of people [in Upuka], there are a lot of people

abayl ya tukud urum ilyi-kin abayl *kompetetin* timul ilyi-kin
when she did come 'in', we gave this woman compensation and then

oba-kin naa um kaniyl-oro-ko, kaniyl lyipa yunu-nga yabu tipa-kin
*at first she didn't come, she took it [compensation] and gave it
 to her people*

pe abayl moi molkur nyim kaniyl pe molupa-kin ekepu ya
*and then the woman said, 'I'm staying there [at home]', and then
 she stayed, and now*

810. tukutingi-na okumayl, abayl kang-abola nyib kanukumul ilyi-kin
*she comes in the middle, the woman is pregnant we say when we
 look*

abayl kang-abola awuyl-te meba okum nyib kanukumul-kin ekepu ya
the woman is far along, we say when we see here and now

nu yi-ilyi lku tilupu-na naa pelym, yi-li-n lyik gi-ntik
the fellow here doesn't sleep in the same house, the magistrates

kot tiring, ekepu ya Kuntilyi-n pilyik ilyi-kin lku oi tonturun
*took her to court, and Kunsilyi, when you heard you divided
 the house*

ing ilyi pupa lepa aunta-kin pe altepa oba nu-kin pid adud
when the word would get around, she'd say I slept with you

815. nyiba ilyi mol, elti yabu-til ekepu lupalupa pelybeli
[but] no, you two now sleep separately

TEA KUPALI:

eni ya *ful* kot tep molymolu-kiyl eni ya *baim* tengi
we're having full court, you'll pay

nyiku ilyi pilyikimil ilyi-ka?
they say, do you understand that?

UPUKA TEMAL:

aku-ma wi ol-wal tangi, adi ab pamuk mare mol
you whisper up there, there are no prostitutes

kanak nyikimil, tongi pantik nyikimil
*they see some and are talking, they want to copulate with them
 and are talking*

820. pengi obilma pultipulti aboluyl mare kanakur
I see some raggedy-haired people, [i.e., why are they talking?]

ya nyik mek ya tukud ongi pilyik nyikimil
they're talking, they think that'll bring them

i nyik-kin ya nyik notiring ilyi-kin pe
they decided the matter and then

- kang-yi kaniyl lku oi tonturing, lku oi tontik tiring ilyi-kin
they divided the young fellow's house, when they divided the house
- olyo ya naa kanurumul ilyi-nga pe abayl nyiba-kin aki
'we didn't see it', the woman said
825. nyilkumela-yl-kin kang-yi kaniyl puba noi molurum
and when they said this the young fellow went and stayed there
[at Waipip?]
- abayl ya kopi punya-kin kolya i-kei nokokun molui nyirim
and he told the woman, 'you stay and look after the coffee garden'
- i-kin ali Melpa kopi masin kari lirim-na masin temulu nyiring
and then east in Melpa [country] where there was a coffee huller
'we'll machine coffee', they said
- mola ya aku Melpa purungl akin ul kit mel tepa
and they went to Melpa and then copulating
- oba tripela tentiribul kalyayl i nyingl pe aima na-ni ing akiyl
'we did it three times', they said, well I certainly
830. tukud naa lyirid, kolyayl pe pilyip pilyip aima
didn't accept that, thinking about that place, really
- kolya pena-obil-we pena pukul ul kit mel tengli kolya mel mol
a plain, treeless place, how they'll copulate, there's no place
- kolya Melpa kolyayl nyib pilyikir-ayl, ... pena pul ul kit tengliyl
Melpa country, I believe ... going outside they won't copulate
- mel mol, kolya ya i tepa mel, i-mel kopi punya pelym
a place like this, like here where there's coffee garden
- ilyi mel aima naa pelym, kolya namu tolytungayl
there's nothing like this, the place has no vegetation
835. lkutuku tiribul nyirimuyul pe yabu te-ma kare lku tena lupa
'we did it in the house', she said, well you know, it's strangers
and someone else's house, you know
- ilyi-nga eni lku tena puku-kin eni temani tok
you, going to a strange house, you spin a tale
- lku ya yabu pul yabu-la pena molangi-na
while the owners of the house are sitting outside
- lkutuku nu abu ul kit temani tokun tek in molyn-i?
you stay in the house and 'spin a tale' of copulating?
- EPOLA PUP:
 yabu kare-ka-nga lku adu-na eni lkutuku tek molymel-i?
you do it in other people's house?
- UPUKA TEMAL:
 840. ilyi lku lupa ilyi-nga yabu ul kit mel tabu naa nyiyl
as if there's no taboo on copulating in others' houses
- melayl pilyikin-i? ilyi-nga naa pilyirid-iyul aima
you see? I didn't believe this
- kopi lumaye topa meba wilti-alti adupun ilyi-kin ob meri
washing the coffee, and we go back and forth, and there

lkudu pup-kin tep tripela tintiribul nyiringl
'going in the house we did it three times', they said
 ilyi aima lku lupa we-na elti tabu naa nyiyl yabu tal tiringl-da
in a strange house, not feeling any prohibition, did they really
do it?

845. nyikir-ayl pilyikin-i, tripela de i-kil,
I say, you know, three days like that
 tepa-kin pe abayl kelipa pentipa-kin ya tripela de akiyl-nga
doing it, and then leaving the woman in the house, three days
 ul kit lku-na lkutuku tangalyim kopi lumaye topa molupa wilti-alti
during the day, copulating in the house, washing coffee and going
back and forth
 adapul-kin lkutuku tiribul ilyi-ka nyiringl-iyi
'we went and did it in the house', they said
 lku pul yabu-ma-ka nyirimul-kin aku-ma puring-kin-ko tiribul
'going in the house, when the people went away we did it
850. kopi lumaye yabu-ma-ko nyirimul-kin aku-ma poning-na
washed coffee, we stayed with the people on a visit
 yabu i yab kopi lumaye tok wilti-alti aduring-kin-ko tiribul
the people were washing coffee and when they were going back and
forth we did it
 mek aduring-kin tiribul nyingl, na-n ilyi pilyip pilyip
when they were carrying it we did it', they said, when I
heard this
 tabu naa-ntip, lku lupa we nar-ko lku tema pukun
I didn't believe it, you go to a strange house
 ul iyl tabu naa nyirim, ama te tirin-lum, ilyi nyib na-n
that wasn't right, would you have done it, I think of
855. pilyip pilyip-alyi-kin ilyi na-n lyip tabu naa ntirid, ya tiribul
this, I didn't believe, 'we did it'
 tripela de tiribul nyiringl kil tike tiringl mola we-da
they said 'we did it three days', did they or not?
 aku pe olyo nabitip kanumulu? nyilkumola i tepun mel
how shall we know? We thought about it
 notipun-kin pe noi yi-kilin altepa ilyi kapola-kin nying ilyi-kin
and those men again said 'o.k.'
 na-n altepa wi abayl mol-ko nyim, nyib nyib altepa ing ilyi
and the woman still said no, and we're talking again, the same
subject
860. nyik nyik kilyewalye ka-na kanumel aima puliwali teaga
like a string-game, it goes around and around [repeats]
 eni aima boni anum-te mengi pilyikir ilyi-kin
you must feel very bad
 abayl kang-abola meba modulka-da papu-kilyi-kin
if the woman gave birth, that would be good

kang-abolayl molym abayl ul kit tripela nyikim, kalyeb
*the child is there, the woman says three acts of copulation,
 three months*

tripela-ka-nga kalyeb tripela-kil-nga oba ya molurud nyikim ilyi
she says she stayed here for three months

865. sika nyikim mola gol topa nyikim
is she telling the truth or lying?

kang-abola melka-da papu-kiyl
if she had the child o.k.

ab kangabola koyela noi moylm-kiyl
the child is still in her belly

dokta-yl-ni kanapa-kin mol kalyeb talti pansipa tuku lyiba mola
will the doctor, after looking at her, add some months, or

mola kang-abola monsurum-ilyi mak-ilyi-nga
or did she conceive the child

870. oba-kin ekepu ya day ilyi mak ...
or on this day ...

(end of side one of the tape, followed by a break of about
 20 minutes which was not recorded)

side two:

UPUKA TEMAL:

ui-nga kapola ya ul kit mel sikispela akiyl penga tiringl
at first, o.k., but it was later when you copulated six times

ing tenga nyikin-ilyi-ka
but now you're saying something different

noi ul kit mel kubilepa punya tu yias hab ilyi noi molurun
*as for copulation, you stayed over in your own place for two and
 a half years*

ilyi nai-kin molurun ilyi-nga ilyi nai-kin molurun
who were you staying with then, who?

875. pe ya oba ya kompetetin tim-ilyi-kini
then when he paid compensation

kompetetin tepa olkala-kin
if she had come back after he paid compensation

altepa akin kelkin olkumelada kapola-ko
if you had come back that would have been o.k.

noi molkun molkun molkun pe ya tukutingi-na un-kin
*after staying and staying over there you came back in the middle
 [of your pregnancy]*

pe ya yabu-n nu kanikimil kang-abola awilyiyl mekin okun
and people see that you come with a big baby

880. ilyi-kin ya yi tap yi-kil-n kanak lku oi tonsik tiring
*when this happened the magistrates saw and divided the house
 [by adding an internal wall]*

ekepu ya kang-abola moronsilka kanap-kun i tepun nyikimul
now as we see that the baby is gradually appearing we talk like this

olyo boni-ilyi aima pilyikumul pilyikin-i?
we really have heavy feelings about this, you know?

ya kompetetin tiring akin yadu wangla-kin oba ya molkala-da
if she had come back and stayed when they paid compensation

kapola mel ya nu-nu mindi-kin tekin nyikin mol
then we would believe that just you had been copulating

885. pe noi aji molkola-kin ekepu ya um ilyi-kin
but since she stayed back over there until now

ya yabu keli-ni ya ab-edu kangabola awilyiyl meba okum
 ilyi-ka i nying
the little people have said she's coming with a big child

ilyi pilyikin-i?
you know/hear?

ekepu tobulup ola manya tep nyikimul
now we're discussing 'up and down' [i.e. furiously]

ya kalyeb sikis mun mola sikispela de ul kit mel tiribul nyikibil
you two say you copulated maybe six months, or on six days

890. kili-ya penga ya kangabola kanak lyiku lku oi tonsik tiring
after those times they saw the child and divided the house

ui pilyikin-i
early on, you know?

ui tiring ilyi kangabola nai-ngayl mek urun-i ya i nyikimul-ilyi
first they did this, saying 'whose child have you brought?'

abayl bo noi moylm-kin
when the woman stays at her place

olyo kep pi yi-yl kep noi naa pulym-or-ko
neither we nor her husband ever goes there

895. pe ekepu nu kangabola ilyi nai-ngayl mek olkuna
so whose child have you come with?

olyo kanap lku oi tonsup tap yi-li-n pilyik nyikimil-i
now that we have seen and divided the house, the magistrates have heard and are discussing it

i nyikimil-kin sikispela de ilyi-nga ul kit mel tiribul nyikim
and as they do so she says the two of them copulated about six times

ilyi pe penga penga ya ola mada turum-lum ilyi penga tirimuy
 pilyikin-i
it must have been later when she did it, she did it afterwards [i.e. after the child had already been formed], you know?

kang-abolalyi ui kanak nyiring-iyil pilyikin-i, kang-abola awilyiyl
they first saw the child and said this, you know, a big child

900. ui kanak ya tap yi-li-n lku oi tontik tiringl
first they saw it and the magistrates divided the house
 kang-abola ui-iyi pilyikin-i? ilyi-nga olyo pilyikumulayl
the child [was there] first, you know? we know this
 aima kapola naa tekim, ekepu noi ya lopa-ti-n owa lyipa kum-tiyi
 tantilym
it's really not right, just as the marsupial tricks the dog
 kanumel ya nu abayl-ni olyo aima lyik-kin kum-tiyi tantukin-iyi
just like that you, woman, are tricking us
 olyo aima wiyl manya mangali punya pim-ilyi
just like there was a bamboo grove down there
905. topa tepa tipi montilka-yl-nga olyo aima molimali adap midi molymolu
she boxed us in and we are going around groping about
 ekepu ya kang-abola ui kalyalyi altepu yiyl-ni tal tiribul nyikim
now that child, 'before we copulated twice', the man says
 pe nu-n kalya tripela tep-kin miribul i nyikin
and you say 'we did it three times and conceived the child'
 pe wilyi yiyl nyiba-kin olyo tiribul-kin pe
and that fellow says, we did it
 nununu ne nedu purumiyl-kin ne Kalyke nunu-nga kolya pupa molka-kin
and she went over to Kailge, went home and stayed there
910. pe kang-abola mepa yad urum kalya-ka nyirim i nyikumul-alyi pe
and she came back carrying a child, that's what we're saying and
 olyo ya yi-kil-n pilyip-kin ya yi lupa lupa molymeli i-me-n pilyik-kin
here we men hear this, lots of [different] men are here, listening
 i aima ne Kalyke kolya-na pirimu-te ne ilyi-na molym-na
in Kailge there really must be a nail
 ?:
 telym-ko-yl adu-ne tim nyib pilyip molymulu
we think she does the same all the time
 UPUKA TEMAL:
 pirimu-ni ul-te tirim-da i nyib pilyip, pilyimu-n mel te molupa
did a nail really do something, we wonder, there's something like
a bee there
915. aku-na daim topa montipa ul-te telym tena tirim-ko
it does something like puts spit [on things], it really did
 nyikumulayl pilyikin-i? ekepu ya kang-abolayl kep nyikumul
we're saying that, you know? now we're talking about the child
 ekepu ya kang-abola tobolkumulayl noi kang-abolayl montipa
we're discussing the child, she conceived a child there
 yad um-na ya painimaut tekimul lku oi tumul
and came back, we're investigating it, we divided the house
 ya sikispela de ul kit mel tingl-ilyi pe kang-abola montuyi
here they copulated for six days and she was pregnant

920. ola-madupa ul kit mel tingliyl
 they copulated hard
- kang-abolayl ui kanap nyimul-iyi, pilyikin-i
 we had seen the child first when we talked about it, you know?
- molupa yad olka kanap nyimul-iyi
 she'd stayed there, come back, and we saw it and talked about it
- ekepu olyo boni pilyikumul ilyi, ilyi-nga pilyikumul
 now we're distressed about this, we feel this way about it
- ekepu ab pul yi-li-n eni pilyangi-na pilyangi-na-kin
 now let the woman's relatives hear, let them listen
925. Lomonga Tari Wiru kolya-ma-nga ya ab tepa meri kayi-me midi
 molymeli nyikin pilyikin-i
 Lomonga, Tari, Wiru home territory, you think there are only good women there?
- abu te- ya yi-te-kin ul kit mel tingl-iyi-ope
 a woman went off to copulate with a man
- ilyi-nga pilyipa konguntipa tek-kin nabolka ing-te nyingi-da
 when they consider [this sort of problem], what in the world will they say?
- lo weningi nying kaniyl nabolka ing ti nyingida
 they made a new law, what will they say?
- oi-kin kopumalyinga tek molymeli naa kanukimil
 they laugh and really relish it, don't you see?
- TEA KUPALI:
930. eni pawa-na-ko pantik molymelayl
 you keep that in mind
- UPUKA TEMAL:
- ya kot tekimul ilyi kanuk pilyik tek molymeli
 here we're having court, you're looking and hearing
- ya nyikr kalya pilyikin-i, punya abu-ka eni ya yi ada i-li-n ul
 kit mel tekimil kada naa tekim
 I'm talking this way, you know, you old men copulate with older women and it doesn't satisfy them
- yi anum-kil mol yi kanguwa-l-kin ul kit mel tekimil nyikir pilyikin-i
 not with the older men, so they copulate with the younger men, I say, do you understand?
- ekepu ya punya nyikimil kalya-ka-l nabolka punya-kal kalya oba
 purum-ka-d nyikimil
 now they're old, you say, how many years went by, you say
935. eni ya ul kit mel abola-kal telymeli kalida nyikimul
 you copulate, girls do it, that's what we're saying
- nyilymeli ilyi mel yabu i-kil kalya ul kit mel ya yi kanguwa-kin
 they say this, how people copulate with young men
- ilyi manya sikispeni ku kuluyi-na trausis-na pantik ku gomu-yl-oro-ko
 they put sixpences down in their trousers pocket and taking some [money] notes

altek mek wi lku stoa-na langi toku-te kolyibi tok te nyik
 mong-kul yadu lyik
*to the store, buying some food and taking a single smoke out of
 the packet*

trausis-na pantik keril-karel-ntik mel tek ul kare yabu kare tek
 faul tentik okumil-ke
*they put it in their pocket, and rattle it and they are coming to do
 wrong things and do wrong by people*

940. ya abayl kang-abola ilyi-nga pentip wari tekimulayl
we are troubled about the woman and her child

eni pilyangi-nayl-nga, kanap kot tentamiyl nying-lum
as you're listening, if you say, 'let's try her in public'

kot-ayl nyai olyo-n ilyi-nga yi lupalupa-kin ing nyib tuktuk
 temulu mel mol
you try her, we won't all of us chip in our two-cents' worth

abayl ka tamiyl mola abayl kompetetin lyamiyl i nyib olyo naa
 nyikimul kalyayl
*'let's jail the woman, let's get compensaton from her', we're not
 saying this*

adi tap yi-l nyikimilayl-kil kung tapo lyik ya mel kung walayl-kin
the magistrates are saying that, like when we lend a boar, a piglet

945. aipi mong ayl-kin kung-iyl pul yab-ayl yu-nu pul yab-ayln lyilym
from the litter is taken by the owner [of the boar, as a stud fee]

manuwa lyiba yi kalyayl kengena gomu-kin we korayl molupa lyilym
 kanumel
the doctor gets it, like a man gets kengena leaves

eni pilyai ya abayl kot tentamiyl nyik pilying-lum, kot tentamiyl
you hear, if you think 'let's try this woman', then let's do it

ya abayl-nga ing nyirim kaniyl ekepu top eyl tep modup kelkimulayl
what the woman said, we throw that out

ya sikispela de ul kit mel tiribul kalyeb tripela mun nyim kaniyl
now, she said we copulated for six days and it's three months

950. aima kang-abola mujuyl mel tripela oba pukum nyim kaniyl
indeed she's pregnant, three [months] have elapsed, she said that

ekepu top eyl tep modup kelkimul-ayl wi dokta-yl melayl
now we just throw that out, like the doctor up there did

TEA KUPALI:

dokta-yl-n aima ekepu bilip tekimul-iy
indeed, we believe the doctor

UPUKA TEMAL:

pe man tok yabayl wi nuimiyl-ni uj kekemi mel-ma tokudu
 kanalym nyikumul kalyamel

*well, people saying prayers say that God looks inside the pulp
 of wood*

pe dokta-yl-n kalya tukudu kanalym-ko nyimulayl
well, in the same way the doctor sees inside, we say

955. i kanalym yiyl-n ya manya mai-na yiyl-n kanapa-kin ilyi mol
nobody sees down here on earth, no
- ilyi lupu-yl-kin takitek tepa-kin ya takitek tepa-kin ya montilym
 ilyi-ka nyim
*doing it constantly with another man, constantly doing it, she's
 pregnant, he [the doctor] said*
- mujum ilyi-ka nyim wi pena ekisre wi tri mun sikis de ul kit mel
 nyin kani-kil
*she got pregnant, he said, up there in the examination room, you
 said you were three months pregnant after six days of copulating,
 like that*
- kalyeb tupela de ul kit mel tiringl kani-kil-nga puba dokta-yl-n
 topa eyl tepa modupa kilim-iyi
*or you copulated for two days, when she went the doctor just
 didn't believe that*
- ekepu ya nu-nga wi dokta-yl-n lyipa-kin faip mun molym
now the doctor up there said you're five months along
960. ekepu ya nu kang-abola mini maku-na kalyeb kil-nga kalyeb fopela
 mun pelym-kiyi
now until the time you'll have the child four months are left
- TEA KUPALI:
 fopela kapola nyikim
he says four, that's right
- UPUKA TEMAL:
 fopela pelym-kiyi, kalyeb faip mun-kiyi ya kang-abola ekepu
 awilyiyl molupa pora-dirim
four months are left, it's five months, now the child is big
- ekepu ya fopela mun-iyi pekim ilyi-nga ya kang-abola mini maku-na
 molyn ilyi pilyikin ...
*now there are four months left, at that time you'll have this
 child, you know ...*
- ya eni ya Kopia kani-kil-n ab kep noi montik noi yi kani-kil-n
you Kopia were keeping her over there [in Kopia territory]
965. ab ilyi i ab lu ilta molkum ilyi kani nyik naa pilyiring
*'this woman is an axe handle [i.e., married]', you didn't think
 about that*
- ab yi puyl kolyana ne lku topa tepi modupa urum kalyayl
a married woman burned her house and came back as she did
- ya oba ya molkum kalya nyik pilyik-lyanga eni kanu olala kanak
 moluring-lum
*you thought, 'she's come and she's here', so you didn't look after
 her carefully*
- manya kaniyi yi-te-n ul kit tirim kanilyi tepa pepa
secretly she was copulating, sleeping with another man
- kodi tirimiyl naa kanak moluring, tepa molupa ekepu
she started a new affair, you didn't notice, she did it

970. adi wa kolya mor nyilymayl ajipa nyiba pilyirim mola pilyipa
kelipa pab topa molurum-lum ekepu
*now the matter is revealed, she thought it was far away (?), and
perhaps she 'banged' lots of times, now*
- id mor nyilka kanap tobolkumulayl kanap lyimolayl midi naa kanap
*now it's been found out, and we're discussing it, we would like to
do something*
- kupulanum kanap lyimulayl aima kanap naa lekim-na nyikimil ilyi-kin
you say 'there's no way for us to do find out who it was'
- olyo ya wari pentip okumul ilyi ya kang-yiyl aima ne montilka-kin
ama kera kurumulu kubu ing mel
*we have this on our minds as we come here, you've got him [Poya]
in your power, like a caged eagle*
- tongidilkumela-kin aima kera laime moku top ku moni kung mel kani-
til aima tip olkumela naa lyimulu nyik tek moluring
*they made compensation, we tied the cassowary's leg, we came giving
money and pig, you said we won't take it*
975. ekepu olyo nedu yadu aima no Puyul Ukulu tal-nga no Napilya
kepu-kin pirim
*we went up and down the rivers Puyul and Ukulu, and then there was
the steep Napilya grade*
- aima kakupulaku aima lkitipun lkitipun anebil-til aima kaku turum
kaniyl
we were truly exhausted, running and running, our tongues were dry
- molku-kin kanu ya bo kone tik modungi nyib nyikimil nyi-pilyirimulayl
*you wanted us to bring and give things, that's what we thought you
were saying*
- ya kani eni-ni ul kit mel tek ya ku moni lyik nuring
or were you copulating and consuming the money
- molo ilyi tek tiring mel mola no bia nuring
or did you do this or drink beer?
980. ekepu olyo i nyikimulayl pilyikin
now we are saying this you know
- ab molkum kolya-na no bia talsi tok mek puk
where the woman is you took a couple of beers
- mola ku moni taltik mek puk yabu oma mingi
or brought money, like when people bring tins of fish and rice bags
- talti mepa pupa molupa tekimil kalya mel ya ul ilyi tiring
that's the sort of thing you did
- eni oma kopi keri nok moluring mel ukuda lyik manya moduring
*you gobbled it up like a kopi fish, you ignored the old thing
[marriage]*
985. nyikimul ilyi pilyikin-i? pe kil lyik mek lupa kub tanturing ilyi
we say this, do you understand? you didn't think of those gifts
- ya eni ilyi mel kodi-nga nomulu ilyi owa talkimil-oro
we'll consume these new things, you behave like dogs

kang-abola molym ajipe nyiku pilyiring ilyi lyik ali kudu-te
 pentilymeli kaniyl pentiring
*you thought the child was a long way off, you put it on the other
 side [i.e., didn't think about her marriage]*

aku-na pepa pab turum nyikumulayl, olyo ekepu boni i tep pekim-iyi
she got pregnant, and now we're distressed about this matter

olyo-nga kung mel-ma kera tuipi walu-na kanumel top ui
 modurumul-kiyl

we just gave our pig, our valuables and tuipi bird

990. ab lyikimul nyib-pilyirimul ekepu abayl noi montikin aima ul ilyi
 tek-kitik lo anumuyi aima brukim ting ilyi-ka
*we thought, we're getting a woman, and now you are keeping her over
 there, indeed in this matter you're doing wrong, you broke an
 important law*

i nyikumulayl nyikin montik kung gu peki tokun nyini mol
*we say this, you talk and store it, do not say you will sharpen
 the pig's tooth*

ed mel kopetetin timul kani-kil noi pelymayl
we paid compensation and the things are there

ekepu abayl ya kang-abola mor-ntim olyo-nga kompetetin mel kani-kil
 olyo-lyo akuk tikimil mola
now the child has been revealed, you give back our things or

tik adi abayl noi eni-nga kolya molupa molum-iyi eni lo pentik teai
 i nyimulu
*the woman stayed in your place, you deal with the matter [legally],
 we say this*

995. pilyip molymulu iyl, mola eni yi pilyangi-na pilyangi-na lo temulu
 nyingi-da kada
*we think this way, or, if you consider it well and say, 'we'll
 exact payment', that's all right*

mola abayl kalapus temulu me-pumulu nyingi-da akiyl eni-nga kongunayl
 abayl olyo-nga kolya-na molupa ul kit wupra tum-i?
*or if you say, 'we'll take the woman to jail', that's your
 business, was it in our place that she whored about?*

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

ekepu meri ya meri olyo-nga yi-kil pilyiku nyai ...
now men, decide ...

nyipiyl nyikumulayl olyo ya ung-ur naa nyimul
let him talk, we say, we haven't said anything

na-n ung laye-r nyib kunu tobu
I'll say a word and then close the discussion

(many voices)

1000. ya yabu muluyi tapu-na ung ilyi ...
this is talk among close relatives ...

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

ya Kubukiyl kep pe ya Puyi nu molyno eni gol tokumil, ya wi abayl
 nabolka ul
*Kubuka [Unya] and Puyi, you are here, you are lying, that woman
 there, what?*

- yabu-til molup *skelim* tentimul *witnis* i tepa i tepa
we divided the house of those two, and we've gotten
- lyipu tukudu mudup notip eni kalya pilyangi nyib tid
the evidence, and I reported it so that you might hear
- nyib notip wilyi yabu-ka pilyangi-na yabu-la nyikin ekepu
having spoken, we left it so those people might hear, and now
1005. olyo-nga mel-te mol nyingi mol, nabolka ung-te nyingi
they can't say it's not our affair, what will they say
- nyingi mel pilyik-lya, pe eni wilyi Timiji wayltangi-na
you listen to what they say, and then ask Timiji
- a Poya, wayltangi-na pe akiyl nabolka ing nyibe, pe
ah, Poya, you ask him and see what he says, and then
- eni *disisin* ya pena tengi mola lkutuku teamul mola
you'll make a decision here outside, or shall we make it inside, or
- pena teamul mola, *pepa* mek puni mola nabolka
shall we make it outside, or will you take a paper [to another court]
1010. ul ilyi-nga nyik nyik pora-dang, i nyib kalya nyikimul ul ilyi
or whatever, finish talking about it, that's what we're saying
- ya eni pe raun midi tekimil tekimil-iyi ing ring tekim
here you're just going round in circles, the talk is circular
- pilyipu raun midi tepa aduba adupa moylm
we hear, it keeps going around and will keep on
- ekepu ya wilyi yabu-kayl nyikimul ilyi ya ing mong nyib notikir
now, what we people are saying, I'm making the main point
- akiyl nabitim-na adi akiyl i tepa nyib montip, ilyi lawa tekim
what for? I'm just leaving it there, this is a mistake
1015. ilyi-ka nyimulu mol, pilyamiyl i kalya nyikir-kiyl
we won't say this, let's listen, I say
- TEA KUPALI:
 ekepu ya ang yi-n nuimayl-ni autim tepa, ya eni Ulkupuka
now a big man is expressing his mind, you Ulka-Upuka
- ung boni pekim nyiba ekepu autim tekim ilyi, olyo pilyip kapola
 tentikimul
he says you have a worry on your minds and he's expressing this, we all hear and approve
- akiyl pilyip yabu-kil ung yadu upiyl pilyamiyl, olyo mel-iyi
 pilyik-kin yi kare ing pab tokumil ilyi kelamul
let those people reply to it and let's listen, they hear talk like this and some men argue, let's not do that
- wilyi Kopia-keli-nga ung yadu um-iyi toru-kanga nyikim ing ilyi
 puduyl yadu upiyl pilyamiyl, i nyikir
there the Kopia answer came back, he says 'in-law', let the response to this come back and let's listen, I say
1020. ilyi noi puduyl yad um pilyip-kin *disisin* tep pora-dip bulubali
 nyamiyl
when we've heard the answer come back let's make a decision and go our separate ways

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
disisin tomulu ul akiyl
we'll make a decision ...

(many voices)

ul lo mel-kel ok yadu tangi-na, ui kang-abolalyi ne-ko molurum
let them give something as compensation, first the child remained
there [in Kopia territory]

ul akiyl ya wilyi yiyl kep naa kanapa molurum, ya olyo kep naa
kanap molymulu
and that man [Upuka Poya] was not watching/didn't see, and we too,
we did not see

ab patindia autipe tokumil kalya mel topa abayl yu-nu
topa ekepu kang-abola molymeli kolya-na
women whore around a lot, and the woman did like that and now there
are children

1025. *ekepu olyo pipilyi tekim, tekim ul ilyi-nga pilyik-kin ya wilyi*
abayl kubilepa kompetetin kare
and now we're ashamed, we are, when they heard first they [gave]
that woman some compensation

yadu oba tepa abu tukud lyimulu nyiku oring-kin
they came saying, 'we'll take her back'

waku tolkumela-da ekepu kang-abola ilyi ya puba ne mim mola ya
mingl-da nyilkumola kep
if they'd let her go [back], we might say she got pregnant there,
'or did they have it here', we would've said

yiyl-kin robirani ul-ilyi pelkayl abu-nga faul telkayl olyo naa
kanukumola
she could've slept with one man after another and done wrong, we
wouldn't have seen

ekepu ne olyo-nga kolya-na nemunumu-dipa molupa-lyanga kang-abola
melka-lyanga alte-ob pera top ya notikumul
now we're the ones responsible while she was staying in our
territory and having the child, we put it crossways [we're the
cause of the trouble]

1030. *ekepu ya olyo nyikimul ung ilyi-nga, ya kot wi ditrik kot ilyi-nga*
nyai-ko nyim
now we're talking about this, he said 'you have it up there at
district court'

pe ya olyo pilyikimul ilyi wi ditrik pilyim kep ya olyo pilyikimul
mel-ko ung ilyi wilyi-la nyiba
what we're hearing, even if they heard it in district court,
talking up there ... [they might say the same thing]

(cough, noises) ...

kot-ayl abayl pipilyi ya olyo-nga kangina notintum ilyi-nga
the woman put her shame on us

mel kompetetin tiring ekepu ne abayl kang-abola meba oba-kin tukudu
 pum
*they gave compensation, and now the woman went back bringing
 her child*

wi yi-kil pilyikimil-lum kep ya yi-kil lo tepu
and now the men may hear it and we're exacting a fine

1035. abayl eni-ni kang-abolayl mingl-lum, abayl patindia tok kolya
 tekimil kanumel timuy
did those two have the child? the woman did like what prostitutes do

pe eni-ni tep tukud lyimulu ing ilyi nying-lum eni-ni nyai
but if you say, 'we'll take her back', say so

naa nying-lum olyo-ni resis top olyo-ni nyibu eni timulu
but if not, we'll debate it and we'll tell you

mola olyo-lyo ol top kanap pena olyo timulu-n nying kanapa-kin
but if you say we'll talk about it outside and tell you

pe eni-ni pena nyik abayl lyik tukud modungi ul ilyi tedangi-na ul
 ilyi pilyamul
*and if you, talking outside, take the woman back, do this and we'll
 listen*

1040. mola ul ilyi mel naa lekim nying-lum olyo kot temulu kolyalyi lyip
 notip meri lku pup resis top
*or if you say this is impossible, we'll have court and go debate
 inside that building*

kompetetin i tek teai i tek teai nyimulu
we'll direct you, give such-and-such compensation

ka timulu ul akilyi olyo ya pepa wetim temulalyi wilyala yi
 aku-li-n takud aku-na ya glat pantipa
*we'll jail her but we'll be wasting paper, the men up there in
 district court, putting on glasses*

meri ditrik-na naa nyiba mol
will not say [they can't do better than we can]

kang-abola mim akiyl nu min akiyl-ko nyiba miriduyl-ko nyini
*she conceived it, if they ask, 'did you produce it', you'll say,
 'I did'*

1045. ul ilyi meri abayl-n patindia topa adupa olyo tepa mai ka timuy
 olyo ya bo yabu ung-tilu akiyl nyibu
*that woman was going around acting like a prostitute, she made us
 ashamed, we people of custom have 'one word' [have similar ideas,
 are alike]*

meri kangalyi abayl eni-ni tukud lyingl-lum kep ung-uri ya we
 molkumul nyib molumul kaniyl
*or if you take the woman and child back, we're saying the same
 thing over that we said before*

kani-kin ekepu ya abayl pilyik aji modung-lum kep eni tukud mudup
 temulu nying kanapa tukudu modamiyl
*or even if they send the woman away, if you say 'we'll take the
 woman back', we'll send her back*

olyo ung ilyi nyib bulubali tep ya ne kompetetin tengi yi-kil molangi
*and having said this we'll disperse and let the men who'll give
 compensation stay*

akiyl nyib abu patim tep meri altepa patindia tupiyl nyiku olyo-nga
 mel kare-ko

*saying this we'll hold the woman, you say let her again whore
 around, but some more of our things*

1050. alteku-geruku lyingi nyikimil nyiku, Ulkupuka-kin boni awuntipa
 pentiku nyikimil ilyi pilyik-lyanga nyingi
*you say you will get [in compensation], the Ulka-Upuka will feel
 extremely bad about this, they say, they will say when they hear it*

eni ul ilyi olu-ntikimul nyik eni olu tai
you say we'll face them about this, so do so [whisper about it]

naa pilyibu, ilyi ung ilyi tipi molcum olyo meri lkutuku
 tep eni nyib timul kanak mek pangi
*I won't listen, this talk is a dead end, we'll debate it over there
 in the house and tell you and you can take [the decision] away*

ilyi kapola nyikimul ilyi
that is right, what we're saying

TEA KUPALI:

ekepu mada, na-nu pudu tab
enough now, I'll reciprocate [i.e., answer]

?:

1055. keap moluring mel, nyik nyik kelingayl
the magistrates who were there will finish talking

TEA KUPALI:

ya olyo yi te alteku nyai
one of our men, you talk again

KOPIA NOMA:

kang, na medipulu ung na pelym-i? ya ... (overlap with Luburuyl)
man, am I the only one with anything to say?

olyo numanu pekim-ayl pe olyo pipilyi tekimayl pilyikin ilyi aim
 (unclear word)

what we feel, we're ashamed, you know, this really ...

ung nyikimil kupulanum aku-ma olyo pilyikimul, ama!
they talk and we listen to it, goodness!

1060. abayl mudu-kelke mel akai nyingi mol, lo teai nyingi mol
*getting rid of the woman, they won't say 'pay give back the
 brideprice' they won't say 'pay compensation'*

tekin nyingi mel nar nyibu pilyip olyo numan ilyi pekim
what will they say? this is what we're thinking about

pe olyo nabolka ung-te nyimulu? abayl olyo nyilkela-da
and what shall we say? if the woman would talk

ung aju-yadu nyibu kayi modipu nyilkumola, abayl noi kabilyipa
 molupiyl

*we would talk better back and forth, she sits there hiding
 things*

nyibu wi mol-ko nyiba molaga nyib, pe olyo nyimulu nyib
 tekimulayl numanayl boni tekim ilyi
*we talk and she keeps on saying no, and what we are about to say,
 our minds are burdened*

1065. ekepu ung kit kayi aku-ma oba olyo-nga kang-i-na boni midi lelyipa
 okum
now good and bad words keep on pressing us down
- boni midi okum ilyi, ekepu midi pilyi-tudukumul, olyo ung nyimulu
 mu pul tekim
*we just feel burdened, just now we don't know what to do, we don't
 know what to say*
- olyo mu pul tekim pilyi-tudukumul-iyi ekepu abayl ne molurum ilyi-kin
*we're stumped, we don't know what to do, the woman stayed there
 [at Kailge]*
- olyo-nga abayl ul ilyi mel tekimilayl-ka nyib-tiyi makayl-ni te
 pentik peki tok telymeli kanumel
*we're talking about what she's done, just like you expect more from
 the moka [???*
- ob eni-kin ung boni-tiyi kare nyilkumolka-kin kera laime ok tiring-ko
when we said hard words, you brought and gave a cassowary
1070. kung kep ok tiring-ko, ku moni kep tiring ko
and you brought and gave a pig, and money
- pe mel akul lyip abolup-kin puba nyib pilyirimul, ilyi pe ne
 molurum-uyi pilyikin-i?
*well when we had those things we thought 'she'll go back', when
 she was living down there [at Kailge] you know?*
- ekepu molupa-kin altepa trabel tekim nyik eni yi kit kare nyikimil
*now you say she stayed and is making trouble again, and you are
 calling us bad men*
- ilyi eni nyingi maku-na nyikimil, na kor nyilyo kaniyi pilyikimil
you'll say this and you're right, I've always said this you know
- i nyiku nyikimil ilyi pilyikin-i? nyikimil kupulanum ilyi pumulu
you say this, do you know? you talk, and the way to go
1075. kupulanum ilyi penge tokum adi matres tal molkibil
the way is imponderable, over there are two magistrates
- ilyi olyo nyib kanap-kin ab tada lemolu nying kanapa ilyi-nga-ko
 notik nyangi
*and we'll talk, if you say 'we'll divorce her', let them talk
 about it*
- mola lo teai nying kanapa ilyi-nga-ko notik nyangi-na
or if you say 'pay compensation', let them talk about that
- ung tal midi tobolkumul, olyo-nga numanayl pekim-ka
we're only talking about two options, what's on our mind
- nu-ni lubera tokun pilyikir-ayl
you speak out, so I think

1080. ung eni-ngayl lyip ai nosikir
I can't believe your talk
 nu-ni nyiku ung i-kil na-ni pilyip molkala wi nyikin ilyi
I understand what you're saying up there
 nyikin i kupulanum ilyi lekim
what you're saying and what possibilities exist
 akiyl kot disisin tang-kep
even if they make a decision
 aki tek nosik nyangi-na-kin mol nu wi ab lyiylnayl
they can say about that 'no, you are married to the woman'
1085. abayl pe na ya ui kang ilyi-kep
the woman and I, even for the first child
 na ab ul kit tep naa pilyidiyl
I didn't copulate much with the woman
 pe ul kit kolumungu taltikel kil-na wi kang Rowa miridiyl
after copulating only a little I made the boy Rowa
 pe ekepu ul kit tep na naa pilyilka
and now after not having copulated much
 abayl meri kang-abola monsum
the woman has gotten pregnant'
1090. ilyi-ka nyikin ilyi
this is what you are saying
 akiyl nu wi abu tokun pukun kang-abola mini
about that, 'if you do it many times you'll have a child'
 punya kongun tekin pukun keri langi noni
'if you work in the garden you'll eat food'
 nyiylmeli kaniyl pilyikin-i
that's what they say, you know?
 pe nu tekin naa pilyikin olyo-kin nyikin-ilyi
you [Poya] say you didn't do many
1095. pe tep nyamul mel-nar-e
so what can we say?
 nyi-me-pulkumelayli-nga olyo korupa pum mol i nyikir
we can talk further about it but we're poor, no, I say
 olyo korupa pukum-na molkumulayl-kin ya abayl ne molurum
we are poor, the woman has been staying with us
 kani-kin nu pe toru kangayli ya tiripul tep ung kanu-ma nyirimul
during that time, brother in law [Poya], we criticised you [or is Noma attributing these words to the Upuka?]
 ekepu na nyirid adumel na nyid naa pilyirin
now, since I talked like that and you didn't hear me talk
1100. kaniyl ekepu na nyab nyikin
and now you are saying you want to talk

- i-kin olyo ekepu parakau lelymul-kin
so we have remained silent
- ekepu kung-uyi montip umul
'now, having set aside a pig, we come
- ku moni notip umul
having set aside money, we come
- lo teamul
let's pay compensation
1105. abayl nu-nga nu-nu tep modamul
the woman is yours, we'll give them to you'
- i naa nyimulu mol
that we cannot say
- nu-nu lyibe yabayl mel akil nosipe naa molym
we have no wealth to give to you affines
- a mada nyikir mola nyibu lawa tekir
am I talking o.k., or am I making a mistake?
- a? i pekim
there's this
1110. i tekim pilyikir kupulanum ilyi
that's the way I think about it
- idi ekepu eni matres-kil molymeli
now you magistrates are here
- mel akiyl eni kot desisin tek kayi monsuk mak tenga nyik pensai
you deliberate and make the final decision
- ekepu olyo ung altep pub widi kona-nga nyimulu-n tep
now if we keep saying it over again
- makukare pentip tukud lyamula kara midi tolkala pukum
we'll just keep hearing words and it won't get settled
1115. kupulanumuyi penge tokum
the solution is difficult
- kidilaime lyip pilyi-sudukumul
we struggle and don't know what to do
- ilyi pilyikir
that's what I think
- abayl olyo kera koipa milkula-ja eni-kep pe olyo kep ...
if the woman gave us a proper account, or you, then we ...
- pe ung kayi-mel-te nyilkumola
then we would find the right words
1120. eni-kep lyipa kum tsiyl au tansirim
she made you doubt it
- aba nu nyikin-iyi tike nyikin ne olyo-nga-ko nyib pilyirimul
woman, we believed what you told us over there [in Kopia territory]

no kolurum gai kalurum pe ul kai-we-ma tirim
she got water and cooked sweet potatoes and did really well

yab olyo-nga tika nyib pilyirimulayl
our people thought what she said was true

pe olyo kaninsirimul-i
but did we see?

1125. mel akiyl olyo-n samapim tep olyo-n lok top naa pinsirimul
we didn't stop her or lock her up

yi-te lyirim kanapa lyirim kanapa kang-abola molym
[if] she took a man and copulated and copulated, there's a child

aku-ma molupa pora-nsirim
and it's really far along

altepa-ko kot tep tiamiyl nyikimil ilyi nabitim-na
why are you saying let's have court again?

ab nu-ngu-iyi
the woman is yours

1130. nu-nga ola kadisna molym
yours, and she's out in the open

nu-nu mudup kelebu nyin kanapa nu-ngu-yl, na pe pe molum ul ilyi
if you want to divorce her that's up to you, later on this

teba tekim-ayl-ka nyikin pilyin-lum, mola ya pilyana-kin na nyilyo
if you think she might do again, or you think what I say

naa pilyiring ekepu na tingi mel tiring mel teai nyin kanapa
or if you didn't believe me, and think they'll do what they did before

ilyi ul nu-nga-ko lelym, olyo ekepu pumulu kupulanum-te li
 naa lelym
this is up to you too, there's no way for us to go [i.e., no ready solution]

1135. olyo ung nyimulu nyib tekimulayl mu pul tekim, ya ... yi mare nyik
we don't know what to say, here ... some men

torulka nyani ... yi mare nyik ilyi-kin ne pontik wi pontik mer
 pontik
brother-in-law you talk ... some men who talk and hide here and there

ya kolya tena nyik telymeli, olyo ya na mong-te kep lyibu nyib na
 naa pilyilyo
'where is it?' they say, I don't expect to get in trouble

na na-nu takan nyibu koma-liyl mel-te molupu ul lupa kil-nga
 medipulu pons montip
I always want to be a quiet person, I would like to talk about the other problem

aku-na nyik meku pai nyib, ung todul tep nyib adap telyayl
you take the talk and go I say, I speak strongly when I go around

1140. ekepu nyik mek tukud olkumela na kep ung nyibu kupulanum penge tokum
*and now you are bringing the talk inside [affecting us], and even
 I cannot think what to say*
- pilyi-tudup moyl-kiyl edi eni nyik kanai nyikir, i nyikir-ayl pe
I'm stumped too, you figure it out, I say, that's what I say, well
- wi torulkang nu medipulu molkun wsssssss, abayl na ul ilyi-ko
 teba pilyikir-ayl
*now brother-in-law it's just you sitting there, wsssssss [noise of
 disgust] she will do the same, I think*
- abayl waku tobu nyin kanapa aku nyikin klia tenti
if you are saying 'I'll get rid of her', make it clear
- mola pilyan-na-kin ...
or if you think ...
1145. KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:
 ya ul ... kompetetin tek ...
this matter ... giving compensation ...
- KOPIA NOMA:
 kang, ung-iyi na nyab-a kilin, mola pilyan-na-kin ab na-ngayl
 molymayl
hey, I want to talk, be quiet, or if you think the woman is mine
- i nyilyo naa pilyikimeli kaniyl ekepu nyib ob wabul pul-na
 angalyikir
you don't understand what I say, I'm going to get her in trouble
- ul eni-ngayl nyin kanapa edi mong komalep molkur, ultuku
 kalapus-na pubu mola
*if you say it's your business, this I'm in trouble and I may go to
 jail tomorrow or*
- tali kalapus-na pubu nyib pilyi-tudup molyo
day after I may go, I say this and am completely stumped
1150. aki nyikir mada nyikir ...
that's what I say, that's all ...
- UPUKA TIMIJI:
 na nyab ...
I'll talk
- TEA KUPALI:
 wilya apa nya ...
cousin, talk,
- UPUKA TIMIJI:
 olyo disisin teangi nyikim ...
he says, let them decide ...
- ? (aside, to child):
 nu-nga bi nai?
what's your name?
1155. UPUKA TIMIJI:
 ekepu eni ya court tek disisin tek yab ka tik lo mel lyik telymeli
now you have court here, make decisions, imprison people, levy fines

ul kalyayl-mel-ko tengayl, ya lo-te brukim tepa tim-uyl-nga
you'll do something like that, because here she has broken the law
 kep eni lku-tuku puk lyik koni tengi molo ung ui ya kornga eni
 nyiring-ko
you'll go inside and straighten it out, you talked about it before
 pe ne Waipip nyiring-ko, pe wilyala dokta-yl-kin nyiring-ko
and you talked at Waipip, and up there you talked to the doctor
 ekepu ul payl-payl tikapi nyiba kiliyl ekepu eni-nga yabu ka
 tilymeli
now everything is clear, you always jail your own people

1160. ul kalyayl-nga disisin teai, disisin teangi nyikumul ilyi-nga
so make a decision just like that, we say may you decide about this
 olyo-n kidip nobun pe ya kot kulkulu topun ul nabolka ul telymeli
 [when] we steal, or don't own up in court, or whatever they may do
 kalya-ma pul yi-yl-n mudumong kaniyl-ma kanumel olyo kanilyka i tep
 ab-yi-til kanapa pora-ntipa nyib molyumu
God sees into our hearts, man and woman, he sees completely,
we say

ya ekepu olyo kang yi-kal-ni pilyik kot i tek i tek telymeli
now we men have court in such-and-such a way

ul kalya-kil nyib pilyip nyikumul ilyi-nga olyo aima ab ilyi-ni
 olyo kep faul tekim-ko
we know about these things and speak of them, really this woman is
doing wrong by us

1165. eni kep faul tekim-ko, ul ilyi eni meri pilyik nyikumelayl kapola-ko
and she's doing wrong by you too, you understand this and say so,
that's all right too

faul tekimayl-nga-olyo numanu kum-tiyl-nga onunga-kolti kum tikim
 ilyi-nga
just how she's doing it, we're not quite clear about

eni olyo ya pala tep tep kulup molyumu, pe ya abu ya wal ob-na
 lalyip molyumu nyiring
we're building a fence and stepping on it, you said we have the
woman safely in our net-bag

ul kaniyl midi eni-n ya olyo faul tiring nyilkumola olyo ekepu
this is the way in which you did wrong by us, and we now

eni-kin mai liaga ung-iyl nyikumul
and now we're ashamed to see you and we're saying this

KOPIA NOMA:

1170. eni nyingi maku-na nyikimil
you're right to say this

UPUKA TIMIJI:

ab Sumuyl kibulu-n tokumil ilyi-ka nyilymeli ilyi-kin
you say 'they beat Sumuyl with a stick' and so

olyo kot temulu okumul Sumuyl-kin okumul nyib pe lo telyumu-kin pe
we're coming to have court with Sumuyl, and then when we give
compensation

- olyo lo telymolu-kin mel ilyi mol, abayl ya olyo notip molymolu
*when we give compensation, [you say] 'not this', we're holding
 the woman*
- mel ilyi mek ok tai nyilymeli kaniyl, eni ab kaniyl ekepu eni-n olyo
you bring these other things, you say, 'the woman now, you're
1175. olyo faul tekimil ab we-ma yadu tikimul-ko nyilymeli kaniyl
deceiving us, we're giving you the other women' you say like this
 ab ilyi kanu eni-n olyo naa timulu nyik pilyiring ab-te kanukur-ayl
you thought, 'we won't give them this woman, [but] a different one'
 olyo tik pe ya kang-abola-ma eni-ni nyik pilyikimil-ko
still you are thinking of the children?
 olyo ul kit tep mudilymulu-kin olyo-n nokolymulu-oro-ko
'we fornicate and send her back, we look after her'
 nyikimil-ayl pe ya yi-wunga nunu-nga ab tal tripela noi molymeli
 olyo nokolymulu?
*you say, now over there, are we looking after this man's two or
 three wives? [i.e., he's only got one]*
1180. yi wangina i-me-nga ab kodi-nga adak gris tek tengi mel molayl
these ugly men [like Poya] can't go around seducing women
 ab eneni teylmeli-mel tek puk puk ekepu ab noi kangabola molum
*the women themselves go around seducing, so now this woman is
 pregnant*
 nyib olyo ya numanu kudu-nga pilyamul ul ilyi midi
in our minds we are thinking only of that
 ya pilis kot-na ul ti abayl lyimulu nyib olymulu-kin
*we have come here to the village court with the idea of getting
 her back*
 ya olyo nokup molymulu-ko wi mel ilyi mek
'we are looking after her
1185. wi mel ilyi mek wai
bring such and such a thing
 molo mel ilyi mek wai nyilymeli
or bring this other thing', you say
 ul kaniyl ekepu nokujuk naa lyiylmeli
but now you don't look after her
 i nyib-kin ekepu olyo ekepu nyikimul ilyi
that's what we're saying now
 ilyi olyo nyibun-kin ekepu numan kudu-nga boni pekim ul ilyi-oro
now we say our minds are heavy about this matter
1190. pi ekepu ya nyibun krus kot ya tekimul
so now we're having a 'cross court' about it
 ul ilyi ya koma-piyl-n noi kaylke nyirim-ko
Magistrate Unya has spoken about this matter over at Kailge already
 pi kelipa pilis kot tek disisin tek tekimil
and now you are having village court and making a decision

- ul ilyi-nga ya lapa nunu ya ilyi-nga molupa nyiba paw waw
so father is sitting and talking, and hey!
- ne nanga nok pa bonunga noi *disisin* ting-ko
yesterday they made a decision over there
1195. ting-ko ul nyimulu tim midi ilyi-nga ola nyimulayl
they did so and now we may say what we feel like saying
- kelip altep *disisin* teamiyl nyikimilayl
and again you say let us decide
- mel i-kal-nga *disisin* teku-kin
when you make a decision
- olyo nabolka mel-te meri pena tingi nyibu yiwunga *disisin* tiamiyl-ko
 nyikimil
*you (pl,) are saying 'what sort of things will they give us, let's
 make a decision'*
- ya yi-kel tepa tepa eni wate sipi molkum
there is no way for these men or you to find out
1200. ya yi-kel wate *disisin* tiang-ko nyibun olyo orara ...
*we all say 'let these men or all of us together talk and make a
 decision'*
- KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:
 olyo orara kep *faul*-ko tekimul
we are also tricked
- pe eni ne naa pilyik mel nyingi nyikimil
and you over there are saying 'you won't understand'
- disisin* aku-na onda tok manya nsik
when they make a decision - issue an order and hand it down
- fain* nyiku kopetetin nyiku nosiylmeli
order the payment of a fine or compensation
1205. mola yi kalya-la *disisin* naa tekimil nyik
or you say we are not making a decision
- i-kal *disisin* naa tekimil-ko nyikimil
about this you say 'you're not making a decision
- eni *matres*-ma lyik wangaylmeli
you magistrates are trapped!
- UPUKA TIMIJI:
 ya ilyi-nga tengl-lum teangi nyibu
I want to say 'if you want to do it, then do it'
- ekepu olyo bo yi-kel-nga meri kansilayl nyim
now outsiders such as the councillor [Noma] have spoken
1210. ekepu na ya nyibu las tobu tekir
now I'm going to give my last speech
- ekepu eni meri *disisin* teangi nyibu, *disisin* teangi nyibu ...
*now I want to say 'you men down there make a decision', make a
 decision, I say ...*

- na nyib pora-nsaba disisin teangi
when I've finished talking you make a decision
- ya wilyi kang-yiyi nyibu nyab
I want to talk about that boy [Poya]
1215. olyo numana midi ilyi pilyip-kin
since that's all we can think about
- olyo numana pilyip nyikimulayl-kin
it's on our minds and we talk about it
- pe eni-nga nyik mek ola-manyanya teku-kin
and you talk about it over and over
- nu ab pengi nyilybulu kaniyl
whereas before you and I called each other 'Head' [since they had shared meat from the head of a pig]
- ekepu ya nu ab Sumuyl nyikirayl
now I'm calling you Sumuyl [because he's mad at her]
- Sumuyl na-nga kot ilyi-nga tepa puba-kin
Sumuyl, your court case will create trouble
1220. kera walu-te kep neka kumulu kepa uj kuwar akapa teba tekim
and a baby bird or a red pandanus tree is about to be extracted [i.e., trouble will be caused]
- Ulkupuka matres tal ol molybeli
two Ulkupuka magistrates have come and are here
- ilyi ekepu eni-nga Unya-kin kot tenga pupu-ko okumil-kiyl
now with your man Unya you will have a different court
- i tal elti-lte ekepu ya nu-n kanu nu abayl ing kayime kerim-n-na
 uli urum kare
what he said about the woman were the exact words which had come out of your mouths
- kanu okun ne komapiyl-du okun nyirin
you came to Unya and said them
1225. ya wi yi kare ok moluring-ne nyirin-lum
some men were there and you said it
- ilyi ekepu nu kot tek adaku abayl aima ing medipulayl nyirin
you go around having court but what you said was only words [i.e. not true]
- olyo kanu molymulayl
we are here
- kang-yi Kopia Esina kang ing naa nyiyi kalyayl wedu naa okum
Kopia Esina, who doesn't talk, is not coming out
- olyo kanu molymulu
we will be here
1230. ya abu urumul-iyi nunga abu anginayl na lyikir
the woman we came with - your sister - is my wife
- ab kalyayl ab nunga anginayl medipulu molymayl
she's your own sister

- ab kalyayl-kin moylbelayl
you and she usually stay together
- ne porupa tol el ing nyirin
you spoke one hard word after the other
- kot ilyi ekepu kanamiyl
let's have that court
1235. namba tu kot ilyi tengi telymeli
they're about to have this second court
- ya namba yi-l umul
these two officials [magistrates] have come
- pilis ofisa yad ungl
two police officers have come
- ya kalyayl komapiyl-kin ya kot kalyayl tengi tekimil
and they're about to have that court with Unya
- nu nga kotayl ya olyo-kin temulu tekimul
your court will be against us
1240. ing kayime ul kayime peba kalya-kal nyib pamul olyo ekepu neked umul
saying 'let us go over there and talk truly', we have now come
- ilyi yu-nu puba-yiyl nyikim
the man who's about to leave is talking
- ilyi napilya nek-id yunu puba nyikim
he says he's about to cross the Nebilyer
- olyo yi i-kil aima kamukamu molumulu molyumu
we men are staying here and stay right through
- eni-nga abu kalya-kal ya wi taun pungi-kin ya olyo-n tapu-temulu
when your wives [or women] go up to town we will look after them
1245. pe kang yi-kil ok pungi-kin olyo-n ya kubi-na pelymulu
and when your men go, we will line up ahead of them
- ilyi-ke nyibun olyo-n tapu-temulu
and we'll look after them
- olyo aima yi medipul-kal
we are the right men
- nu-ni faul tekin kanukun
you are tricking us
- pe ung kalyayl kekerepa kakerepa medipa kalyayl pupa ing pelymayl
there's no end to your stream of confusing words
1250. pe ekepu kang-yi kani-tal ya ing mura mel teku nyik popolu montum
now these two men [Unya and Upuka?] have had an argument and feel angry
- nyiba popolu eni-kanu kot i-tek tengi-kiyl
and because of that you will have [another] court
- komapiyl-kin ing i-tepa nyim
with Unya he said this

- nyik ekepu ne welti puk nying
and now they will have a court elsewhere
- ul ilyi-nga ekepu medepa kot leba tekim ilyi
that's going to be a bit later
1255. eni-ni namba tu tiangi-kiyl
you'll have a second court
- ya abayl-nga ung disisin teku
making a decision about the woman
- olyo nu abayl-ni ul kayi te-wa tid nyikin pilyikin
you think you did a good thing
- kanglkun wi modukun meri kulkun te molkun
you hold it, throw it forward, and step on it
- ul akuwa naa ti
don't do that
1260. ul kit mel tirin
you did a bad thing
- aku-mel pilyikin nyanayl-nga
knowing that, you should say
- o nu olyo-lyo sukud lyimulu mol
shall we take you back? no
- yi akilyi lyiba tirim-mel lyaga nyini mol
will you say that man was about to take you back? no
- pe ekepu ya ing akiyl nyib pora timulu-oro-ko
so now let us finish talking about this
1265. ilyi meri manya kung poili punya-na ka telkumela
*you are tying the pig in the tall grass [i.e. we're talking over
 and over with no conclusion]*
- matres nyikimul-lum kep ya yi kayi ing nyikimul-ba kep
either the magistrates or we good men who can talk
- elti abu yi tal-nga midi nyib pukumul
we are talking over and over about you two [Sumuyil and Poya]
- ing kor-nga kor-nga mel nyirimul kaniyl
like that talk we had a long time ago
- ekepu nyibu wilyala altep dokta-na pumul-ko
now I will say we went up to the doctor again
1270. ekepu alte ing kilinga pilyik wi disisin ting
now you have made [make?] a decision about this
- ful kot pumul-ko nyibu, pilyikir
I say let's go to a full court
- distrik kot pub temulu
we will go the district court
- ul aku-na ekepu ya yi kil-in ung nyingayl lelym
but now the men still have something to say about that

pi i olyo-nga ing ilyi-nga disisin tengi-lum
then, if they make a decision

1275. kapola wilyi kang-yiyl nyik nosung mel tiangi
o.k., after that the man over there and they will talk
 yi tal-in ya namba yi-tal-kin pilis opisa-ayl ku ungiyl
the two magistrates and the [police officer] came
 eni-ni wilyi komiti nu-nga ung nyikin kalyayl-nga ung
you officials over there are having a talk, that talk
 pe neka nuyl yi nameli nameli molku pilying
'Pandanus Eater' [i.e., Upuka Kurwi] and whoever was there
listening
 akiyl nyai
let them/you say

1280. olyo ing mel we-l sukudu modup ...
we, just putting in a brief word ...
 ?:
 ne kolya-ma-nga abu adumel-te-ko bonunga haus sik kolya-ma-nga
 mek adung
you were the very person whom they took to the hospital yesterday

UPUKA EL:
 eni pe ya tap yi-me lkusuku puku lkutuku puku disisin tiangi
you magistrates go into the house and make a decision

elti yi-tal wi molkubela na-nga ing-ilyi ya nyikir
you two men are staying over there while I talk here

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER, PROBABLY KOPIA MAGISTRATE LUMBURUYL:
 ung nyikimayl naa pilyik nyikimil
they're talking without listening

1285. mola eni yi suburubu tolymeli mare-lum
or are you just doing that for no purpose?

UPUKA EL:
 na nyabe
I want to speak, o.k.?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER, PROBABLY KOPIA MAGISTRATE LUMBURUYL:
 nyikimu
he's talking

mola mada nyaniya
or, o.k. you talk

ung nyikimil
they're talking

1290. maku ilyi tilupu-na puba
will it be the same
 mol kelipa abayl lyip sokudu modumul
or shall we tell her to go back
 mol pe nyi nyi nyi
or, o.k., you talk, talk! talk!

UPUKA EL:

a! ing tilupuyl nyib mudubu tekir
hey! *I want to say only one thing*

kopetetin tengi mel
they'll give compensation

1295. abayl ya molupa punya winim tirim-mel
the woman was there for a long time

yi-ma apa kopa teba
'the men are going to mumble [if they stay out here]

lkutuku puk disisin tengi-yl
let them go in and make a decision'

ul ilyi naa nyai ilyi pilyikin-i
don't say that, you hear?

?:

ung akiyl nyini tekin-ayl ...
you're about to say that

1300. UPUKA EL:
aku ung akiyl nyini tekin-ayl
what are you trying to say?

ya abayl meri disisin kubilep timul-ko nyingayl pilyikin-i
they'll say we went ahead and made a decision about the woman, you understand?

ilyi ya pilis kotayl ne pilyipe nyikimayl
that's what the village court thinks

a! a! a!
hey!

aku-ma nyingi-ko na-nga nyab pilya
you'll talk afterwards, I want to talk, listen!

1305. abalyi ya molupa punya winim tirim
the woman was here for a long time

ilyi rong-te mol
there was no problem about that

ilyi nunu-nga-yl lawayl nu-nu oba molupa punya winim tirim
it was her fault that she stayed so long

punya winim telka pe na-nga ab kang-abolayl kalya-kal nyibu-kin
when she had stayed for a long time, I wanting to talk to my children

ku moni ob tirid
came and gave them money

1310. mol nyiring
they said no

kera laime meb urud-kin lapa yiyl-ni
when I brought a cassowary the father ...

(overlap with Kopia Payo)

ilyi nabi tin-i
what did you do there?

- kera kubi tekirayl-ka nyirim
I don't want the bird
- pe ya altepa oba kung-te tirim-kiyl
and again he gave a pig
1315. pe akiyl lyipa abolupa molupa ilyi na-nga kungiyl nyirim
and he, telling it, he said 'this is my pig
ekepu kung-te mekin okun kangabola-kil-nga baim ti
now you have to bring another pig for the children'
aki nyibe pilyipe altepa aji pupa kunguyl-kin kukumayl-kin-kiyl
thinking this, he went back
mel i tep tikir-ayl
'I'm doing this
- ab Sumuyl kalya kangabola-la mensip oba nyibu
I'll tell Sumuyl I'm going to take the children home
1320. ya na-nu notip molubu nyib pilyirid-iyi
and I'll look after them myself' is what I thought
mola na-nga mel-kil aku-na puba pelym
my things were there and ready to go
pelym kupulanum ilyi-nga ekepu mol
there's no way for that now
nu-nga abayl kangabola molcum nyirim
he said 'your wife is pregnant'
i nyab nyikir-iyi eni pilyik kot disisin tiangi
I'll say this and you listen and then make a decision
1325. mel tilyo kupulanum ilyi-nga puba lo te-n na pekim mol
I give things but there's no law for that
ilyi aima meri kusi kupulanum pukum
it just goes down a hole
i na-nga mel kil puba kil puba nawu lekim
my things are there for nothing
ekepu eni meri kangabola montum
now she's pregnant
ul ilyi-nga eni-nga eni ya torupalyi-mi-n eni pilyi-kongudupa
abayl ya ekepu kangabola miyl ab awilyiyl
now you in-laws, the thing is that she is nearly middle aged
and already has children
1330. nabitimna
why?
kot tinsid kep ilyi mel na-ngayl midi pilyikin-i
even though I take her to court, she belongs to me alone, you hear?
ka tid-lum na-nu-ko tibu
if I should jail her, she's still mine
mola kopetetin tek na-nu sukud tai nyid-lum
or if I say give compensation to me alone

- ilyi na-nu sukud-ko tingi
you'll still have to give her back to me
1335. i ting ul ilyi-nga punya winim tepa molurum
you'll do this, for she's stayed a long time
 aku-mel ekepu kangabola mor-nsikin
and the child is becoming apparent
 ul aku-ma-nga pora pora ekepu eni tikir nyikir
all of these are the matters I'm talking about now
 na-nga ya lo tirid mel
I gave compensation
 ilyi-nga abayl yadu olka-na montipu nyid
if the woman were to come back and we stayed together as I said
1340. aba ung langap nyilkumola-da papu
if we had an argument that would be good
 na-nga mel-kil kayi kanapa puba pekim
[but] my things are there for nothing
 ekepu molupa-kin abayl altepa kang-abola mor nyikim
now, having stayed there, the woman is pregnant again [is 'showing']
 ul akuma pora ekepu eni nabolka nyingi-da
what will you say about all that?
 akiyl nyik kayi tia i
so talk well about it
1345. ya lo tepa ui tepa por ntirim
acting according to the law, he already gave something
 aku ul akiyl-nga eni pora pilyangi nyib tirid nyikir
so I have said and am saying that I want you to understand that
 na-nga mel-kil we nawu lelym
my things are there for nothing
 mada nyikir
I've said enough
 ULKUPUKA TAIM:
 akiyl wate nyikim
with that he finishes
1350. ul akiyl-nga ya eni tikir nyikim
what he is telling you about that is true
 ul akiyl meri lktuku timul-kin kanangi
you can all see what we'll do about it in the court house
 bonayl ya eni koma lentikimul-kiyl
we're putting the problem on you [Sumuy'l's parents]
 eni-n aaaa mol mol nying kanapa
if you say no
 pe ya nyilymeli yi aki-kil nyangi nyikimul
then we'll let the magistrates talk about it

1355. ya kumayl payl topa topa
wrapping the whole package up
 kansilyayl-kin elti yi pilis akiyl-kin eni-nga kudunga top modukumul
we'll throw it over to you councillors and village court men
 top modam-na ul ilyi naa pilyilymulu tekimul pilyikirayl nying
 kanapa
if, when we've thrown it, you say 'we don't believe you'
 pe elti yi aku-til-kin ya yi nuim molkumil-ma-kin meri tukudu tamiyl
then let's give it to you two and the 'big men' sitting here
 ekepu mel owa pai kera pengi nyiyl kane-kil ya waku toba
now we're not going to give up things like a pet dog or bird plumes
[i.e., our wife]
1360. ung-te nyikim nyik pilyingi
you'll think he is saying one thing
 ilyi molayl midi pilyikin-i
but don't believe it, you hear?
 ya yi-kuba akapu ab kolti molymayl
he hasn't got another wife
 meri akiyl aju modui naa modukum
he won't get rid of her
 ilyi ya mel olyo-nga walum-kel
she's our only one [wife]
1365. ekepu olyo ya kelip tukud lyimulu ilyi-nga
and we'll take her back
 ?:
 porul-taworul kep telymeli-ko
they're adopting her
 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER, PROBABLY DUMU:
 o ilyi ya kangayl ne elti yabu-til opimi turing-da kapola-ko
yes, if you two copulate over there
 lupu-te opimi turum-da kapola-ko
or if another man copulated with her
 ekepu kupulanum-te mol
now there's no way
1370. ola yiyl-n aima numu-tum-da mada kanapa
God, looking at the ?
 uj kikimi tukudu kanapa
seeing into the soft pulp of trees
 yabu numanu kanapa
seeing into people's minds
 olyo-nga todul-te mol
we have no power
 ilyi-nga olyo-n ekepu naa kanakumul
that's why we don't see these things now

1375. olyo-n tep kabulyuyl nyiba mo-tuyl
if we conceal and hide things
 ing kalya-ma olyo-lyo tep kabulumul-lum
if we hide words like that
 ilyi kada-ko
that's all the same
 meri abayl-ni olyo lyipa aima kupulanum-kayi-te naa tikim
that woman tricks us and doesn't give us the right direction
 ya kangayl-n tirim-ko ilyi wate-ko nyikim
if this man [Upuka Poya] did it, then it's o.k.
1380. ul ilyi-nga ekepu ya bonayl pantip molup
now we have this problem on our minds
 ya yi-tal-kin ya yi kansilayl-kin pilis tal-kin lyipu
these two men, this councillor and the two village court men
 i kudanga modukumul ilyi-nga a a a ul ilyi ekepu ilyi pilyikir-iyi
we'll throw it their way, uh now I think this,
 kapola mol nyim kanapa pe ekepu ya pilis tal kep
if he says no, now the two magistrates
 eni yi-kal kep lyip meri tukudu modamiyl
and you men, we'll throw it to you [to take in the courthouse]
1385. ya ekepu-lum ui aku-ma-nga kep pe aku-ma-nga kep
now no matter what has happened and what will happen
 ekepu ne walu monsilymayl kep ilyi ul ekeda-da
and even if she is pregnant
 waku tu naa tokur-o, eni ya bonayl koma lentikir-ayl
I won't let her go, I put the burden on you
 wate eni-nga ing-te yadu um ilyi pilyip-kin lyip alte-wilyi tukud
 modab
*when your reply comes back and we hear it, I'll send it in [to
 the courthouse]*
 eni-nga ing-iyi midi lelym
only your speech remains
- UPUKA EL:
 1390. lkutuku wai wai nyikin-ayl na-nga numan pilyid-lum
you say 'come in, come in to the house'
 kapola tebayl pilyikin-i
but do you think that's the right thing?
- DENA MAGISTRATE NUMJE:
 ya olyo lkutuku pai nyikimilayl pe
you all tell us to go inside
 olyo lkutuku pub-kin nyimulu ya eni-nga ul molupa kujuyi ul
when we go in we'll talk about your making a road of agreement
 abayl-nga ya ui puba noi molupa telym
first the woman went and stayed in her place

1395. ya nu-nga kung kera laime nyikin mel-ma tirin kep
you say it's your pig, cassowary, and even if you gave it
 ul kupulanum aku-ma eni-ni ui tiring
you yourselves gave that before
 ekepu ya abayl molupa nyim-na kangabolayl ad eni-ni kanak tek lying
now the woman stayed and got pregnant, you saw this and took
her back?
 kupulanum ilyi-nga olyo nyib pub nabolka ung mare nyimulu-da?
what can we say about that?
 nyimulayl eni-nga bonayl lyip pup meri yi-kil-kin tap tonsikumulayl
we'll talk and pass on your complaint and discuss it with the men
1400. kansil nyikim kalya mel we nawu el ung-iyi-nga kalya nyikim-ko
what the councillor says is just a speech
 lapa-kimul tal-in pilyil kongunsil ung-te midi nyik
her father and brother listening [will] say only a brief word
 ya kang yi-yl ung nyikim ilyi-nga pudu tol tukud mudangi-na
and this fellow here talks, and they reply, let them contribute
 pilyip kep olyo me-pup resis tolkumola-da kapolayl
and we'll hear it, take it [inside] and perhaps debate it,
that's o.k.
 ilyi wati wati meb lkutuku pup resis temulu pilyikir-ayl
we can take these [speeches] inside at the same time and make a
decision, I think
1405. tep temulu mel nar-da nyikir-o?
or what shall we do?, I say
 ekepu-nga ya abayl ya kang-abola nyikimil ul ilyi
now the woman is pregnant, they say, about that
 olyo resis temulu, kupulanum ilyi lekim-ayl
we'll make a decision, this is the way
 ya toru-kang nu-nga nyikin kera laime nyikin kung nyikin-o
her father-in-law, the cassowary, pig are yours, you say
 abayl ui ne puba molym-o nyikin
you say the woman went back and is staying at her place
1410. ung kupulanum ilyi-nga ung bonayl pukun
you are complaining about this
 meri yabu-kal-kin notipa nyikimayl
those two [are talking?]
 ya kansil nyikimayl nawu el ung nyikim-ko
what the councillor said was just rhetoric
 meri lapa-kin kimul-tal nyingl puk disisin teai nyingl-lum
'over there when father and brother have spoken, go and make a
decision', if they say this
 kapola mola ung ilyi pilyikibul ilyi olto nyibulu nyingl-lum
o.k., or if they say, we're listening and we will speak

1415. *matres-iyi nyikimulayi yi pur-te-ko nyikimul*
the magistrate cannot do anything by himself, we say
kansil nyikimayi nawu-ko nyikim lapa-mal-til midi pilyik-lyanga
nyingli-kin ung-te pilyil-lya
the councillor is not saying anything relevant, father and son
listening, listening to one of the points
bo ing nyikimul te midi pud tokul nyingli molo naa nyingli-da
we're talking according to custom, will they respond or not?
akiyl midi pilyai-a, pilyik kayi teai-a
just listen, listen well
pilyidanga-na pilyip olyo ung brukim tep ing kari nyimul-ko
and as you listen, we'll be listening and interject
 ?:
1420. *disisin ya naa ting, mol, ya lkudu naa pai*
you won't make a decision, don't go into the house
 KOPIA PAYO (Sumuyi's father):
akiyl na nyab-i
shall I speak?
nu taua nu nyikin akiyl kung ab sul tolymeli
what you are saying, 'banana', that they kill pigs and women
ya ung nyilymeli ung akiyl nyib anginsip na mel peki tolyo
they say these things, talking about that, I do beg for things
sika nyikim, na mel lyirid akiyl pe kalya-mel akisipe nyikin
he's right, I got those things, you are saying that
1425. *kalyayi akisipe lelym ya ekepu nyikin ilyi wi tarayi nyikin ilyi*
that's how it is, and what you're saying, and the agnatic kinsman
there
abayl ya ekepu-nga abayi ekepu kos naba wan kos ilyi telkumola-ja
kapola
if we were having court about the woman for the first time, [it
would be] right
kapola nyikir abayi ne-la Waipip kos aima tiring tiring
right, I say, over there at Waipip they had court over and over
na midi lyipe pengi sipaik oronsilymayl eni mek sukud puk kos teai
she always deceives me, so you take [the matter] home and have
court
mada nyikir
I've said enough
 UPUKA EL:
1430. *pe na-n meri na nyid mel lku-d pumulai*
but I said we will have court there
 KOPIA PAYO:
pe akiyl nyikir-ayi, lo mel ti-n kabilyipa lipiyi naa nyirim, mol
that's what I say, the law is not the sort of thing that conceals,
no

ya nyikir-ayl mada myikir, mel peki tolyo ung aku-ma nyilyo
*here I am saying all I have to say, I ask for things, I talk
 like that*

ne-la Waipip pup el telymulu-ko yi moluyl mare-nga
we argue over there at Waipip where some public is present

ekepu yi moluyl-ma-nga ya na lyipe lku sipip kupula tansilymayl
and here in public she deceives me

1435. abayl eni-ni mek sukud puk kot teang
you take the woman home and have court

UPUKA EL:

abayl pe mel tep teamul mel nar?
what can we do with the woman?

KOPIA PAYO:

e, abayl kot tejaing nyib nyikir
you take her to court, is what I'm saying

na abayl-nga kangki kudunga midiyl tekim na nyikir
I'm worn out with this business about her

abayl-nga kot tejaing nyib nyikir
you take her to court, is what I'm saying

1440. UPUKA EL:
 nu midiyl tepa ui ul mare naa tirim mola
you're feeling bad [that you didn't see her do anything?]

ab kang-abola monti-molymayl-nga ab kompetetin tiniyl-nga
the woman is pregnant, if you're going to make compensation

ekepu pena teani pilyibayl pilyikin-i,
do so outside, I think you know?

i tebu nyanya-kin ul lawa pebu nyiba tim-kin
you do so, and if there is a mistake

disisin ui teangi nyibayl, kung ku moni kera laime nyirin
first let them make a decision, pig, money, cassowary you said

1445. melayl ab-kiyl-ko tirid melayl pe abayl ya urum-i? ilyi eni-nga
 kangki-na lepa ekepu
*I gave these things, and did the woman come? you have these things
 [they are 'on your skin']*

ab-nga kang-abola montikimayl ilyi pilyikimil mola-mol?
the woman is carrying a child, do you understand this or not?

mola abayl mangabu mangani nyikir-i, modu-kelkir-i? a?
*or [if you say] 'I'll take her back', then do so, I say, shall I
 let her go? huh?*

meri pupa meri nabolka por-obil lui kep tingi tika-i?
she went down there, will you truly reach a decision?

ilyi nabolka mel mer nying? mola no maymolayl ekepu turudipa
 muduba-i
*what did they say down there? is she just going to drain a boil?
 [i.e. she's going to have a baby]*

1450. ilyi meba welti ok kompetetin tekimul i tekimul i tekimul ilyi
we give compensation, here, and here
- nangana pilyip-kin lkutuku puk disisin tengayl pilyikin-i?
we hear them first and they'll go in and make a decision, you understand?
- eni ya meri-ko pangi nyikimil-iyi meri nar-na? i nyab-e?
you say, 'let them go there [into the courthouse]', but where? shall I say?
- i teai, i teai, eni kodup bo taba ilyi tek nyikimil mel nar?
'do this and this, I'll tell you what to do' what are you talking about?
- KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:
akilya yi tal pilyik molybeli, ne yi tal
those two men understand, those two
1455. olyo-nga matres-ma olyo porapora pilyip molyolu
all of our magistrates understand
- pilyip molyulayl ya kibulu top nyib molyulu, meri kopsipu
in talking here we're just 'hitting it with a stick' [i.e., clubbing a pig], we'll 'carve it up' it over there [in the house]
- UPUKA EL:
meri aku-ma-nga naa koptingi, mol
over there they won't cut it, no
- KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:
midi punya tep temulu ung ilyi-nga nyik nyikimil-mel
'we'll cut the underside of the pig', they're talking in this sort of way
- UPUKA EL:
meri aku-na naa nyingi, pena nyang, meri aku-na naa nyingi
you won't talk in this way in the courthouse, you talk outside, over there you'll not talk [in this way]
1460. KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:
midi punya temulu akiyl-nga nyikimil akiyl
we'll carve it up, you're talking [about that]
- ilyi kelu luya koyamiyl ilyi awilyi luya koyamiyl
let's 'roast' it in a small ground-oven or a large one [i.e. fine her a little, or a lot]
- ne kot-alya disisin aku-na we
is court decision just for nothing?
- yabu-ka nyik midi disisin tengi kompetetin naa nyingi?
the people in talking will only make a decision and not talk about compensation?
- ul akiyl-nga meri nyikimul eni-ni puk disisin teang i nyikimul
we talk about that over there, you yourselves can go and make a decision, we say
- UPUKA EL:
ilyi naa tengi molaly, na-n ya mol nyib molyayl
they won't do this, no, I'm here saying no
- 1465.

na nyikir-ayl lyik bilt muduk nu edi meri lku-d pukun
they, disbelieving what I say, you go over there into the house
 disisin tebu nyikin nyib pilyikir-ayl
and you say, I'll make a decision [inside], so I think

ULKUPUKA TAIM"

ya ul, a, olyo yi kum-kamu adak adak ya meri
here the thing is, we are close associates, over there

abi ing nyikin ing nyikin ilyi ya, ya ab ilyi ...
old lady, [Sumuy'l's mother] you talk, what you say, here
this woman ...

UPUKA EL:

1470. na ab mel kit nob-uy'l walytip pilyip nyab nyikin molo ...
'I will 'consume' the woman's vagina', you say or ...

ULKUPUKA TAIM:

olyo kalya pe ekepu nyib-kin abi amiya nu-nga kangi-na notijsukumul-ka
well now, we put the burden [of resolving the problem] onto your
'skin', old woman [i.e., Sumuy'l's mother]

notinsikumul ilyi-nga ekepu nu-ni pilyik-pilyikin numanu kom akilyo
 tal-nga pilyikin
we put it onto you, you think out something from beginning to end

KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:

ya matres nameli nameli molku pul kot pilyiring?
which magistrates heard the full court?

?:

e?

what?

KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:

1475. eni matres nameli nameli molku pilyiring?
which of you were present?

ful kot pilyiring? eni walysip nyikir-iy'l
heard the full court? I'm asking you

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

Puy'l, Kupali-kin na-kin i molup i nyirimul kaniyl i nyirimul
Puy'l, Kupali and I heard it

akin na nyib angintip-kin meri yabu-kil waltaba
I have more to say and want to ask those two [Sumuy'l's parents]

yabu-kil eni-ni nying-mel pilyik-kin wi ya, Payo walytibu i nyikir-ayl
people heard what they said, I'll ask Payo

1480. nyikir akiyl lyip lupu mudup pilyip ya lkudu lyibu mola
shall I hear them separately, take them into the house or

nableka ul tebu nyib aku nyib walytikr pe ya ya
what shall I do, that's what I'm asking

Luburuyl nyikim pilyip-kin orait ekepu eni ya yi-te-n nyikim
I'll hear what Luburuyl says, all right, then another of you will
talk

nyib na-nga na-nu ki lep tukud mudukur
and then I'll have the other person talk

KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:
ekepu eni kot ilyi ya eni kot tekimil
now you're having court here

1485. yi-kil molup ya nyikimul ilyi kapola mel nyikimul
some men are present and we're talking, that is all right
ung pop-ma kapola kapola nyimulu eni bung tek pukumil-i?
are you joining the 'ends' of the speech together? [i.e. are
you bringing it to a conclusion?]

MIDIPIU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
naba wan kalya-kil na bum tid ekepu naba tu
I started the first speech, and now the second

kil nu brukim tepun ... akiyl meri waltikin
you are starting it ... you ask over there

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
meri pilyikin-i, meri yi anumuyi ung ilyi eni kot kanaing
over there, you know, what the old man said, will you have court

1490. molo ab eni-nga eni-ni ka tingi molo
or will you jail your woman?
ilyi ung pula pena gu tikimul pilyikin-i?
or by this talk are we draining the enclosure, do you think?
[i.e. clearing the way for more talk?]
pula pena-mel gu tip nyikimul nyikir, ilyi ya kot ting
we're draining the enclosure, I say, they had court there
meri nu nyikin ung-uyl olyo nyib pora-ntip pe eni-ni nyai nyikimul
what you say over there, when we finish talking, we say you talk
ung ilyi eni nyai nyikimul ung ilyi ya lo mel-kil ne-d-ko tirimul
we say, you talk, because we gave compensation to you

1495. pe abayl ne-ko molupa pasindia tim molo naa tim molo
and then the woman, staying there, whored about, or didn't
kang-abola meba yad-ko um, ung ilyi kalya eni-ni kalya
or came back with child, talk like that
ung ola pentik manya pentik kare nyingi-r naa kanap-kin ya nyikimul
we don't know whether you will talk more or less seriously
ung ilyi meri lyik abulku nyingi naa kanuyi
we don't know whether you'll add [to what's gone before]
olyo resis tomul-kin abayl medipulayl pe tomulu tep nyimulu mel nar
we will debate, there's no point in talking with the woman herself
1500. abayl medipulu ya resis tomulu tekimulayl
what we're doing is debating about the woman herself
ya ung nyikimilayl meri eni-te lyingi molo naa lyingi i nyikimul,
whether you will get compensation, or not, that's the subject

meri ekepu resis tangi yi anum oba abayl eni-ni okum lyik mek
 pai nyikim
*now you debate, the old man says the woman is coming, 'you take her',
 he says*

ung ilyi mep meri lkutuku pup kot temulayl tep-kin
*we'll take these words into the house and have court, and having
 done so*

olyo-kin pe resis tomulayl top ya abayl kamkam kupulanum ilyi midi
 notimulu
*we'll debate it among ourselves and put her on the road [back to
 Upuka] for good*

1505. ne olyo nyimulu molo naa nyimulu i ung kare kodi-nga top
will we speak or not? having spoken anew

mel-ir welyt naa lyimulayl pilyikin-i?
we won't come to any new conclusions, you know

TEA KUPALI:
 tika nyikin
you're right

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 ya ulayl na-n ka tip tenga mudukur-ayl
this matter, I'm 'tying' it [invoking closure] and passing it on

eni ya nyikim-ayl eni kapola eni wan bel pupiyi
what he says is right, you should agree

1510. ab montuk muluring kanumel tik molku pasindia tum mol naa tum
*you were keeping the woman, and at the time, whether she whored
 around or not*

olyo naa-ko kanap molumul eni-nga mel kanu-kal tika lyipayl-nga
we, too, didn't see it, certainly she took your things

ne ilyi-nga pup notip tep mulurumul kaniyl nyik
we went there and gave them, talking about that

ul-ayl lo pinsintang-na eni kanu pena nyang nyib oda timul
you settle that, talk about it outside, we directed you to do that

UPUKA EL:
 i kana na aku-ko nyib molyayl pilyikin-i
that's what I keep saying too, you know?

1515. ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:
 pena nyik ilyi-kin ul-ilyi kapola-mel tebayl
it's good if you talk about this matter here outside

lkusuku nyimul
we'll talk in the house

aku-kin ya abayl-nga medipulu resis top kalyeb sip ka simulu
we'll debate about the woman and sentence her or jail her

ilyi-nga resis tomulu
we'll debate about this

mola pi abayl-nga ne tok aut naa tekimayl-nga
since the woman is not speaking out

1520. olyo lkusuku tobulu-i
we'll discuss it inside
 olyo lku pumulu tekimul-ayl pilyikin-i
we're about to go in, you understand?
 olyo tubuluiyl ul-iyi lku pumulu tekimul
we're about to go in and discuss it
 ilyi mol
not this
 meri ab lyiring yi-kal-kep
the men who married that woman there [i.e., the Upuka]
1525. meri ab monsuk siring yi-kal kep
or the men who gave her [the Kopia]
 eni populu moluba
they will get angry
 ilyi mol
not that
 pena eni-ni kalya ol tai
you whisper outside
 ya nyik-nyik eneni pena wan bel muduk tengi mola mol
talking here, will you come to an agreement outside or not?
1530. ulayl sika olyo-kin ne sika molupa mong lyipe tim
'it's true, by staying with us over there she caused trouble'
 i nyingi molo mol
will you say that or not?
 i nyib olyo kalya olyo numan ilyi-nga pilyip nyikimul
saying this, we wonder about it
 ekepu lku-d pai nyikimil
now you are saying go into the house
 pi olyo meri lku-d pumulayl
so we'll go into that house
1535. pup adayl meri lku pai nyikin akiyl
since you, old man, are telling us
 ekepu lku pumulu akin ol tomulayl top-kin ...
now we'll go in and, whisper among ourselves
 (unclear)
 meri olyo lku pumul akin nyimulayl
we'll go in and speak about the matter
 ti-ko nyimulu pukumulayl pilyikin-i
we're going to go in to talk about one thing, you understand?
 eni molupa kujuyul kupulanum meri kep ya kep lyik kuni tengayl
you will straighten out a path of tranquility here or there
1540. ya pena nosik molymelayl pilyikin-i
that depends on you out here, you understand?

- olyo lkusuku nabolka nyimulu
what can we say inside?
 nu-nga ul boni-kal lyikin okun olyo-kin
when you bring your difficulties to us
 tab tabansikimelayl pilyikin-i
you stick them on to us, you understand?
 ekepu ya kili simulayl
now we'll wipe them off
1545. olyo pena pup kili-nsimulayl
having gone out, we'll wipe them off
 lkusuku pi nabolka mel olyo-n mel-ma-ko bo lyimulu-i
what kind of crops can we raise in the house?
 i nyikimul-mel tepa olyo ung sul pukum
what we're saying is going on and on
 ya unguyl ekepu nosip kelimulu kubukayl nyikin kep
but we'll leave it alone, even what you, Kubuka man [Unya], are saying
 nosip kelip pukumul nyikin pilyikin
you think we'll leave it
1550. ya aki nyikimulayl
and that's what we are saying here
 ya aku nosi-kelip pukumulayl
we here will leave it alone
 eni-nga ung bamp ilyi-nga nyib-kin
we seem to be talking a lot of jarring talk
 ung kuru naa kurukumul
but by no means are finding the right words
 ilyi-nga nyingi pensik nyikimil
they [the magistrates] are going to say something
1555. nyikin-ilyi
that's what you say
 pi na-n kalya meri lku pumulayl pup resis tomulayl
so I say we'll go in and debate the matter
 eni pena i-tik nyingi mola meri ne yi-kil-kin eni moduk ung mare
 nyingi mola naa nyingi
you'll talk outside like this and come to an agreement with those men over there, or will you not?
 i nyilkumela-da olyo lku-d naa pukumulayl abayl ul tim yi-yl
if you had said so we wouldn't go in, but the man who did it to her
 painimaut tep yi-yl ekeda angintip abayl naa ko montikumul
we'll discover who he is and stand him up on one side, we're not putting the woman on the other side
1560. abayl pasindia tokumayl topa kulupa molcum
the woman whores about and hides it

ne yi-kil kep ya yi-kil kep olyo we kur tokum
those men there, as well as these here, are sweating for nothing
 pe ne olyo nabitep glat pentip yi ilyi-kin nyib kana bi dip
 nyimulu-i
*now, putting on our glasses, and naming the man, how shall we
 recognise him?*

ekepu olyo-n ung kare nyimulu-i?
now shall we say something?

ne pul lapa-yl kulupa molupa lepa kodi tekim-ayl pilyikin-i?
the troublemaker is hiding it and not confessing, you know?

1565. ilyi-nga meri lku-tuku pub-kin nyimulayl nyib-kin nyimulu pe
going into the house over there, we'll talk, and having done so
 kot-na-ko nyib kuni temul abayl midi ka timulu
we'll talk and straighten it out in court and jail the woman
 maku aku-na-ko resis top tukud modumulayl
that's what we'll debate and discuss

eni-nga adi pena pilyingi ung kupulanum nyingi kot akiyl we peba
what you're to hear outside, that court will be suspended

pe peba naa kanuyul eni pena nyikimil olyo tike nyib
we don't know what will happen, we say surely you talk outside

1570. ung ilyi-nga mawa tekimulayl pilyikin-i?
we're asking for this, do you understand?

UPUKA EL:

na ya mol nyib molyayl, lkutuku nai puba, molayl
I'm here saying no, who will go in the house? no!

KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:

ilyi ya ya olyo-n nyikimul ilyi abayl sike medipulu nyikim
what we are saying, what he is saying about the woman is right

olyo kot temul kompetetin o nabolka ul ilyi kang-abola-kin molymeli
*we'll have court and levy a fine, or whatever, because there are
 children*

ne olyo-nga molupa kujuyul nu yiyl olyo-n fren nyilymulu
there's our friendship [to think of], we call you 'friend'

1575. o nabolka ul wan-bel, ilyi kupulanum-te lelymayl
yes, what? agreement, this is the way

abu olyo faul tekim ilyi-nga ne olyo-n baim temulu mola
the woman is wronging us, we'll pay a fine for her

abayl kalapus temulu mola pe ya olyo-nga nyimulu mola nabolka ul
or we'll jail her, or we may say something different

isil-nga meri wanbel temulayl ne eni-ni ya olyo-ni mol
in this way we'll reach agreement, [it is] neither you nor us

ne abayl eni kep olyo kep faul tirim ilyi lipiyl
that woman wronged you as well as us, so let's ignore that

1580. ne kompetetin ilyi midi lyip kuni teamiyl nyib pilyikir
we'll straighten out the matter of compensation, so I think

a? eni lupulupu walytsip nyikir
eh? what do you think? I'm speaking, asking each of you

UPUKA EL:

ilyi ne abayl abolup uj-uj tokumul ilyi
thus grasping the woman we are pushing the case along

olyo ya kot-nga kupulanum-na pilyip konginsip nyikimul,
we are speaking, considering the basis/cause of the court

KUBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:

i tepa ilyi-nga olyo-nga abu mel kis te kep mol-iyi
she is not even one of our 'vaginas'

1585.

eni-ni abu mel kis pul yi-kin medipulu monsikimil-ayl
you men who are owners of the vagina are bringing this case

olyo-nga ung-te mol, olyo-n pe ka sip meri olyo-nga molupa kunsuyi
it's not our matter, we're arranging our way of settlement

kompetetin kupulanum ilyi meri lupu-ko nyikimul
and compensation, that's something different we're talking about

ekepu abayl olyo-n ya ...
now we here, about the woman ...

UPUKA EL:

olyo-n lyip ob i tekimul, ekepu abayl-nga meri disisin tekimul
*we accept [that we are] doing it thus, now over there [in the
 courthouse] we're making a decision about the woman*

1590.

nyingi-yl kubilek nyangi-na aili lek tengi-yl
you'll speak first, and following that they'll decide

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

eni-n ya eni-ni abolku ting-ayl meri olyo pilyip tudumulu-i?
*you will give compensation, over there [do you think] we'll be
 confused?*

UPUKA EL:

ya kung-nga abu puba molurum mel baim tirid
I gave the things when the woman went and stayed home

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

abayl ya meri mel-ilyi mel olyo-nga-te puba paga nyilkumela
if you had said 'this woman of ours is going, let her go'

olyo-nga-te meri mulumul naa pekim
then this trouble wouldn't be so difficult

1595.

meri abu kang-abolayl olyo-nga mel olyo-nga lo mel-te ya kanu brukim
lo tim ilyi-nga

she got pregnant and this is violating our law

ilyi olyo-nga ing-iyi lelym, abayl-nga gerijipa ul-te lupu naa
 lelym, mol

*there is a way of dealing with this, [but] there's no way of
 separating her [from her husband], no*

ya nyikimul nyib-kin wilyi kang-yi Poya-kin pentipa meri yabu-kal-kin
*what we're talking about is putting Poya together with her
 relatives*

- eni-ni wanbel puba molo-mol, ilyi-nga nyib olyo waltamulayl-nga
will you reach agreement? this is what we're asking about
- akiyl-nga nying kanapa aku-na pipiyl mola
if they come to some agreement, let it be, or
1600. kapola naa nyimulu nying-lum ilyi-nga lkutuku pup disisin
 tamul-kilya
if they say, 'we won't', let's go inside and make a decision
- pepa kanap joinim top top modumulu kupulanum ilyi lelym nyikir-o
we'll write out the paper, this way is open to us, I say
- meri ya Tibeka eri mel ilyi pilyipa-kin i tepa nyiba notikim
'the Sibeka court finds as follows'
- ekepu olyo i tep nyib mudukumul ekepu elti yi tal-in
now we're telling you this, now you two men
- distrik mola lokal mola tin kanap pasim teba mola
will have it in district or local court, a fine will be imposed or
1605. o winim kot teba mola kupulanum aku teba mola kupulanum i tepa lelym
*the case will be won, it will be like this, that's the sort of
 thing that will happen*
- aki nyib mudukur, ilyi pilyikimil nyib pilyikir-ayl
you understand this, I believe
- pilyik klia tedikimel-i?
are you clear about this?
- ya eni pilyangi-nayl-nga eni nabitimna eni yabu wanbel puba teba
*as you are thinking about it, you might somehow come to an
 agreement*
- ul te naa kanap-kin eni-ni kayi tek tengi mola mol
if we don't oversee this, will you do properly or not?
1610. i kalya nyib waltikir-kiyl
that's what I'm asking
- KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:
 ilyi ya Temal ung-te nyikim kalyayl olyo pe
what Temal is saying, well we ...
- lapa-kin pelybelayl akitik telybeli mola-mol?
*she lives with her father, do they do that [i.e., what the Upuka
 say they do] or not?*
- ya abayl eni kep olyo porapora dokta-yl-n witnis molupa pora nsim
*about this woman the doctor has provided evidence for you and
 all of us*
- ekepu abayl-nga olyo-n ung nyi-pentimulu tapu-te naa lekim
there's no way for us to put forward a final decision
1615. abayl sika telym mola meri ul boni mare olyo-kin nyikimul akiyl
*is the woman telling the truth, or are there some problems for us
 to discuss there?*
- olyo yi-ke-kin-ko nyikimul-iyil, ekepu kang-abola tripela
we're talking among men, now there are three children

- aku-na kinya ab anumuyI ne wapra tum-iyI kang-abola kinya wapra tum
*now an 'old' [long-married] woman whored about, she had a child
 doing so*
- Ulka-Upuka eni mong Iyimulu nyik modu-kelingi?
Ulka-Upuka, you say we'll have trouble, will you let her go?
- eni-nga kang-abola kopong-ka-ko molymeli, pe kinya ul ilyi
*the children have your 'grease' [i.e. procreative and nutritive
 substance] too, well now, as for this*
1620. ya olyo meri yi-ke ya isip opimi tomulu nyib wan bel pupu-iyI
 adap molymulu
we will join with those men, we're on friendly terms with them
- pe abayl ne olyo kupulanum kayi-te eni kep olyo kep Iyipa naa
 sikim-iyI
now the woman is not doing right, she's lying to both of us
- ilyi ya meri kalapus-na mola disisin aku-na tensangi-na
you jail her, or make a decision
- abayl meri midiyl tim kep, tara, aya-n telym mola tara-n telym
*whether it hurts or not, father, whether you're her brother or
 father*
- ama-n telym ilyi-nga nyik mek puk peli abolung
or her mother, go talk about this and straighten it out
- MIDIPIU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:
1625. ilyi-n noi eni-ni abu pul yi-kal ... kang yi-yl ...
over there you 'owners' of the woman ... young fellow ...
- eni abayl ya Ikutuku pup walytintamiyl nyik pilyikimil mola
do you think we should go inside and ask her [for you] or
- ul-iyI eni-ni yabu-la boni kangi-na lelym-na molymeli
*or is it that you people [SumuyI's people] have some reservations
 [feel a 'heaviness' on you]*
- i nyikim ilyi-nga eni kep olyo wate faul-ko telym ilyi-nga
he says that she is wronging you as well as us, and in view of this
- abayl kot tentamul mola tep teamul mel nar, i nyikimul
shall we court her, or what shall we do? this is what we're saying
1630. ilyi-nga ing ilyi-nga i tep nyimulu kupulanum ... (unclear)
is this the sort of thing we shall say?
- kang-abola tripela molym, ekepu ilyi foa, ilyi eni pilyik kayi teai
*there are three children, this makes four, think carefully
 about this*
- eni yi-ma pora elti kang-yi aki-til-n kep ...
all you men and you two ...
- (unclear for a few seconds)
- ya-kidu wa wate ne kep olyo-nga kolya moluyI kolya-ma-nga ing ilyi
 nyibu
*both this way and over there are places for us to stay, I shall say
 this [i.e., both Upuka territory and Kopia territory are
 presently passable, friendly areas]*

UPUKA EL:

olyo-nga lku-na abu-te molym-i, ya ilyi ab koyaka lyilymulayl-i?
is there a woman in our house, are we getting a woman for nothing?

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

1635. ing nyikir ilyi-nga pilyip nyib meb aji-yadu ya i tep ...
continuing on from what [we've] been saying back and forth ...

matres-ma kep molymeli, akiyl-nga pilyip adi elti waltikir-ayl
also the magistrates are here, so I'm asking you

pilyik aut tel nyayl
to think and speak up

UPUKA EL:

kung-ilyi pup tirimul
we went and gave a pig

MIDIPU MAGISTRATE KUJILYI:

a, yes, lapa elti olyo faul tepa nabolka ul tirim ne molupa telym
*um, yes, 'father', she wronged both you and us by doing whatever
it was, and is staying there doing it*

1640. ul bonayl eni yabu-ka tikimul pilyikir-ayl i tepa lipiy
we're placing the onus/difficulty on you, and so let it be

ekepu ya kang-abola meba tirim kupulanum ilyi eni ya
now she has conceived a child, and in view of this you

keap-kal-ni kep eni-ni kep kot tentik tengi molo molo
either the Kiaps or you, will you bring her to court or not?

i nyik tukud modungi kupulanum ilyi-nga
you will discuss this

pa meri eni-ni molungi sasim temulu nying-lum-ko tengi
*and if they say over there they will charge her, they will do
this as well*

1645. o mol nyik pilying akin wi nabolka ul, ul akiyl-nga
or if they think not [to bring her to court], in respect of that

lyik tilupu modungi rausim tengi popolu moluba kupulanum aku-na
*if they throw it out, there will be anger [the Upuka will be
angry]*

lyik koni tek pora-ntik telymeli kupulanum
how they take [matters] and straighten them out

mare lyip notikimul pilyikir-ayl
we are showing how it is done

pe eni pilyai i nyikir-o, ya molo olyo faul tepa adalym ilyi
mel-lum
and you consider, I say, if she continues to confuse/mislead us

1650. ekepu abayl kalapus teamiy, ne yabu-kal-in abulup molymulu
nying-lum
let's jail her then, and if they say, 'we're holding [onto] her'

ekepu temulu nyikimil-ilyi tiangi i nying-lum
if they say, 'we do this and you can do [what you like]'

akiyl nyik pilyai mola mel oyo-nga-kal midi pilyikumulayl
you consider that, or if we consider that they are ours

kang-abola talytik molymeli ilyi ekepu oyo-ngayl-ka
there are three children, and these now are ours

kil oyo-n naa turumul turumul pilyikir ilyi-ka
I think we didn't disagree about that

1655. i nyib pilyimul kanapa ya pena nyib edi tentip i tep tiamiyl
if we think this, then we can conclude talking about it outside

ULKUPUKA TAIM:

akiyl kapola midi nyikim, nyikin kupulanum akiyl-nga
what he says is right, what you say

tena peba tekim, peba tekim ilyi meri kalapus temulu-o
about how it will be, it may be we'll send her to jail

meri ul kit tepa tirim o naa tirim o ilyi olto-nga todul-te mol-iyi
*it may be she whored around, or did not, we're not strong enough
 to know*

olto-n naa kanap molybolu ola yi-yl midi nunu kanapa molym
we do not see [these things], only God above is seeing

1660. tirim-dum wate-ko naa tirim-dum wate-ko
whether she has done it or not

pe altepa numan akiyl pilyipa-kin ne kalapus ting adi-n
and if they jail her and she considers

nyiba pilyipa-kin numan senis teba o naa teba o
thinking about it, will she change her attitude or not?

ul ilyi pilyik kapola mol, te ekepu midi kangayl-nga popolayl
*considering this, it is not all right, the main thing is he is
 angry about the boy*

yunu-nga walum midi pilyikin-i, ilyi ekepu te molymayl
it's his only son, do you understand? now the one is there

1665. te-kin pamuk nyikin pilyikin, mol wi tim nyib popolu kulup
*you think she can take him with her and whore about, no, talking
 about what she did we get angry*

nyikumulayl, pe oyo ekepu lkudu pup oyo-nga ul-ma
as we talk, and now as we go home

oyo yimul mel lupu lupu pumulayl
every one of us will go his separate way

ya ilyi mel nunu-nga-kal midi pilyikir-ayl ne yabu-kal-in
she is his wife only, those people [two] over there

eni-ni aima pilyik pilyik kayi tek, kang-abola talytike molymeli
should think of this carefully, there are three children

1670. ekepu ul pul-kal puba awuntipa noi pekim nyib pilyikir-ayl
now the cause of things lies with them, I think

pe ekepu i tepu nyamul mel nar, altepa ne eni-nga kalya-na munsuk
 molkumela

and what can we say of this, once again, they had her in their place

abu kang-abola montum pilyikir-ayl, lo telymeli
the woman got pregnant, they solve problems

ul kayi mel-te midi tiangi, oba pora nyipiyl na ya nar-nga,
*let them do so appropriately, or if [it is said], let it finish
 what shall I ...*

i mel nyik pilyikimil ...
you think something like this ...

UPUKA SU:

1675. a? na nyibu yi-yl-ko nyikir, lo-te mel midi mongayl-ni kanap-kin
Huh? I'm the right man to talk, when we see them enforce the law

aki nyib notintangi-na na pilyibu, ul mare temulayl
I want to see what they do about the matter

akiyl olyo-nga ab lyilyiyl akiyl medu ui nyikumul ilyi ing ilyi
 nyib-kin
*she is our wife [woman that we take in marriage], and we say
 what we said before*

ya lo tengi mel kanamiyl
they will impose law [compensation], let us see how

UPUKA EL:

olyo-nga lku-na abu-te molym-i, ya ilyi ab koyaka lyilymulayl-i?
is there a woman in our house, are we getting a woman for nothing?

KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:

1680. lkusuku naa pa, ya yi torukang nyilybulu, aima na-kin ung-te mol
*don't go in the house, we call each other brother-in-law, there's
 nothing wrong between us*

pe ya ned manya ab ekepu ul ilyi-nga ya ung ilyi-nga pulupina lekim
but now because of this business we are embarrassed

eni mol nying-lum pe ilyi-nga pora nyiba-kiyl
if you say no it will be over

toru ki olamodup nyikir, kopetetin-kin nanga kang-na nosung-i?
*in-law, with my hand raised [speaking the truth] I say, did they
 give me the compensation?*

na ya pilyip molyo, em i go long kalapus, ilyi ya yi eni yi molymeli
I know, she's going to jail, you men are here

1685. yabu kimuliyl no bia noba ul mare tepa adalym nyingi nyik pe
her brother goes around drinking beer and the like, you say, well

eni-ni mol nying-lum bilong wanim yupela kotim em nating?
*if you say no [to jailing her?] why are you taking her to court
 for nothing?*

ALYA MAGISTRATE PUYL:

i pe puba-ko-yl
she'll go later, all right

KUMBUKA MAGISTRATE UNYA:

ilyi weyai tebayl, we kanapa abayl kalapus pubayl
it will dissolve, if not she'll go to jail

yupela wokim disisin, ya midiyl kolupa-kin lapa wedu lyiba o
you make a decision, she'll feel bad and relieve her father
 [i.e., reveal the truth about the other man?]

1690. olyo-n pui nyilymulu-o mola olyo-kin molamiyl olyo-nga kongun tensi
 nyilymulu-o

we say you go, or stay with us and work for us

yunu-nga bikhet-ayl ne moly-m-o, em mas i go long kalapus na em i
 kambek

it's her fault, she must go to jail and come back

eni ya kopetetin nyikimil-iyl wanem? nokumul naa nokumul
why are you talking about compensation? we consume it or not

noda kudu ka moku top adumul-i? ne kodu tiyl ung-ma nyik
did we pull the kudu mushroom out again? you say words designed
to gain compassion

eni abu-ma ami nosilymeli-ko-yl, melymeli-ko nyik kodu tiyl ung
you have sisters, you say, they do have, and saying words of
compassion

1695. nyik pulu-nsik modai, ekepu ne moly-m aku-na molupa olyo mong
 lyipa sikim

chase her out, she sits there now and gets us all in trouble

ekepu meri yiyl kep kanap lyip kos tensip telkumulayl papu
now if we found the man and tried him, that would be good

yiyl kep olyo wase faul telka olyo mulu wangukum-ayl
but she'd also tell us lies about that and we're short-winded

eni yi pemulu walum-ka olyo kubilya-na gerekim-iyl
you're our true friends, and now we fight and are separated

ilyi abayl ui meri disisin tep meri taim sik mel kopetetin i sik
 teangi

first we'll make a decision about the woman, and you set a jail
sentence and let them give compensation

1700. maku tensangi-na olyo-n abayl wedu lyimulu kep nu ya olyo-n
 telymulu kaniyl i nyib meri wedu lyip ung-iyl
set how much for us to bail her out what we'll have to give to
get her out

WARIA:

ilyi ya abayl maku-te pelka-na ab olyo-nga lyirimul ilyi tokumul
if she had marks on her, our woman that we got, and we hit her

ilyi mol, ab wenepu-kin aima ui kung koptintikin tirin-iyl ilyi
 mel-ko tekin-kin

but it's not so, when she was a young woman, truly you ate pig,
and this sort of thing

pe akiyl ekepu nar-kin aima ... ilyi ekepu ya kot teamiyl nyikimil
 ilyi mol

and what [has happened] ... now here you say let's have court, but
no

olyo abayl lo teai i nyikimulalyi eni pilyikimil-i?
you give compensation for her, do you understand?

1705. ilyi kum kayime lyik pilyikimil-i mol, ilyi pilyikimil-i mola mol?
really clean your ears, do you understand this or not?
[i.e. pay, and give her back]
- pe ya kot ting-kin ab ka-ko tingi, pe ulti um-kin ab nanga-ko nyibu
when you've had court, they'll jail her, and when she comes out,
I'll still say 'she's mine'
- pe pe ul te pim-kin na-nga ab-ko nyib, pe nu pubu-da nyik pilyini
and if something else happens, I'll still say so, well you may
think I'll go
- mangubu-da nyik pilyini, na-nga ab-ko nyib, kaime ki ola modup nyikir
'will I get her back?' you may think, but I'll still say she's mine
truly with my hand raised [in oath] I'm talking
- ilyi na-nga abayl-ko nyibu
that's my woman, I'll say
- ?:
1710. pe nu-nga abayl ka lku-na pupa onulupa mudupa kelipa oba-kin
well when your woman goes to jail, and gets out and comes back
- nableka ul tini?
what'll you do?
- WARIA:
- abayl midi nyib molab molab, abayl midi nyib, abayl midi nyib molup
I'll keep on saying she's mine, keep on and on
- na-nga abu nyib ing-ma nyib kep ab-ko nyib molubu
when I talk I'll say she's my woman
- modup kelubu-da nyik pilyik eni tuimai nyingi
will I quit? you think, 'you'll feel depressed'
- (many voices)
- KUBUKA KOMI:
1715. kang-yi, eni matres-iyi kot komplem ya Kopia yabu-kin ti naa ting
boy, you magistrates, the Kopia people did not file a complaint
- ne Upuka yabu-kin tingiyi
the Upuka did
- ya abayl kalapus tengayl mola nabola ul tengi
will you jail this woman or what will you do?
- eneni midi leylm
it's up to you alone
- ya yabu-ka walysik ui matres-iyi nyikim-ilyi kapola
people ask whether what the magistrate said earlier is o.k.
1720. mola akiyi eni-ni nyingi
or will you talk?
- nyik kayi kanak tobi-taike-nsikimil
you talk and just go all over the place
- nabina-nsikimil?
why do you do that?

- eni kot komplem puluy kanakur-ayl
I see you had a big complaint
- ya Kopia yabu bi pe nyiyl-ka moylmeli-oro
there aren't many Kopia here
1725. pe kinya-nga ne yabu-kin nyik tobitaikensik
so now people are just talking at random
- ne matres-iyil nyikim kapola
what that magistrate says is o.k.
- i yabu ilyi tekim kapola aku ung pul mar-ayl
what these people are doing is o.k., but for what reason?
- wilyi yi-kin eni-ni nyik
you and those men say
- na abu lyiyl pul yiyl-n na abayl kot tensibu
'I and the ones who have the woman will take her to court'
1730. pe nu nunu kanap kui tebu nyin-lum
and if you say 'seeing, I will let her go'
- ne matres-ma koduku nyikin
you tell the magistrates
- ul kaniyl nununu nyin-na pungayl
when you say that, they will go away
- pe pilyimul-na ne abayl lo mel teangi nyin-lum
but when we listen, you might say 'let them pay compensation'
- i nying-lum i nyik altekin nyik tobitaikenyikimil ilyi
you might say this, say it again and wander all over the place
1735. meri magistret-iyil nyikim-ayl kapola disisin temulu lkudu pamul
what the magistrate says is right, let's make a decision, let's go inside
- molo yi nyikim ilyi kapola ab eni orara ab yi lku-na pensik mek adalymeli
or is what the man says right, do you look after her, put man and wife in the house? [i.e., she's not married to everybody]
- keri walsik ne abayl pamuk tirim eni Kopia yabu-ka lyik sapo ola modukun
you ask, 'did the woman whore around? did you Kopia put the boar [to the sow]?'
- kung sapo lyibu okur nyikin lomong kalkun i nyik yi-te kani pulymeli-i?
I'm coming to get a boar, you say, and get drenched by rain, you say, do you go there or not?
- mola eni-nga eni-ni tekimil kalyamel tirim-lum kinya-na tirim-iyil
or did she do what you do?
1740. olyo yabu lyipa lu-nsirim molymeli ilyi pilyikimil-i?
she tricked all of us, do you understand?
- ilyi-nga kayi kanak nyikimil ilyi ne ab pul yiyl pe
you are just talking [to hear your voices], the 'root man' down there

nunu komplem tim akiyl abayl kalapus tebu i nyikim
he made a complaint, he says 'I'll jail the woman'

nyib kanamiyl, mola lo teai nying-lum i nyik kanamulu-oro
*let's see, or if they say 'pay compensation', if they say this
 we'll see, bringing and holding it ...*

mek abulku i tek ...
holding it ...

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