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YAWA PHONOLOGY

Linda K. Jones

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a brief description¹ of the phonology of the non-Austronesian language spoken on Yapen Island, Irian Jaya, Indonesia. The analysis represents the dialect I call here Yawa, spoken on the south coast of Yapen Island, and, in particular, the Yawa dialect as spoken in the village of Sarawandori, located just west of Serui.² There are about 300 speakers of Yawa in this village.

The paper gives a basic phonemic analysis of the various levels of the phonological hierarchy as described in the theoretical model of Kenneth L. Pike (1947, 1971), and further elaborated by Eunice Pike (1974). The phonological levels to be described for Yawa are, from lowest to highest: phoneme, syllable, phonological word, phonological phrase, and pause group. Slight attention to morphophonemics is given. Included as well is a treatment of loan words.

Hitherto there has been only one very brief published description³ of this non-Austronesian language. This description consisted of four pages of notes, mostly an evaluation of the dialect situation, in Anceaux's 1961 survey report of the languages⁴ spoken on Yapen and adjacent areas.

2. SYLLABLES

2.1 Syllable types

In natural speech all words in Yawa end in a vowel.⁵ Since morphemes may end in a consonant (thus far noted are most of the consonants excepting the semivowels), citation forms may occasionally consist of a single morpheme and be pronounced with a final consonant. However, such morphemes would not appear in natural speech without a final vowel. Often, one or more morphemes are suffixed that will result in the word ending in a vowel. Otherwise, generally the phone /e/ is added in the case of nouns and /a/ in the case of verbs. Leaving aside, then, morpheme structure conditions, and focusing only on the phonology, we conclude that all emic syllables in Yawa are open syllables, i.e., they must end in a vowel.

An alternate analysis might allow both open and closed syllables, but say that there is limited distribution of closed syllables in that they may not occur finally in the phonological word. This analysis is favoured by the fact that

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there are consonant-final citation forms and by the fact that phonetically closed syllables do frequently occur, because words containing non-initial consonant clusters are pronounced with the first consonant of the cluster as the coda of one syllable, while the second consonant of the cluster is pronounced as the onset of the next. For example, *mondo fast* is phonetically [mon.do].

However, we believe that the emic analysis still favours exclusively open syllables, since all naturally occurring words end in vowels and they may be evenly divided into open syllables using only a few syllable division rules to be described below. To allow closed syllables would require much more complex syllable division rules and would also result in numerous ambiguous situations. Our analysis, then, posits only phonemic open syllables, which may be at variance with the phonetic syllables that result in natural speech. Thus, *mondo fast* has a closed syllable phonetically, but is analysed as having two open syllables phonemically: /mo.ndo/.

There are two basic types of open syllables: those with an initial consonant slot (CV) and those without an initial consonant (V). The initial consonant slot may be occupied by a single consonant or by a cluster of two consonants. Likewise, the V slot of either basic syllable type may be occupied by a single vowel or by a complex cluster consisting of a nuclear vowel plus an off-glide vowel.⁶ The resultant syllable types, with examples, are as follows. (Period indicates syllable break. Ligature joining two vowels indicates a close-knit cluster.)

CV	C ₁ V ₁	/bo/	<i>paddle</i>
	C ₂ C ₃ V ₁	/mbi/	<i>collapse</i>
	C ₁ V ₂ V ₃	/pae/	<i>bone</i>
	C ₂ C ₃ V ₂ V ₃	/ntai/	<i>full</i>
V	V ₁	/a.jo/	<i>foot and leg</i>
	V ₂ V ₃	/ai.rai/	<i>squash</i>

2.2 Distribution

There are certain distributional restrictions on the occurrence of various phonemes in the different slots of the syllable. C₁ may be any of the 14 consonant phonemes that occur in Yawa. V₁ may be any of the five vowel phonemes. C₃ may be any stop or fricative; it may not be a nasal, flap /r/, or semivowel. C₂ is always a homorganic nasal defined in the following way: if C₃ is a bilabial (/p/ or /b/), then C₂ is also bilabial (/m/); if C₃ is any other of the permitted consonants (/t, d, k, j, s, ʃ/), then C₂ is the alveolar (/n/). Note that a nasal plus a palatal or velar does not assimilate phonetically, e.g. /nk/ is phonetically [nk], not [ŋk]. In passing, we note that a cluster of flap /r/ plus a voiceless stop may occur in fast speech, but in slow speech such clusters resolve into flap + vowel + voiceless stop.

There are no restrictions on V₁, but there are on V₂ and V₃. The only close-knit V₂V₃ clusters recorded thus far are: /a_i, a_e, a_o, a_u, o_i, u_i/. Close-knit clusters always involve /a/ as the first vowel, or one of the two back vowels plus /i/. Since the list seems well-patterned, we do not expect to

find additional such clusters. As will be seen later, many other vowel combinations occur in Yawa, but they involve two or more syllables in sequence. The list here are just those vowel clusters that may occupy the same emic syllable. The primary difference is a matter of timing, which can be determined by comparing words containing vowel combinations with words consisting only of simple CV syllables. For example, [au] is one mora of timing in the word /tau.me/ *sago flour*, but it is two moras of timing in /ra.u.na/ *cooks*. The difference in timing is heard in comparing these two words with /ta.mi/ *name* and /ra.ne/ *burns*.

There is another difference between vowel combinations that comprise one syllable versus those that constitute two. With one exception, the former have prominence on the first of the two vowels; that is, the first vowel is the syllabic peak of the syllable: VV. When the second vowel has more prominence than the first, VV̄, or when the vowels are of equal prominence, V̄V̄, then the two vowels are in different syllables. The one exception (see end note 6) is that the sequence [uⁱ] is regarded as belonging to the same syllable since it is pronounced with unit timing that results in a phonetic semivowel, e.g. [wi].

2.3 Syllable division rules

We are now in a position to suggest syllable division rules. The first rule is to divide into as many CV syllables as possible. This is based on the fact that CV is the only universal syllable type and also the first type acquired by young children (e.g. Greenberg 1963). Examples are: /ka.ko.pa/ *land, soil* and /na.ma.ne/ *night*. Second, if there are consonant clusters, divide into CCV syllables: /nta.bo/ *one* and /pa.nsa.na.na/ *he runs*.

Third, if there are single vowels left over after dividing into CV and CCV syllables, treat as V syllables: /a.ja.mbe.re/ *pineapple* and /a.na.o.be/ *funny*. There is a corollary to this latter rule that deals with vowel combinations: when there is a sequence of two vowels, if the second vowel has more prominence than the first OR if it is equally prominent, then divide between the two vowels, UNLESS the sequence is ui, in which case do not divide. Examples are: [rạbạu] /ra.ba.u/ *split* and [sạẹkẹ] /sa.e.ke/ *lightweight*, BUT [wạnạmp̣wị] /wa.na.mpu/ *west*. However, when there is a sequence of two vowels, if the first vowel has more prominence than the second, then syllable division is not predictable. The vowels may belong to the same or different syllables. Examples are: [tạụmẹ] /tau.me/ *sago flour* and [rạụnạ] /ra.u.na/ *cooks*, cited in the previous section. Further examples include [yạịtẹ] /yai.te/ *comb* and [kạịbẹ] /ka.i.we/ *valley*.

In the case of sequences of three vowels (there are never more than three vowels in sequence in Yawa), apply the rules dealing with vowel combinations pair-wise twice. For example, [anẹaẹ] /a.ne.ae/ *wave*. I believe that all Yawa data can be handled by the syllable division rules just posited.

3. PHONEMES

There are 19 phonemes in Yawa: 14 consonants /b, d, j, k, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, ʒ, t, w, y/ and five vowels /a, e, i, o, u/. They are listed in chart form below. The parameters of the chart designate all the relevant feature specifications for each phoneme.

CHART OF CONSONANTS				
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Back
Stop vl.	p	t		k
vd.	b	d		j
Fricative		s	ʃ	
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	
Flap		r		
Semivowel	w		y	

CHART OF VOWELS			
	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

The normal phonetic quality of the phonemes are as follows. /p, t, k/ are voiceless oral stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation. /b, d, j/ are voiced oral stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and alveopalatal points of articulation. The stops are all unaspirated. The term *back consonant*⁷ is used to group together /k, j/. Although they are not pronounced at the same point of articulation, they occupy the same slot in the overall consonant system. They share the feature [-anterior] in contrast with the other stops. Actually, /j/ has a velar stop [g] as an allophone, but since the alveopalatal [j] is the unmarked allophone (occurring in the 'elsewhere' environments), we have chosen to label the phoneme as /j/. Furthermore, a rough frequency count shows that the allophone [j] occurs about 1.5 times as often as the allophone [g].

The fricatives are both voiceless spirants. /s/ is an alveolar groove spirant, while /ʃ/ is a lamino-alveolar split spirant best symbolised phonetically as [sʏ] (and hence labelled 'palatal' in the chart). /m, n, ɲ/ are voiced nasal stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and alveopalatal points of articulation. /r/ is an alveolar flap. /w/ is a voiced glide from the position of the vowel /u/, with lip rounding (hence it is labiovelar), with a common voiced bilabial fricative allophone [ɸ]. /y/ is a voiced glide from the position of the vowel /i/ (hence it is palatal).

The vowels are: /i/ high front unrounded; /e/ mid front unrounded; /a/ low central unrounded; /o/ mid back rounded; and /u/ high back rounded.

3.1 Allophones

Yawa has the common five-vowel system /a, e, i, o, u/, and like most such systems, the degree of deviation from the typical vowel positions is small (Crothers 1978). Except occasionally in fast speech, the vowels hold the same quality in all occurrences. Thus, each vowel has only the one allophone, itself.

The most important allophonic rule affecting consonants is a Rounding Rule. Of the 14 consonants, all but four /t, ʃ, ñ, ɣ/ have been observed to be sensitive to the Rounding Rule. Since /ʃ, ñ, ɣ/ are the only members of the class of palatal consonants, we can say that the rule does not affect this class. But it is unclear why /t/ should not be sensitive to the rule. It does not seem probable that it is merely a gap in the pattern that would be corrected with more data, in that there are words (five so far) with the correct environment for the rule to operate if /t/ were indeed sensitive to it, e.g. /tutara/ *shiver*. But none of these words have ever been observed with rounded /t/. For the present, then, there is asymmetry in the statement of the rule.

- (1) Rounding Rule: A non-palatal consonant may be rounded when preceded by /u/ and followed by another vowel.
However, /t/ is not rounded.

opt.

C + C^w / u(C) __ v
[-pal]
[-/t/]

Note that the rule permits rounding even across an intervening consonant. In the case of a consonant cluster after /u/, it is always the second consonant that is affected by the rounding. The rule is marked 'optional' in that it is not much used by the younger generation of speakers, and even among older speakers, rounding does not always occur in the appropriate environments.

The following examples illustrate rounding as it affects each of the ten consonants to which the rule may apply:

/p/	/aitatupe/	[a ⁱ tatup ^w e]	<i>fish poison, of taro and crab</i>
/k/	/unkame/	[unk ^w ame]	<i>milk, breast</i>
/b/	/raubai/	[ra ^u b ^w ai]	<i>kill</i>
/d/	/ramaude/	[rama ^u d ^w e]	<i>throw toward speaker</i>
/j/	/anuja/	[anug ^w a]	<i>insides</i>
/s/	/unsumaje/	[uns ^w umaje]	<i>grass</i>
/m/	/kaume/	[ka ^u m ^w e]	<i>cucumber</i>
/n/	/kaunane/	[ka ^u n ^w ane]	<i>rodent's nest</i>
/r/	/raura/	[ra ^u r ^w a]	<i>speak</i>
/w/	/puyuwa/	[puyub ^w a]	<i>whistle</i>

The rule operates across morpheme, but not word, boundaries, as can be seen by /ramaude/ *throw toward speaker*, which is composed of two morphemes /ramau/ *throw* plus /de/ *come*. The rule is progressive – only a preceding /u/, but not a following /u/ can trigger the rule. The word /raopupae/ *wipe*, for instance, has only been observed with the second /p/ rounded, but not the first: [raopup^wae]. This word also illustrates that only /u/ and not back vowels in general can cause consonantal rounding. This fact often proves useful for non-native ears to distinguish the sequence /au/ from /ao/, as well as, of course, /u/ from /o/. Compare /unkame/ [unk^wame] *milk, breast* with /onkame/ [

Besides the Rounding Rule which is responsible for numerous allophones, there are several other allophonic rules to mention. One minor one is that in citation forms, in the occasional case where a morpheme without suffixes is given, if the morpheme ends in a voiceless stop, it will be uttered unreleased.

- (2) Unreleasing Rule: A voiceless stop is unreleased word finally (citation forms).

C → C' / __ ##
 [+stop]
 [-voice]

Examples are /rankusyap/ [rankusyap'] *to mix* and /iwak/ [ibak'] *lightning*.

The bilabial semivowel /w/ fluctuates between two variants, a plain bilabial semivowel [w] and a bilabial voiced fricative [b]. There is no phonological conditioning.

- (3) Semivowel w Rule: The phoneme /w/ fluctuates between [w] and [b].

C → w ~ b
 [+semi]
 [+bilab]

Individual speakers prefer one variant or the other for many specific words, but there are plenty of cases where the same speaker pronounces a word sometimes with [w] and sometimes with [b]. For example, one man whose speech has been often observed always pronounces /rakawi/ *bite* with [w] and /rawe/ *use, do* with [b], but alternates the pronunciation of /rawawi/ *draw water* between [rawawi], [rababi], and [rawabi].

Another allophonic rule involves the back phoneme /j/. The rule is that immediately following the high back vowel, /j/ is manifested as [g] (or usually [g^w] because of subsequent application of the Rounding Rule). In all other environments, it is realised as voiced alveopalatal affricate [j]. In the rule, the feature 'back' is as defined earlier to refer to the class /k, j/.

- (4) Voiced Back Consonant Rule: The phoneme /j/ is realised as [g] following /u/.

C → g / u __
 [+back]
 [+voice]

The following words illustrate the phonetic shape of /j/ in all its possible environments – word initial, following each of the five vowels, and following /n/.

Initial	/janiwa/	[janiba]	<i>afraid</i>
	/joena/	[joena]	<i>no, not</i>
After /n/	/njaja/	[njaja]	<i>father</i>
After /i/	/nija/	[nija]	<i>red</i>
	/e/	/anodeja/	[anodeja] <i>he likes</i>
	/a/	/ajama/	[ajama] <i>mother-in-law; sister-in-law</i>
	/o/	/andoja/	[andoja] <i>older sibling of the same sex</i>
	/u/	/kuja/	[kugwa] <i>head</i>

Besides the clear phonological evidence, there is morphophonemic support for uniting [j] and [g] into one phoneme. First, consider the clitic /-ema/ which is frequently added to nouns in simple naming expressions. It might be glossed as *it is*. Nouns ending in /a/ and /e/ drop the /e/ of the clitic /-ema/. The following are examples (the plus sign has no phonetic value; it merely separates the clitic from the stem): [kugwa+ma] *it's (his) head*, [pawa+ma] *it's rice*, [anane+ma] *it's sago*, [make+ma] *it's a dog*. Nouns ending in /o/ simply add the clitic as is: [siro+ema] *it's cloth* and [bo+ema] *it's a paddle*. However, nouns ending in /i/ add a transitional consonant [j] before the clitic: [andani+j+ema] *it's a mango* and [miki+j+ema] *it's a cat*. (Compare these i-final nouns with phonetically similar e-final nouns above.) Nouns ending in /u/ add a transitional consonant [g] or [g^w] before the clitic: [timburu+g^w+ema] *it's cassava* and [mabu+g+ema] *it's blood*. (Compare these u-final nouns with the phonetically similar o-final nouns above.) If [j] and [g] are regarded as allophones of the same phoneme /j/ according to the rule in 4 above, then the morphophonemic facts regarding u-final and i-final nouns can be united into one simple statement: nouns ending in a high vowel add a transitional /j/ before clitics (or suffixes) beginning with /e/. It appears that the rule is motivated by the need to avoid unpermitted vowel sequences */ie/ and */ue/.

There are very similar morphophonemic facts regarding adjectives and verbs when the imperfective suffix /-a/ is added. Adjectives and verbs ending in /e/ or /o/ simply add the imperfective suffix /-a/: [kokobe+a] *crows (rooster)* and [bo+a] *rows (a canoe)*. Adjectives and verbs ending in /i/ or /u/ insert a transitional consonant /j/ (manifested as [j] after /i/ and as [g] or [g^w] after /u/) before adding the suffix /-a/: [kakai+j+a] /kakai+j+a/ *it is/was bad* and [bau+g^w+a] /bau+j+a/ *it is/was broken*. Again the motivation appears to be to avoid unpermitted vowel sequences */ia/ and */ua/. These morphophonemic facts lend further support to analysing [j] and [g] as one phoneme.

The final allophonic rule deals with some peculiarities involving word-initial rounded consonants. In the dialect under study, there is no [u] pronounced preceding these initial rounded consonants. However, some of the same words in other dialects are pronounced with a preceding [u]. This suggests the following rule⁸ is responsible for the forms occurring in this dialect.

- (5) Initial Unstressed u Deletion Rule: Word-initial unstressed /u/ is deleted preceding a consonant (but not consonant cluster).

V → ∅ /##__CV
 [+high]
 [+back]
 [-stress]

There is considerable evidence for this rule. First, there are a number of words with initial rounded consonants, such as [r^w], [g^w], [s^w], and others, where the rounding is otherwise unexplained. The form [g^w] is particularly problematical in this regard because aside from some initial occurrences, all other instances of [g^w] are found after the high back vowel /u/, indicating that it is an allophone of /j/. The Initial Unstressed u Deletion Rule accounts for the problem words with initial rounded consonant by positing a preceding /u/ which is deleted. For example, [r^wame] *rib* is phonemically /urame/, [g^we] *pig* is /uje/, and [g^wanena] *sick* is /ujanena/.

Second, there is some important morphophonemic evidence. The person and number markers for consonant-initial intransitive verbs are generally prefixes, e.g. i- '1 sg', m- or n- '3 sg fem', and wa- '2 pl'. However, in the case of third person plural forms there is no prefix but instead the initial consonant is rounded. This suggests that there is an underlying initial /u/ which induces the rounding on the following consonant, according to the Rounding Rule, but then is subsequently deleted. This explanation would account for the following data, which is a small sample of the verbs that behave this way.

	<i>sing</i>		<i>dance</i>		<i>urinate</i>
1 sg	[iken ^{ya}] /ikeña/	[isare]	/isare/	[ipaobea]	/ipaobea/
3 sg fem	[nken ^{ya}] /nkeña/	[nsare]	/nsare/	[mpaobea]	/mpaobea/
3 pl	[k ^w en ^{ya}] /ukeña/	[s ^w are]	/usare/	[p ^w aobea]	/upaobea/

3.2 Contrasts between full phonemes

Having discussed all the significant allophonic variation of Yawa phonemes, we backtrack in a sense to present some of the evidence⁹ for the phonemes themselves by showing contrast among the suspicious sets of phones. We begin by showing contrast between voiceless and voiced stops at the same point of articulation, proceed through other contrasts between consonants, and, lastly, illustrate the vowels in contrast. (WI = Word initial, WM = Word medial, and WF = Word final.)

3.2.1 Voiceless versus voiced stops

The stop series in Yawa includes both voiceless and voiced stops at bilabial, alveolar, and back points of articulation.

/p/ vs /b/	WI	/po/	[po]	3 sg masc subject
		/bo/	[bo]	<i>paddle</i>
		/pawa/	[pawa]	<i>rice</i>
		/bawati/	[bawati]	<i>feel cold</i>
			~ [babati]	
	WM	/tipu/	[tipu]	<i>blows</i>
		/tibu/	[tibu]	<i>deep</i>
		/ropone/	[ropone]	<i>front</i>
		/anobone/	[anobone]	<i>belly</i>
/t/ vs /d/	WI	/de/	[de]	<i>come</i>
		/tena/	[tena]	<i>alive; 20</i>
		/toede/	[toede]	<i>go back and forth</i>
		/doije/	[doije]	<i>money</i>
	WM	/ratawu/	[ratabu]	<i>to cover</i>
		/radawu/	[radabu]	<i>to snap</i>
		/anamote/	[anamote]	<i>voice</i>
		/anode/	[anode]	<i>like; happy</i>
/k/ vs /j/	WI	/kiri/	[kiri]	<i>bait</i>
		/jiru/	[jiru]	<i>two</i>
		/korokoroi/	[korokoroi]	<i>frog</i>
		/jora/	[jora]	<i>hurts</i>
	WM	/rako/	[rako]	<i>take, get</i>
		/rajo/	[rajo]	<i>her leg and foot</i>
		/ratuka/	[ratuka]	<i>stab, smash, spear</i>
		/ratuja/	[ratugwa]	<i>push</i>

3.2.2 Miscellaneous contrasts involving stops

The following are illustrations of contrasts between certain stops and other phonemes.

/d/ vs /j/	WI	/dawuta/	[dabuta]	<i>snapped, broken off</i>
		/janiwa/	[janiba]	<i>afraid</i>
		/doije/	[doije]	<i>money</i>
		/joena/	[joena]	<i>no, not</i>
	WM	/radani/	[radani]	<i>five</i>
		/ajama/	[ajama]	<i>mother- or sister-in-law</i>
		/tutudi/	[tutudi]	<i>all</i>

			/maruje/	[marug ^w e]	<i>rain</i>
/j/ vs /y/	WI		/jani/	[jani]	<i>afraid</i>
			/yane/	[yane]	<i>fence</i>
			/jora/	[jora]	<i>hurts</i>
			/yo/	[yo]	2 dual subject
			/ajare/	[ajare]	<i>ironwood</i>
			/ayaere/	[ayaere]	<i>kind of poisonous grass</i>
			/puje/	[puje]	<i>he gets down</i>
			/puyu/	[puyu]	<i>he whistles</i>
/j/ vs /š/	WI		/jiru/	[jiru]	<i>two</i>
			/šišo/	[s ^y is ^y o]	<i>enter</i>
			/jora/	[jora]	<i>hurts</i>
			/šo/	[s ^y o]	1 sg subject
	WM		/raija/	[ra ⁱ ja]	<i>hold, catch</i>
			/raiša/	[ra ⁱ s ^y a]	<i>eat</i>
			/majo/	[majo]	<i>their legs and feet</i>
			/mašo/	[mas ^y o]	<i>she descends</i>
/b/ vs /w/	WI		/bikikibe/	[bikikibe]	<i>lust</i>
			/wirati/	[wirati]	<i>so, as a result</i>
			/bo/	[bo]	<i>paddle</i>
			/wo/	[wo]	3 pl subject
	WM		/ababa/	[ababa]	<i>bride price bowl</i>
			/awa/	[awa]	<i>mouth</i>
			/kubakube/	[kubakub ^w e]	<i>round</i>
			/uwe/	[ub ^w e]	<i>blossom</i>

The contrast between /b/ and /w/ has strong phonological support. However, we wish to mention that there is some morphophonemic alternation between these two phonemes. The alternation cannot be explained by phonological conditioning. The stative suffix, for example, has two forms /be/ and /we/. Compare [awa+be+a] *yawns* and [kara+be+a] *defecates*; also [koko+be+a] *crows (rooster)* and [babinsanai+be+a] *pregnant*.

3.2.3 Sibilant fricatives

There are two fricative phonemes in Yawa, sibilants at the alveolar and palatal points of articulation: /s/ and /š/.¹⁰

/s/ vs /š/	WI	/sasora/	[sasora]	<i>burned (skin)</i>
vs /y/		/šaše/	[s ^y as ^y e]	<i>different</i>
		/yaši/	[yas ^y i]	<i>middle, centre</i>

	/sopa/	[sopa]	<i>jump</i>
	/šo/	[sʏo]	1 sg subject
	/yo/	[yo]	3 dual subject
WM	/raiseo/	[raiseo]	<i>climb</i>
	/raiše/	[raisʏe]	<i>whittle</i>
	/rayana/	[rayana]	<i>enclose, put a fence around</i>
	/rasakina/	[rasakina]	<i>reverse, flip</i>
	/kašambe/	[kasʏambe]	<i>corn</i>
	/kamayo/	[kamayo]	<i>fog, mist</i>

3.2.4 Nasals

There are three nasals in Yawa: /m/, /n/, and /ñ/. The phonetically complex combinations [NC] (nasal plus consonant) are interpreted as a sequence of two phonemes, except in the case of [ny]. This interpretation will be discussed more fully in Section 5. Here we simply illustrate the contrasts involved.

/m/ vs /n/	WI	/miki/	[miki]	<i>cat</i>
		/niki/	[niki]	<i>sleep</i>
		/mana/	[mana]	<i>water</i>
	WM	/nanawa/	[nanawa]	human classifier
		/timure/	[timure]	<i>afterbirth</i>
		/sinu/	[sinu]	<i>steer a canoe</i>
/n/ vs /ñ/	WI	/uma/	[uma]	<i>sun</i>
		/unae/	[unae]	<i>fish scales</i>
		/naume/	[na ^h mwe]	<i>sky</i> ¹¹
	WM	/naume/	[nʏa ^h nwe]	<i>honey</i>
		/no/	[no]	2 sg subject
		/ño/	[nʏo]	<i>tree; wood</i>
		/mana/	[mana]	<i>water</i>
		/waña/	[wanʏa]	<i>woman</i>
		/maninimbe/	[maninimbe]	<i>quietly</i>
		/mañiñim/	[manʏinʏim]	<i>fishy smell</i>
/N/ vs /NC/ vs /C/	WI	/no/	[no]	2 sg subject
		/ndo/	[ⁿ do]	<i>be at a location</i>
		/doije/	[doije]	<i>money</i>
		/nanawa/	[nanawa]	human classifier
		/njano/	[ⁿ jano]	<i>firewood</i>
		/jani/	[jani]	<i>afraid</i>

WM	/anane/	[anane]	sago
	/andani/	[andani]	mango
	/radani/	[radani]	five
	/wamo/	[wamo]	1 pl subject (incl)
	/kambore/	[kambore]	taro
	/ntabo/	[ⁿ tabo]	one

3.2.5 Flap

There is some morphophonemic alternation between the voiced stop [d] and the voiced flap [r] in Yawa. For instance, the intensifier morpheme 'very' varies between [dabe] and [rabe]. At least some of the alternation must be morphologically conditioned, in that it occurs in identical environments. Compare the following pairs: [mamai+dabe] *exactly the same* and [ⁿtai+rabe] *very full*; also [sere+dabe] *very naughty* and [manke+rabe] *very heavy*. A test of six Yawa speakers revealed that only these pronunciations occurred — certain words always used [d] for the intensifier; others always used [r]. Within the same word, there was no free fluctuation between them.

Further facts cast suspicion on these two phones. First, [d], but not [r], may follow a nasal. Furthermore, while [r] is extremely common word initial, [d] is rare in this position. These facts may lead one to suppose that these are actually allophones of a single phoneme. However, this supposition cannot be sustained, because there are too many clear contrasts between the two phones, and further, no rule can be found that would predict their occurrences. Consider the following sample of contrasts, showing that /d/ and /r/ must be regarded as distinct phonemes.

/d/ vs /r/	WI	/de/	[de]	come
		/rene/	[rene]	sugarcane
		/dawuta/	[dabuta]	snapped, broken off
		/rawaki/	[rabaki]	carry on one's back
		/duduku/	[duduku]	bridge
		/rubasae/	[rubWasae]	nice, kind
	WM	/radani/	[radani]	five
		/rarabita/	[rarabita]	fish with hook and line
		/anode/	[anode]	like, happy
		/kambore/	[kambore]	taro
		/aridu/	[aridu]	coconut oil
		/irur/	[irur]	sago stirring-spoon

3.2.6 Vowels

Yawa has a standard five-vowel system: /i, e, a, o, u/. They contrast in all positions in the word – initially, medially, and finally.

WI	/iwak/	[ibak]	<i>lightning</i>
	/ewe/	[ebe]	<i>rainbow</i>
	/awa/	[awa]	<i>mouth</i>
	/owa/	[oba]	<i>wave</i>
	/uwe/	[ubwe]	<i>blossom</i>
WM	/tumbina/	[tumbina]	<i>name of a constellation</i>
	/bambene/	[bambene]	<i>ceiling space and boards</i>
	/bambana/	[bambana]	<i>swollen</i>
	/bamboni/	[bamboni]	<i>strong</i>
	/timburu/	[timburu]	<i>cassava</i>
WF	/rakari/	[rakari]	<i>pick leaves</i>
	/rakokare/	[rakokare]	<i>return something to speaker</i>
	/rakera/	[rakera]	<i>paint, decorate</i>
	/rakaro/	[rakaro]	<i>pound sago</i>
	/raru/	[raru]	<i>pick fruit</i>

Minimal or near-minimal pairs exist for all suspicious vowel pairs.

/i/ vs /e/	WI	/iwak/	[ibak]	<i>lightning</i>
		/ewe/	[ebe]	<i>rainbow</i>
	WM	/kiri/	[kiri]	<i>bait</i>
		/keri/	[keri]	<i>behind</i>
	WF	/mani/	[mani]	<i>quiet</i>
		/mane/	[mane]	<i>fruit</i>
/e/ vs /a/	WI	/ename/	[ename]	<i>fishing net</i>
		/aneme/	[aneme]	<i>arm and hand</i>
	WM	/rene/	[rene]	<i>sugarcane</i>
		/rane/	[rane]	<i>burn something</i>
	WF	/kare/	[kare]	<i>banana</i>
		/kara/	[kara]	<i>faeces</i>
/a/ vs /o/	WI	/awa/	[awa]	<i>mouth</i>
		/owa/	[oba]	<i>wind</i>
	WM	/ratatae/	[ratatae]	<i>sow, scatter seeds</i>
		/ratota/	[ratota]	<i>cut</i>
	WF	/kata/	[kata]	<i>again</i>
		/kato/	[kato]	<i>arrow</i>

/o/ vs /u/	WI	/omo/	[omo]	<i>but</i>
		/uma/	[uma]	<i>sun</i>
	WM	/ponaya/	[ponaya]	<i>he doesn't want</i>
		/punae/	[punae]	<i>year</i>
	WF	/iro/	[iro]	<i>baking dish</i>
		/iru/	[iru]	<i>sago stirring-spoon</i>

Furthermore, the morphophonemic evidence cited in the discussion after the Voiced Back Consonant Rule in 4 above provides further strong support for the contrasts between /i/ and /e/, and between /u/ and /o/. Recall that in the case of nouns, verbs, and adjectives ending in a high vowel, a transitional consonant /j/ must be inserted before suffixes or clitics beginning with /-e/ or /-a/ may be added. The transitional /j/, however, does not appear when the morphemes end in other vowels.

3.3 Distribution

There are few significant distributional restrictions pertaining to Yawa phonemes. All phonemes, both consonants and vowels, may occur word initially and word medially. As noted earlier, however, only vowels may occur word finally except in the unusual situation of citation. Perhaps the most significant distributional restriction pertains to the palatals /š/ and /ñ/. Only the high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the low vowel /a/ are found preceding these two palatals; the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ do not occur. It would appear that the contrast between the two front vowels /i/ and /e/ and between the two back vowels /o/ and /u/ is neutralised preceding the palatals /š/ and /ñ/ (essentially in the environment C[+pal][-semi]). Since the resulting phonetic shape is always a high vowel, a Raising Rule might be called for that would have the effect of raising underlying mid vowels to high vowels in this environment. We do not posit such a rule here, though, since it would be impossible in the case of most words to decide whether the true phonemic form ought to involve a mid or a high vowel. To a limited extent, the same distribution patterns are observed preceding /y/ and /j/. However, with these two consonants, mid vowels on occasion do occur preceding them, e.g. /poyowa/ *he cries* and /andoja/ *older sibling of the same sex*.

There are of course differences in the phonemes regarding their frequency of occurrence. Voiceless stops /t/ and /k/, flap /r/, nasals, and the semivowel /w/ all have especially high frequency counts among the consonants. The vowel /a/ occurs three times more often than any other vowel, and seven times more often than the vowel /u/.

4. CLUSTERS

A careful study of the permissible consonant clusters and vowel clusters facilitates the interpretation of ambiguous segments [w] and [u], [y] and [i], as well as [nʏ] and [sʏ]. Interpretation of these segments will be discussed in Section 5.

4.1 Consonant clusters

In describing the syllable in Section 2, we stated the constraints on consonant clusters in Yawa. We briefly repeat them here. Within a phonological word, only clusters of two consonants may occur, even across morpheme boundaries. The first consonant must be a nasal and the second must be either a stop or a fricative. Furthermore, there is a constraint that the nasal must be homorganic with the following consonant, where 'homorganic' means that the nasal must be bilabial if the following consonant is bilabial and otherwise must be the alveolar nasal. All the possible combinations occur both word initially and word medially, except that /mp/ has not yet been recorded initially and /nj/ has been recorded medially only in a loan word. Examples follow, first showing word-initial contrasts, then word-medial contrasts.

WORD-INITIAL CONTRASTS OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS

/mp/	-		
/mb/	/mbi/	[^m bi]	<i>collapse</i>
/nt/	/ntabo/	[ⁿ tabo]	<i>one</i>
/nd/	/ndamu/	[ⁿ damu]	<i>so that (purpose)</i>
/nk/	/nkoa/	[ⁿ koa]	<i>mother</i>
/nj/	/njaja/	[ⁿ jaja]	<i>father</i>
/ns/	/nsansimu/	[ⁿ sansimu]	<i>cold (3 sg fem)</i>
/nš/	/nšaše/	[ⁿ s ^ʸ as ^ʸ e]	<i>different (3 sg fem)</i>

WORD-MEDIAL CONTRASTS OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS

/mp/	/ampapire/	[ampapire]	<i>large lizard</i>
/mb/	/ambororomi/	[ambororomi]	<i>house lizard</i>
/nt/	/antakawi/	[antakawi]	<i>octopus</i>
/nd/	/andani/	[andani]	<i>mango</i>
/nk/	/ankai/	[anka ⁱ]	<i>sago chopsticks; coconut</i>
/nj/	-		
/ns/	/ansawai/	[ansawa ⁱ]	<i>papaya</i>
/nš/	/manšane/	[mans ^ʸ ane]	<i>widower</i>

4.2 Vowel clusters

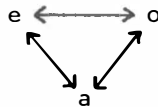
Clusters of two and even, rarely, three vowels in sequence may occur in Yawa. Within the same morpheme, two identical vowels in sequence are very rare; combinations almost always involve heterogeneous vowels. The total inventory of two-vowel combinations thus far recorded as occurring within a single morpheme is as follows:

VOWEL CLUSTERS						
		Second member				
		i	e	a	o	u
First member	i	ii	-	ia	-	iu
	e	-	-	ea	eo	-
a	a	ai	ae	aa	ao	au
	o	oi	oe	oa	-	-
	u	ui	-	-	-	-

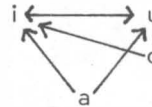
Most gaps in the inventory would be filled if semivowels were included, based on their phonetic quality being that of a high vowel. Thus, one may say that *phonetically* virtually all combinations of two heterogeneous vocoids may occur.¹² However, *phonemically* only the combinations listed above occur. Where a vocoid has been interpreted as phonemically a semivowel (see Section 5.2), combinations involving it have not been counted as a vowel cluster. (Otherwise, clusters of up to six vowels would occur in Yawa, a conclusion not supported by other facts.)

Thus, the inventory of vowel clusters above includes only combinations of two phonemic vowels. Certain observations may be stated about the permitted vowel clusters. First, all combinations of two heterogeneous non-high vowels /ea, eo, ae, ao, oe, and oa/ occur and most are in fact common. However, only a few of the theoretically possible heterogeneous combinations involving at least one high vowel occur. Those that do occur phonemically are /iu, au, ai, oi, and ui/. These patterns may be represented as follows:

INVOLVING NON-HIGH VOWELS ONLY



INVOLVING HIGH VOWELS



The following chart gives one example of each of the two-vowel combinations that occur.¹³ The examples are written phonemically.

EXAMPLES OF VOWEL CLUSTERS WHICH OCCUR IN YAWA

	/vi/	/Ve/	/va/	/vo/	/vu/
/iv/	piipi taut	--	jiane fish	--	siu pointed
/eV/	--	--	kea skin	seo get up	--
/aV/	ankai sago chopsticks	kae jungle rat	kugaawe yellow, orange	baona plays	rauna cooks
/oV/	nandoi road	ratoe write	boana light colour	--	--
/uV/	suija swims	--	--	--	--

Thus far, there are only two clear instances in the data of three vowels in sequence: /raeana/ *beat a drum* and /aneae/ *wave*.

A sequence of two vowels may belong to one or two syllables, as discussed in Section 2 on the syllable. If the two vowels belong to the same syllable, then they constitute a complex nucleus of two close-knit vowels. Such a complex of close-knit vowels always consists of one syllabic vowel and a second vowel which either on-glides to or off-glides from the syllabic vowel. There is pronounced asymmetry in the on-glide and off-glide patterns. There is only one close-knit vowel nucleus with an on-glide: /uj/. An example is [sab^wi] /sa.buj/ *ten*. All other close-knit vowel nuclei consist of a syllabic vowel plus an off-glide. The combinations which occur are /qj/, /uj/, and all combinations of /a/ plus a dissimilar vowel - /aj, æ, əo, əu/. One of the close-knit vowel nuclei is unique because it involves both an on-glide and an off-glide pattern. This is the sequence /ui/, which may be either [uⁱ] (e.g. the word for *ten* just cited) or [uⁱ] (example is [muⁱndabe] /muindawe/ *generous*). (There is another theoretical possibility for the sequence /ui/, which is that both vowels are equally syllabic, and this also occurs in the data, but of course two syllables are then involved, e.g. [ruⁱntə] /ruinta/ *which one*.)

The same vowels that occur in combination in a close-knit nucleus of a single syllable may also occur in a sequence of two syllables. In addition, all the other combinations in the inventory listed above may occur in a sequence of two syllables.

Contrasts between suspicious pairs of close-knit vowel clusters are illustrated below. Contrasts involving vowel clusters belonging to two syllables are not illustrated, as the contrasts do not seem suspect.

/oi/ vs /ui/	/doije/	[doije]	<i>money</i>
	/nuiše/	[nuiše]	<i>sand</i>
/ai/ vs /ae/	/rai/	[rai]	<i>have</i>
	/rae/	[rae]	<i>see, weave</i>
/ao/ vs /au/	/rao/	[rao]	<i>build a fire</i>
	/rau/	[rau]	<i>cook</i>

5. INTERPRETATION OF AMBIGUOUS SEGMENTS AND SEQUENCES

Phonemic representations of the data in previous sections have made implicit assumptions regarding the interpretation of ambiguous segments and sequences. This section will spell out some of the arguments for these interpretations. The segments that are suspicious are [y] and [i], [w] and [u]. The suspicious sequences are [nʏ] and [sʏ].

5.1 Ambiguous sequences

The sequence [sʏ] has been interpreted as a unit phoneme /š/ since there are no consonant clusters in Yawa that would be parallel to a /sy/ cluster.¹⁴ All non-suspicious consonant clusters have a nasal as the first member. There is another reason to avoid a consonant-cluster interpretation. All the

non-suspicious consonants which begin the ergative pronoun series are single consonants, e.g., no '2 sg', po '3 sg masc', mo '3 sg fem'. The first singular ergative pronoun is phonetically [sʏo], which would nicely fit the simple CV pattern of the other singular pronouns if it were phonemically /ʃo/.

Interpreting the [sʏ] sequence instead as /si/ is disfavoured because it would allow certain vowel sequences such as ie which would then only occur after /s/, but never after any other consonant. It would also result in a number of ii sequences, when otherwise this sequence is very rare. For example, [rausʏi] *slice* would be /rausii/.

One might argue very similarly for the sequence [nʏ]. In particular, the same arguments would hold against an /ni/ interpretation. However, the interpretation as a sequence of two consonants /ny/ cannot be dismissed as easily, in view of the parallel with the favoured consonant cluster type in Yawa – nasal plus consonant. This parallel argues for an interpretation of [nʏ] as a consonant cluster. However, there is no evidence for a consonant cluster involving the other semivowel, i.e., */mw/ does not occur. It would be systematically asymmetrical to allow the sequence /ny/ but not the sequence */mw/; in other words, to allow nasal clusters with only one of the two semivowels. However, it is not asymmetrical to exclude semivowels as a class from occurring in nasal clusters. Furthermore, since it seems necessary to posit a sibilant phoneme at the palatal point of articulation, it would be natural to posit a nasal phoneme there as well. Consequently, we assume the best interpretation is to regard [nʏ] as emically a unit phoneme /ñ/.

There is one final argument for interpreting both these palatals as unit phonemes instead of as sequences of an alveolar plus /y/. The phonetic sequences [yi], [ye], and [yu] only occur following [s] and [n], which would seem a peculiar distributional restriction. However, assuming /ʃ/ and /ñ/ as unit phonemes, the analysis would be /ʃi, ʃe, ʃu, ñi, ñe, and ñu/.

5.2 Ambiguous segments

The grey area in many a phonological analysis concerns the interpretation of the two high vocoids. Are they always vowel phonemes or are they sometimes consonant phonemes? As will be seen, we argue for a split analysis where these vocoids are in certain positions interpreted as vowels /i, u/ and in others as consonants /y, w/.

There are two arguments for considering these segments as everywhere vowels. One is that such an interpretation would fill out the system of two-vowel combinations such that almost all the theoretical possibilities would occur. Since it is uncommon for languages to be totally symmetrical in their permitted vowel combinations, this is not in itself a powerful argument. The second argument is that such an analysis would make the morphophonemic description easier. For instance, some morphemes could be written identically even though their phonetic shape differed slightly in different grammatical slots. As an example, the word for *big* is phonetically [manakoya] when it is a predicate adjective, but is [manakwe] as a modifier to a noun. A morphophonemic transcription /manakoe/ could yield just one spelling. However, literacy workers (e.g. Shaw and Shaw 1977) have found that morphophonemic spellings are often more difficult to teach than phonemic ones. Hence, this is not a powerful argument either.

On the other hand, the arguments against analysing the high vocoids as everywhere vowel phonemes are considerable. First, there is the fact that the longest sequence of non-suspicious vowels is three in a row (of which there are only two examples in the data). But an exclusively-vowels analysis of [i] and [u] would result in sequences of up to six vowels, and there would be many words with four and five-vowel sequences: [aiao] *speak*, [kaie] *valley*, [poioua] *cry*, [puiua] *whistle*, and [ujaiuain] *far*. Second, only a very few two-vowel combinations (ai and ae) and no three-vowel combinations, occur word initially. But an exclusively-vowels analysis of [i] and [u] would permit many more word-initial vowel combinations, and some would be five vowels long, e.g. [auaia] *to pay him*, [iauare] *house*, and [uauone] *beach*.

The first candidates to suggest themselves for interpretation as consonants are the word-initial non-syllabic vocoids [i] and [u]. For instance, *house* and *beach*, just cited, would begin with /y/ and /w/, respectively. This is the most sensible interpretation since these segments are always highly non-syllabic in such environments, even in slow speech. Furthermore, this interpretation fits the CV pattern of a number of monosyllabic words, e.g., /wa/ *canoe* parallels /bo/ *paddle*. This parallel is even more explicit if we re-examine the ergative pronoun series. /yo/ '3 dual' and /wo/ '3 plural' would parallel the many other CV pronouns: /šo/ '1 sg', /no/ '2 sg', /po/ '3 sg mas', /mo/ '3 sg fem'. None of the ergative pronouns begins with a non-suspect VV.

Granting, then, /y/ and /w/ word initially, we must expect them word medially. We suggest that all non-syllabic vocoids [i] and [u] be interpreted as consonants when they occur intervocalically, e.g., [vⁱv] is /vyv/ and [v^uv] is /vwv/. This results in many more CV syllables, which fits the prevalence of this syllable type in Yawa and indeed its universal prevalence in languages. This also eliminates most /ii/ and /uu/ sequences, which fits the observation that other same-vowel sequences are very rare. Finally, this analysis is more consistent with the consonant-like quality of the non-syllabic [u] as evidenced by its common alternant [b]. The fricative nature of [b] seems more consistent with a consonant, rather than vowel, interpretation.

Since the only non-suspicious consonants word finally occur in citation forms, we posit no syllable-final /y/ or /w/. Instead, in these positions non-syllabic high vocoids are analysed as vowel phonemes /i/ and /u/. This fits nicely with the syllable and timing parallels between such sequences as [aɛ] and [aj], along with [aɔ] and [au]. For example, [kapɛ] *bow* and [kakaɨ] *bad* have an identical timing pattern which suggests an identical syllable pattern. The same is true for [kaɔ] *child* and [raɨ] *cook*. Analysing the segments syllable finally as /i/ and /u/ also accords with the observation that all other two-vowel combinations which are permitted in Yawa may occur word finally.

In summary, then, we analyse the non-syllabic high vocoids differently in different syllable slots. In the onset of the syllable, they are emically consonants /y/ and /w/. In the coda, they are emically vowels /i/ and /u/.^{15,16} Such an analysis does not necessitate positing new syllable types as would be the case with either interpreting both onset and coda as consonants (CVC, CCVC, and VC) or interpreting both as vowels (VVV and CVVV). It also permits unambiguous division into syllables by the rules suggested in Section 2.

The careful reader may have noticed a two-way interpretation of the sequence [C^W]: (1) it is simply /C/ when it follows a /u/ according to the conditions of the Rounding Rule; (2) it is /Cu/ elsewhere. (This latter case amounts to saying it is /Cu/ preceding a syllabic /i/ since that is the only possibility left.)¹⁷

In each case, the environment determines the phonemic interpretation unambiguously, if one assumes that the interpretation of most universal application applies first, while the interpretation of the most narrow application applies only if the other has not. In the interpretation of [C^W], the environment becomes part of the contrastive features by which phonemes are distinguished. Technically, this phenomenon is known as *partial overlap*, a situation in which 'a phoneme is manifested by an allophone in one environment which is homophonous with an allophone of a different phoneme occurring in a different environment' (E. Pike 1974:25). Here the non-syllabic [u] is an allophone of two different phonemes, but the potential ambiguity is resolved by the distinctive environments in which it occurs.

6. PHONOLOGICAL WORDS

6.1 Stress

The phonological word in Yawa is defined as a unit of one and only one primary stress. Long words may have secondary stress(es), but not necessarily. The longest word recorded thus far, with eight syllables, is /a.te.ka.ra.ra.re.nto.a/ *he snores* with only a primary stress on the antepenultimate syllable. The predominant features of stress are intensity and high pitch. Length is not associated at all with stress, but has a function on a higher phonological level. Stress is contrastive in Yawa in that the syllable on which it occurs is not predictable. Compare the following three nouns, where the stress (indicated by an accent) is on the first, second, and third syllables respectively: *ánauja ma it's a garden*, *anáne ma it's sago*, and *anománe ma it's a pan*. Despite the fact that stress is contrastive, like in most other Papuan languages, it does not carry a heavy functional load. There are no words that contrast solely by stress placement.

Furthermore, as is also the case with many Papuan languages, stress is not assigned to a particular syllable of the word, but may perturb according to the different grammatical functions of the word. Notice the stress on the nouns (each three syllables long) in the following sentences. Stress perturbs in different grammatical slots on the noun *garden* but not on *fire*.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| (a) | táname ma
fire it is
it's a fire | (b) | ánauja ma
garden it is
it's a garden |
| | táname mbáruru
fire flames up
the fire burns | | anaujáo manakóya
garden big
the garden is big |
| | šo táname rápamo
I fire put out
I put out the fire. | | šo anujá ráwe
I garden make
I made a garden. |

Not only nouns are affected by stress perturbation. Compare the adjective *big* in the second (b) sentence above with *big* in the following.

Anománo manakoé ráujande rínai.
 pan big give to me
 Give me the big pan.

Verb roots may also be affected by stress perturbation. Compare *put out* in the third (a) sentence above with the following.

táname mpámoa
 fire put out
 the fire is dead

At the present stage of analysis, no rules have been formulated for stress perturbation. Since words with identical stress placements in certain grammatical functions (e.g. *fire* and *garden* in the first sentences of (a) and (b)) do not show identical stress placements in other grammatical functions (e.g. the second and third sentences of (a) and (b)), it is clear that there is not a straightforward phonological rule. Many words undergo stress perturbation, while many other phonologically similar ones do not. It appears that morphological classes need to be compiled for words that undergo identical stress perturbations. This is a task yet to be done. Probably such morphological classes of stress do not cut across grammatical classes; that is, preliminary study indicates that stress perturbation patterns are different for noun roots, adjective roots, and verb roots.

6.2 Distribution

There are certain distributional constraints that operate on the phonological word level. While all single consonants and vowels, and all consonant clusters may occur word initially, only two of the many possible vowel clusters appear word initially (ai, ae). Any syllable type may occur word initially, but there is a constraint that a word may have no more than one V or VV syllable word initially. Only vowels or vowel clusters may appear finally, as discussed previously. In addition to these constraints on the distribution of syllables within the word, there is a further constraint that combinations of syllables that will result in more than two vowels in sequence are not permitted.

7. PHONOLOGICAL PHRASES

The phonological phrase is the next level higher than the phonological word in Yawa. It is the basic unit of intonation contours. An utterance may be composed of one to several phonological phrases (intonation contours).


There is some evidence that in natural Yawa speech, phonological phrases have phrase timing, that is, all receive approximately the same amount of time. Thus, when there are a number of words in a phrase, these are pronounced more rapidly, while if there is only one word, it is spoken slowly and drawn out. To illustrate, compare the following two sentences, each with two phonological phrases, but with different numbers of words in them. All four phrases take approximately the same time to pronounce, with the result that the words in the last phrase, with many more syllables, are pronounced more rapidly. (Juncture between the phrases is indicated by a slash. All examples are written phonemically.)

Ájambere mí / káre rátabo.
 pineapple TOPIC banana also
 It's a pineapple / and a banana.


Káre mí / mánkoije kámije rátabo.
 banana TOPIC chicken egg also
 It's a banana / and a chicken's egg.

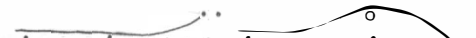
An exhaustive study of intonation contours, both phrase and pause group levels, has not been undertaken. The discussion here is therefore sketchy and possibly incomplete. The following six basic phrase group contours have been identified thus far. They have been named according to their most usual grammatical function. Numbers are from 1 (highest pitch) to 4 (lowest).

The *level dependence* phrase group holds to a relatively constant pitch 2 or more usually pitch 3 throughout. It is used for dependent grammatical units (words, phrases, or clauses). It frequently ends with extra length on the last syllable. In the example below, the first phonological phrase *nkoa mare* is level dependent. (Length is indicated by double dots on the contour line; phrase juncture by a slash; pause group juncture by double slash; word stress by an accent; pause group stress by a small circle above the syllable. The more slight pitch changes caused by word stress are not shown.)

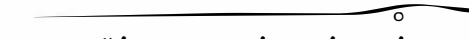

 Nkoá maré / šo ánkaije rákaka.//
 mother say I coconut grate
 Mother told me to grate the coconut.

The *rising dependence* contour has a smooth rise in pitch at the end of the phrase. The final syllable is also frequently lengthened. It is used for dependent grammatical units, for vocatives, for non-final sequences (first of the following two examples), and for the protasis of a conditional sentence (second example below).

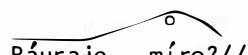

 Šo táname ráondi / níndi / mbáruru / mba šo páwa ráuna káta.//
 I fire light burn flame up then I rice cook also
 I lit the fire, it caught and flamed up, then I cooked the rice.


 Núje nórdawe / sánsune rápapi.//
 earth dry clothes wash
 If it's hot, I'll wash the clothes.

A *yes-no question* contour has elevated pitch throughout that rises to pitch 1 at the end of the contour. At the very end there is a slight dip to pitch 2, then it rises to 1 again. It is used for all yes-no questions. For example:



 No kašámbere ntá ráko ée?//
 you corn some get QUES
 Did you get any corn?

The *wh-question* contour has a smooth rise to a final pitch 1 on the last stressed syllable, followed usually by a pitch fall (to about 2). Most information questions use this contour, although at times the falling declarative contour described later is used instead. An example of a rising *wh-question* is given.




Páuraje míro?//
dishes where
Where are the dishes?

The hortatory sharp-fall contour has a sharp rise to pitch 1 on the last stressed syllable, followed immediately by a sharp fall (to 2, 3, or 4). It is used for exhortations and commands. For example:



Idé / wanké.//
you (DUAL) come we (INCL) sing
Hey, you two, come sing.

The last contrastive phonological phrase type is the falling declarative contour. The contrastive feature of this contour is that the pitch falls smoothly from the pause group stressed syllable to the end. If the pause group stressed syllable occurs early, then the fall is continuous throughout. More commonly one of the last words is stressed (usually the verb; Yawa is SOV), and the pitch rises steadily to this most stressed syllable, then drops to 4 over the last syllables of the contour. Both types are illustrated below.



Nandínawe po ansawaijé ráwawu.//
a few days ago he papaya buy
He bought the papaya a few days ago.



Yawaré mbító pápabe.//
house collapsed suddenly
The house collapsed suddenly.

The falling declarative contour is used for declarative sentences, and sometimes for *wh*-questions.

8. PAUSE GROUPS

The pause group is the highest phonological level that we will describe for Yawa in this paper. Eunice Pike (1974) describes this level as follows: 'The chief characteristic of the pause-group level is that it is a rhythm wave (composed of lesser rhythm waves) which occurs between pauses.' In other words, normally a sentence will be pronounced as a single pause group. If it is a simple sentence, it will be comprised of just one phonological phrase, but if it is complex, it may have one or more phonological phrases. Pause group stress occurs on the stressed syllable of one of the words of the pause group. It is the intonation peak of the entire pause group and is realised by extra intensity and generally the highest pitch level. Rarely, there are two peaks (cf. the second example below). (In the examples, pause group stress is indicated by a small circle above the stressed syllable.)

There are only two contrastive pause groups in most languages, including Yawa – *final pause groups* and *non-final pause groups*. The latter occur when a speaker pauses in the middle of a sentence, perhaps to collect his thoughts or for effect. Final pause groups usually coincide with the end of a sentence,

and are characterised by voice relaxation. The last phonological phrase in a final pause group may not be either of the two dependence contours, but may be either of the question contours, the sharp-fall hortatory contour, or the falling declarative contour. The non-final pause group, on the other hand, always consists of one of the two dependence contours. In other words, it never has falling pitch, but only level or most commonly, rising pitch. The following example illustrates both the types of pause groups. It is grammatically just one sentence, but was uttered in a text as two pause groups, first a non-final one, followed by a final pause group. (Note that the first pause group, the non-final one, is composed of two phonological phrases — both rising dependence contours. Phrase juncture is indicated by a single slash; pause group juncture by a double slash.)

Namanáwe / Ñorá ntuná // arikáíñe wáña rai.//
yesterday Nyora give birth child female have
Yesterday Nyora gave birth to a baby girl.

A simple pause group is coterminous with a single phonological phrase. Hence, most of the last five examples in Section 7 (from the yes-no questions contour on) are examples also of simple pause groups. A complex pause group consists of two or more phonological phrases. Some combinations of phonological phrases are associated with particular complex grammatical constructions. For example, conditional constructions consist of a rising dependence contour on the protasis (*if*-clause), and a falling declarative contour on the apodosis (*then*-clause). There is an example in Section 7 under the description of the rising dependence contour. Coordination constructions (coordinated either with *or* or with *and*) consist of two or more rising dependence contours generally followed by a falling declarative contour. For example:

Nkoamé / njajapé / ayáorao ánauja rai.//
mother and father and those 2 possess garden have
Mother and father have a garden.

Another type of complex pause group is associated with comparatives. Comparative constructions are composed grammatically of two independent clauses that are compared by simple juxtaposition. Each clause is pronounced as a final pause group comprised of two phonological phrases, first a rising dependence contour, followed by a falling declarative contour. Here is an illustration:

Sansimá / batáne woretawéndo ánakomu.//
in the day people they (PL) go to the sago swamps

Namá / batáne wo jiané rákani.//
at night people 3 PL SUBJ fish look for
During the day people go to the sago swamps; at night people go fishing.

9. LOAN WORDS

Yawa has borrowed vocabulary freely from other languages. Here we will focus on borrowings from the national language, Indonesian, particularly the form that is spoken by the indigenous people of Irian Jaya, namely, Malay. Most loan words have been incorporated fully into the phonological system of Yawa. For example, there is a strong tendency in Yawa to add an extra syllable /je/ at the end of all nouns ending in a high vowel. This same tendency operates on nouns borrowed from Malay. For example, Malay *sapu broom* becomes /sapuje/ in Yawa, while Malay *roti bread* becomes /rotije/. Furthermore, because there are no final consonants in Yawa, loan words ending in a consonant generally add an /i/ to make them fit the permissible syllable patterns, but then, because of the strong tendency to add the syllable /je/ after a high vowel, this syllable is tacked on as well. Thus, consonant-final loan nouns assimilate to Yawa by adding /ije/, e.g., Malay *ember bucket* becomes /emberije/ in Yawa.

There are certain regular sound changes as well. Since Yawa has no /l/, the phoneme /r/ is always substituted, e.g., Malay *botol bottle* becomes /botorije/¹⁸ in Yawa. Likewise there is no voiceless alveopalatal affricate /č/ as in Malay, so this is changed regularly to /š/ in Yawa, e.g., Malay *čičin ring* becomes /šinšinije/ in Yawa.

The assimilation of the Malay phoneme /g/ is an interesting matter. Yawa does not have this phoneme per se, although the phoneme /j/ functions somewhat similarly in that it is the voiced opposition to /k/ in the sound system, and furthermore it has [g] as an allophone. Thus, it might be expected that Malay [g] would be changed to [j] in Yawa, except in the environment where the allophone [g] would occur. However, Malay *gereja church* becomes [gerajawe] in Yawa, Malay *gambar picture* becomes [gambarije], Malay *gelas glass* becomes [gerasije], and Malay *negara country* is the same. These are all environments that should produce [j] if indeed Yawa /j/ is the counterpart to Malay /g/. Since the predicted sound change does not occur, an explanation is needed. Perhaps the explanation is as follows. Malay has a two-way distinction among voiced back stops - /j/ versus /g/. Yawa has only one back stop - /j/. However, the Yawa /j/ does have [g] as an allophone; in other words, Yawa speakers regularly pronounce the sound [g] (whereas, for instance, they do not pronounce [l] or [č] because they are not even allophones in Yawa). Hence, we suggest that Yawa speakers are able to absorb the Malay two-way distinction among back stops, not because they make it themselves but because both sounds exist allophonically in Yawa. In absorbing Malay words with /g/, Yawa speakers simply ignore the conflict with the phonetic environment and do not change it to [j].

If the matter of absorbing Malay /g/ was unique, this might be regarded as a serious problem. However, there are many Malay words that are assimilated only partially. As has been mentioned, Malay /l/ invariably changes to Yawa /r/, and almost always, words ending in a consonant add a vowel or a couple of syllables ending in a vowel, e.g. the favoured sequence /ije/ mentioned above. But assimilation is not always complete. Besides the retention of Malay /g/, non-Yawa consonant clusters are often tolerated and sometimes non-Yawa sounds are retained. As examples, note that Malay *April* becomes /apririje/ in Yawa; Malay *Oktober* is borrowed without change; and Malay *Nofember* simply has the /f/ changed to a voiceless bilabial fricative. Other examples are: Malay *berkat to bless* becomes Yawa /berkatiwe/, Malay *kerja to work* becomes /kerjawe/, Malay *kursi chair* becomes /kursije/, and Malay *Roh Kudus Holy Spirit* becomes /rok dusija/. To a certain extent, then, there are 'coexistent

phonemic systems' in Yawa (term from Pike and Fries 1949). That is, there is one phonemic system to describe about 95% of Yawa words, and another system with certain modifications to allow for loans and other residues.

10. A PROPOSED ORTHOGRAPHY

In conclusion, we propose a practical orthography for writing Yawa. Until now, the language has had no standard alphabet. Because most speakers under 40, and some over this age, have had some education in the national language, Indonesian, our proposed alphabet for representing Yawa phonemes corresponds as closely as possible to the equivalent phonemes in Indonesian.

YAWA PHONEME	PROPOSED SPELLING	INDONESIAN SPELLING
/p/	p	p
/b/	b	b
/t/	t	t
/d/	d	d
/k/	k	k
/j/	j, g	j, g
/s/	s	s
/š/	sy	sy
/m/	m	m
/n/	n	n
/ñ/	ny	ny
/r/	r	r
/w/	w	w
/y/	y	y
/i/	i	i
/e/	e	e
/a/	a	a
/o/	o	o
/u/	u	u

The proposed spellings for the vowels and semivowels assumes the phonemic interpretation discussed in this paper, namely, that non-syllabic high vocoids in the onset of a syllable are semivowels, but in the coda of a syllable are vowels. The one exception noted was the unique vowel sequence which had an on-glide to a syllabic vowel, namely /ui/. This has been interpreted as a sequence of two vowels, and will be spelled accordingly as ui.

The only other proposed spelling needing explanation is that of the phoneme /j/. It is proposed that it be represented by the letters j and g, spelling with g when the phonetic quality is [g] and spelling with j otherwise. Essentially, this is representing the phoneme by its two allophones.

Preliminary literacy testing indicated that this will be necessary, probably because Indonesian has a distinction between *j* and *g*, both orthographically and phonemically. Since most Yawas are at least somewhat literate in Indonesian, it seems best to adapt their orthography in this way to Indonesian.

Preliminary literacy testing also indicated that it may be necessary to use semivowels inserted between certain vowels that occur as clusters in Yawa but do not occur in Indonesian. This will need further testing. Our preference would be to not insert semivowels in such cases since they are not phonemic.

It is further proposed that the loan words that have not been phonologically assimilated into Yawa be spelled exactly as they are spelled in Indonesian. Words that have been assimilated or partly assimilated, however, should be spelled according to the proposed orthography.

There is no need to mark word stress since stress plays no role in distinguishing words.

NOTES

¹The description is based on data collected by myself and my linguist husband, Larry B. Jones, during six months' residence in Sarawandori, between July 1983 and April 1984. Research for this paper was conducted with the Cooperative Program of Cenderawasih University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I thank the following people for their comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper: Eunice Pike, Peter Silzer, Helen Miehle, and Wietze Baron. I am grateful for the phonetic accuracy of my husband and for his insights into Yawa phonological structure. We both acknowledge with gratitude the kind assistance of the following Yawa speakers in learning to speak their language: Yulianos Warmetan, Karolina Aninam, Elli Karubaba, Stepan and Adomina Karubaba, Dafid, Hans, Manuel, and Manasi Yapanani, and most especially, Abiathar Karubaba. These people provided the data analysed here. The corpus consists of over 1500 words, over 1000 sentences, and a number of full texts.

²Sarawandori is in Kecamatan Yapen-Selatan, Kabupaten Yapen-Waropen.

³To our knowledge no other published, or even informal, unpublished accounts of this language exist. However, it is possible that some account exists in Dutch materials that we are not aware of. Considering the fact that there has been considerable contact with Western civilisation for most of this century, it is indeed surprising that hitherto no one has undertaken a systematic study of this language.

⁴Anceaux notes that the single non-Austronesian language on Yapen Island is referred to variously as Yava, Yapanani, and Mora. The latter two names, in fact, refer to the dialects spoken by two large clans located on the south coast (Yapanani) and in the interior (Mora). There is no one name that all the speakers will agree upon for the name of their language, most speakers preferring a name that is suitable only for their particular dialect, since it is the name of their ancestor. Others use an expression meaning 'the land language', referring to the non-Austronesians as a group ('the land people') distinct from the Austronesians ('the sea people'). While there are a number of dialects, it is nonetheless clear that they comprise a single language. Larry Jones uses the term Yawa in his paper 'The dialects of Yawa' (in this volume) to refer to the entire language group. However, in this paper I use the

term Yawa more restrictively, to refer to the dialect spoken in the villages of Sarawandori, Tatui, Mantembu, and Aromarea.

All the neighbouring languages to this language are Austronesian, and there have been numerous words borrowed back and forth.

- ⁵In other dialects than the one being described here, words may end in consonants. Such dialects, of course, would require a different description of syllables than the one given here, as closed syllables would be necessary. Perhaps it might be better to describe Yawa as also having closed syllables, to bring this dialect in line with the others. But which dialect represents the historical, more conservative, situation is not at all clear, and from a strictly synchronic perspective, the Sarawandori (Yawa) dialect, at least, is most elegantly analysed with no final consonants.
- ⁶In the case of one sequence, it is sometimes an on-glide plus nuclear vowel. This is the sequence /uj/ which has two phonetic realisations: [uⁱ] and [uⁱ]. The former situation occurs infrequently and is the only one involving an on-glide vowel complex.
- ⁷Note that the term 'back' is used here quite differently from Chomsky and Halle's (1968) technical use in distinctive feature theory, where 'back' includes velar, uvular, and pharyngeal consonants as well as back vowels. Their term is intended to be a phonetic one of universal application. Ours is a phonemic one to describe a class of sounds occurring in Yawa.
- ⁸In a generative analysis, this rule would need to be ordered after the rule in 4. We prefer, however, to view the two rules as operating simultaneously.
- ⁹The most common pronunciation is represented in the examples. The careful reader will note that in these lists, not all words have rounded consonants where they might be expected. Recall, however, that this is an optional rule — certain words invariably undergo rounding, others don't, and still others fluctuate.
- ¹⁰There is some evidence that /ʒ/ was, perhaps in the not too distant past, an allophone of /s/ rather than being a distinct phoneme. Most occurrences of [sʏ] could conceivably be accounted for by a rule that /s/ palatalises following /i/. Evidence from other dialects would lead to this conclusion, because a number of words that are pronounced with the alveopalatal [sʏ] in the dialect being described in this paper have the non-palatalised sequence [is] in other dialects. Further evidence stems from the limited distribution of vowels that may occur before [sʏ] in this dialect. Only the sequences [isʏ], [asʏ], and [usʏ] occur; there are no mid vowels preceding [sʏ]. Conceivably, it could be argued that the best analysis of [asʏ] and [usʏ] is as /ais/ and /uis/, respectively, where the high front vowel conditions the occurrence of [sʏ], and then the /i/ is dropped when it occurs as the unstressed second member of such vowel clusters.

However, there are a number of reasons we have rejected this analysis. First, there are already some two-member vowel combinations that occur preceding [sʏ], and in these, neither vowel is deleted. Such combinations are [ai] and [au], e.g. [raisʏa] *eat* and [rausʏa] *open*. Since three-vowel combinations are very rare in Yawa, it is not likely that such words derive from /aii/ or /aui/ sequences. Furthermore, there are a few words in which the pronunciation [is] occurs. If [sʏ] were an allophone of /s/ in the environment following /i/, then the phonetic shape should instead be [isʏ] in these words. This suggests that there is a phonemic contrast between

[s] and [sʏ]. For example, the following pairs contrast in the environment of a preceding high front vowel: [namiso] *here it is* versus [isʏo] *stick*; [raiseo] *climb* versus [raisʏe] *whittle*; and [naiso] *here* versus [raisʏa] *eat*. (Stress is identical in the last two pairs.) Unfortunately, there are only three words with an alveolar instead of alveopalatal sibilant following the high front vowel. But since these three words are all common and well-attested, and further, since there is little solid evidence for analysing [asʏ] and [usʏ] sequences as /ais/ and /uis/, respectively, we conclude that it is best to assume a phonemic contrast of /s/ and /sʏ/ in present-day Yawa.

- ¹This word is often pronounced [namʷe], suggesting that the Initial Unstressed u Deletion Rule in 5 may not be restricted just to initial positions. In non-initial positions, the presence of a phonemic /u/ is attested by the rounding it induces on the following consonant. Another example is [rabʷai] *to kill* which is interpreted as phonemically /raubai/.
- ²Thus far, one combination has not yet been attested: [ie]. This appears to be an impossible sequence in Yawa, since when there are morpheme combinations that should produce [ie] (first morpheme ending in i and the second one beginning with e), an epenthetic consonant [j] is inserted, resulting in [ije].
- ³The same-vowel sequences /ii/ and /aa/ occur only once each. Also, the sequence /ia/ has been observed in one place name /maniaje/ and in one very common loan word /jiane/ *fish*. The sequence /iu/ thus far only occurs in one morpheme /siu/ *pointed*. It does, however, also occur across morpheme boundaries as in /nai+umu/ *over there*.
- ⁴For the evidence that /sʏ/ is a phoneme instead of an allophone of /s/, see note 10.
- ⁵Our interpretation of the non-syllabic high vocoids resembles McElhanon's (1970) for Selepet of Papua New Guinea, also a non-Austronesian language.
- ⁶Actually, this analysis is supported by some work in the theory of natural generative phonology that hypothesises that phonemes have different strengths in different syllable positions (Hooper 1976). According to this theory, the end of a syllable is its weakest position, while the onset is the strongest position. The more vowel-like a phoneme is, the more weak it is, according to this thinking. Thus, it is reasonable to expect that a semivowel, which is more consonant-like and thus stronger, would occur in the syllable onset, while a vowel, which is weaker, would occur in the coda.
- ⁷This seems the best interpretation for this special situation, since otherwise if the [w] here were regarded as consonantal, it would allow a cluster of three consonants in certain words, e.g., [wanampʷi] *west* would then be /wanampwi/ rather than /wanampui/. But such clusters are never attested in non-suspicious cases.
- ⁸Some of the words in this section may appear as if they've been borrowed directly from English or some other European language. This is highly unlikely based on the history of the Yawa people. In general, such words probably first came from Portuguese into Malay centuries ago, or from Dutch into Malay in the last century or two. Subsequently, these words were borrowed from Malay into Yawa.

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THE DIALECTS OF YAWA

Larry B. Jones

0. INTRODUCTION

Relatively little has been written and published about the non-Austronesian language spoken on Yapen Island, which is located in Cenderawasih (formerly Geelvink) Bay, Irian Jaya, Indonesia.¹ Anceaux (1961:8-11), calling the language Yava, supplied a few brief notes on the structure of noun phrases, and gave a tentative description of the dialect situation. Voorhoeve (1975: 873-876), basing his analysis on Anceaux's unpublished word lists, classified Yava as part of the Geelvink Bay Phylum, with distant relationships to the non-Austronesian languages spoken in the interior of northern Irian Jaya. A few grammatical notes on this language, under the name Mantembu, appeared in Cowan 1953. A word list, under the name Turu, was published in Galis 1955.² In this paper, the name Yawa will be used to refer to the entire non-Austronesian language group on Yapen. This varies slightly from Linda Jones (in this volume), who uses the same name to refer to a particular dialect of the language group.

Yawa is spoken by approximately 6000 people living in the central part of Yapen Island. There are Yawa villages on both the north and south coasts of Yapen, and a few villages in the mountainous interior of the island as well. The major Yawa villages on or near the south coast of Yapen are, from west to east, Ariepei, Tatui, Aromarea, Sarawandori, Mariadei, Mantembu, Anotaurei, Turu, Kabuena, Yapanani, Konti-unai, Kainui, and Wadapi Darat. The Yawa villages on or near the north coast are, from west to east, Ariobu, Rosbori, Artanen, Dore, Tindaret, Kiriow, and Sambarawai. The villages in the mountainous interior which speak Yawa are Ambaidiru and Mambon. The above list does not include several small hamlets of one or two houses, nor does it include villages listed in Anceaux 1961 which have since been absorbed by the growing township of Serui and thus lost their distinctive Yawa character and their use of the Yawa language. Further, the language spoken on the island of Saweru, off the south coast of Yapen, has been omitted from this study. Anceaux (1961) and Voorhoeve (1975) included this language in their discussions of Yawa on the basis of its obvious historical connection to the main Yawa dialects. However, it has diverged so much from the other Yawa dialects and has borrowed so heavily from neighbouring Austronesian languages that it is now unintelligible to Yawa speakers from Yapen proper, and is perceived by them as a totally separate language. As such Saweru was judged to require separate, more complete treatment in a future study.

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The purpose of the present study is to describe the synchronic dialect situation in the Yawa language area. No attempt has been made to apply lexico-statistical methodology to reconstruct the history of the Yawa language. This assessment of the synchronic dialect situation in the Yawa area has three parts: a discussion of the native Yawa speaker's intuitions about the dialect situation, a study of the lexical items shared between the various dialects, and a report of the results of intelligibility testing done in the Yawa area. Some conclusions about the dialect situation follow these sections.

1. NATIVE SPEAKER INTUITIONS

While it is obvious that native speaker intuitions cannot be regarded as the final answer in assessing the dialect situation of a given area, they nonetheless provide valuable information for the linguistic investigator and a non-arbitrary starting point for research and survey work.³ In this study 15 groups of Yawa speakers from all parts of the Yawa language area were presented with a list of all major Yawa villages and asked to classify the villages according to which villages spoke exactly the same (Indonesian *sama persis*) as which other villages. This type of direct questioning did not yield entirely consistent results. Generally, informants had difficulty in recognizing dialect distinctions between villages in proportion to the distance those villages were from the informants' home village. Informants were unsure and hesitant when asked to identify dialect variations between villages a long distance from their home village, but were confident in making such distinctions between nearby villages.

The significant data stemming from this survey of native speaker intuitions regarding dialect boundaries came in answer to the question, 'Which villages speak exactly the same as your home village?'. There was striking, 100 per cent consistency in informant answers to this question. All informants from the same village gave identical answers to this question. More significantly, all the villages of a given dialect grouping were in unanimous agreement as to the membership of that grouping. Thus, for example, if informants from village A said that villages B, C, and D all spoke exactly the same as their home village, informants from B, C, and D, in answer to the same question, would group the same villages together, with no deletions or additions.

These informant intuitions defined five major dialect groupings in the Yawa language area: a central dialect, composed of the villages of Ambaidiru and Mambon in the mountains, Ariobu, Rosbori, and Artanen on the north coast, and Ariepi on the south coast; a northern dialect, composed of the villages of Dore, Tindaret, and Kiriow; an eastern dialect, composed of the villages of Konti-unai, Yapanani, Wadapi Darat and Kainui, on or near the south coast, and Sambarawai on the north coast; a southern dialect composed of the villages of Turu, Mariadei, Anotaurei, Kabuena, and a few clusters of Yawa speakers now living in the township of Serui; and a western dialect, composed of the villages of Sarawandori, Aromarea, and Tatui on the south coast, and Mantembu, inland from Serui. With one exception (the position of Ariepi) to be discussed below, these dialect groupings were confirmed by the lexical and intelligibility test analyses reported in this study.

2. ANALYSIS OF SHARED VOCABULARY

2.1 The comparative word list

This analysis of the vocabulary shared between the various dialects of Yawa is based on a 206 item word list elicited in the villages of Sarawandori, Mariadei, Konti-unai, Tindaret, Ambaidiru, and Ariepi. The primary sources for the design of the word list were the standard word list used by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Papua New Guinea, the standard word list in use by members of the Universitas Cenderawasih and Summer Institute of Linguistics Cooperative Project, and the word list for Papua New Guinea languages proposed in Ezard 1977. Most of the items on the Swadesh 100-word list have been included. Among the common items which have not been included are redundant words in the test list, that is, two or more words which elicit the same response from Yawa speakers. For example, since the Yawa word for both *river* and *water* is *mana*, only *water* was included in the list. Likewise, since the Yawa word for *bark*, *skin*, and *shell* is *kea*, only *skin* was included on the list. Certain items which could elicit redundant two-morpheme words were also omitted. For example the Yawa word for *elbow* is *anen-bukami*, literally *arm-knee*. Both *arm* and *knee* are on the list, therefore *elbow* was omitted. All words for internal organs were omitted because of the difficulty in accurately eliciting them. Generic words in Indonesian (the language of elicitation) which would elicit any of a number of specific terms in Yawa were also omitted. For example, *to cut* (Indonesian *potong*) could conceivably elicit any of 10 to 15 different specific terms for cutting in Yawa. Therefore this item was omitted from the list. Since Yawa has several forms for each personal pronoun, these were likewise omitted from the list.

As the purpose of this study is to analyse the synchronic dialect situation in the Yawa language area, no attempt has been made to eliminate items from the word list which might have been borrowed into the language. To do so in anything beyond an arbitrary way would require a separate paper, and was thus beyond the scope of the present study.

Of necessity, the word list must be a broad phonetic transcription, rather than a phonemic one. Although Linda Jones' study describes the phonology of the Sarawandori dialect of Yawa, and recent research indicates that several of the dialects are quite similar to the Sarawandori dialect phonologically, it was considered presumptuous to transcribe the words of the as-yet-unanalysed dialects phonemically on the basis of the Sarawandori analysis. The phonetic symbols have their standard value except that palatalisation on consonants is marked by a following *y*. Vowel length is marked by a colon after the vowel.

Further, for the sake of accurate comparison, words are listed here without the accompanying affixes which occasionally appeared during the actual elicitation of the word list. The affixes most often eliminated were *na-your*, *ina-my*, and *-ema it is a ...*.

The word list is organised as follows: each entry has a heading consisting of an English meaning, and the Indonesian term used to elicit the words in the list. Under the heading, the Yawa terms from each dialect are listed. Each dialect is identified by the name of the village whose word list is used to represent that dialect. For example, *Ambaidiru* is used as the name of the central dialect, which includes the village of Ambaidiru, and *Mariadei* is used as the name of the southern dialect, which includes the village of Mariadei. *Ariepi* represents the dialect spoken only in the village having that name, which was discovered to be distinct from the other Yawa dialects. Whenever

possible, words from each dialect have been included in each entry, but in a few cases, words from certain dialects have been omitted as unreliable.

1. *eye*, mata
Ambaidiru: ami
Mariadei: ami
Konti-unai: ami
Tindaret: ami
Arieipi: ami
Sarawandori: ami
2. *nose*, hidung
Ambaidiru: atum
Mariadei: amtum
Konti-unai: amantu
Tindaret: atum
Arieipi: atum
Sarawandori: atum
3. *ear*, telinga
Ambaidiru: amarikoam
Mariadei: abarome
Konti-unai: amarokoa
Tindaret: amarikoam
Arieipi: amarikoam
Sarawandori: amarakoa
4. *hair (on head)*, rambut
Ambaidiru: akaribuin
Mariadei: waribine
Konti-unai: wayariguin
Tindaret: akaribuin
Arieipi: akariguin
Sarawandori: wayaribin
5. *shoulder*, bahu
Ambaidiru: aibam
Mariadei: abam
Konti-unai: kumane
Tindaret: aibiam
Arieipi: aibam
Sarawandori: kumane
6. *hand*, tangan
Ambaidiru: anem
Mariadei: anem
Konti-unai: anem
Tindaret: anem
Arieipi: anem
Sarawandori: anem
7. *foot*, kaki
Ambaidiru: ajo
Mariadei: aido
Konti-unai: ajo
Tindaret: ado
Arieipi: ajo
Sarawandori: ajo
8. *knee*, lutut
Ambaidiru: bukam
Mariadei: bugam
Konti-unai: bukam
Tindaret: bukam
Arieipi: bukam
Sarawandori: bukami
9. *chest*, dada
Ambaidiru: popan
Mariadei: popanu
Konti-unai: opan
Tindaret: popan
Arieipi: popan
Sarawandori: popan
10. *buttock*, pantat
Ambaidiru: ate
Mariadei: ate
Konti-unai: ate
Tindaret: ate
Arieipi: ate
Sarawandori: ate
11. *blood*, darah
Ambaidiru: mabu
Mariadei: madi
Konti-unai: namai
Tindaret: namabu
Arieipi: mabu
Sarawandori: mabu
12. *mouth*, mulut
Ambaidiru: awa
Mariadei: aba
Konti-unai: aba
Tindaret: awa
Arieipi: awa
Sarawandori: awa
13. *skin*, kulit
Ambaidiru: kea
Mariadei: kea
Konti-unai: kea
Tindaret: kea
Arieipi: kea
Sarawandori: kea
14. *neck (front of)*, leher
Ambaidiru: isis
Mariadei: isis
Konti-unai: isis
Tindaret: akuin
Arieipi: akumbasin
Sarawandori: isis

15. *bone*, tulang
 Ambaidiru: pae
 Mariadei: pai
 Konti-unai: pai
 Tindaret: pai
 Arieipi: pai
 Sarawandori: pae
16. *head*, kepala
 Ambaidiru: akari
 Mariadei: uga
 Konti-unai: akari
 Tindaret: akari
 Arieipi: akari
 Sarawandori: kugwa
17. *finger*, jari
 Ambaidiru: kawi
 Mariadei: kawi
 Konti-unai: kawi
 Tindaret: kawi
 Arieipi: kakun
 Sarawandori: kakun
18. *cuscus*, kusu
 Ambaidiru: mayer
 Mariadei: andaure
 Konti-unai: mair
 Tindaret: mayer
 Arieipi: mayer
 Sarawandori: mair
19. *dog*, anjing
 Ambaidiru: make
 Mariadei: maye
 Konti-unai: make
 Tindaret: make
 Arieipi: make
 Sarawandori: make
20. *cat*, kucing
 Ambaidiru: miki
 Mariadei: meki
 Konti-unai: nyawe
 Tindaret: nyawe
 Arieipi: meki
 Sarawandori: miki
21. *fish*, ikan
 Ambaidiru: jian
 Mariadei: dija
 Konti-unai: jija
 Tindaret: aj
 Arieipi: jian
 Sarawandori: jian
22. *pig*, babi
 Ambaidiru: ugwe
 Mariadei: buge
 Konti-unai: buge
 Tindaret: ugwe
 Arieipi: ugwe
 Sarawandori: gwe
23. *gecko*, cecak
 Ambaidiru: kiripum
 Mariadei: ananate
 Konti-unai: ambururumi
 Tindaret: kapadum
 Arieipi: kapanim
 Sarawandori: ambororomi
24. *bird*, burung
 Ambaidiru: insani
 Mariadei: ani
 Konti-unai: insani
 Tindaret: intani
 Arieipi: unsani
 Sarawandori: unsani
25. *rat*, tikus
 Ambaidiru: kaimir
 Mariadei: kaimar
 Konti-unai: kaimir
 Tindaret: kamo
 Arieipi: kaimir
 Sarawandori: kaimir
26. *mosquito*, nyamuk
 Ambaidiru: anatatau
 Mariadei: pikarari
 Konti-unai: andakauku
 Tindaret: anatokau
 Arieipi: anyira
 Sarawandori: anatatau
27. *louse*, kutu
 Ambaidiru: em
 Mariadei: eme
 Konti-unai: eme
 Tindaret: em
 Arieipi: eme
 Sarawandori: eme
28. *chicken*, ayam
 Ambaidiru: mankuer
 Mariadei: mankue
 Konti-unai: mankui
 Tindaret: mankokor
 Arieipi: mankuer
 Sarawandori: mankoi

29. *wing*, sayap
 Ambaidiru: pepak
 Mariadei: papate
 Konti-unai: papak
 Tindaret: papak
 Arieipi: pepat
 Sarawandori: pepak
30. *crab*, kepiting
 Ambaidiru: --
 Mariadei: muni
 Konti-unai: karimati
 Tindaret: karimani
 Arieipi: karimi
 Sarawandori: karimani
31. *shrimp*, udang
 Ambaidiru: kau
 Mariadei: kawé
 Konti-unai: kau
 Tindaret: kau
 Arieipi: kawé
 Sarawandori: kau
32. *snake*, ular
 Ambaidiru: tawae
 Mariadei: unane
 Konti-unai: tawae
 Tindaret: tawae
 Arieipi: tawae
 Sarawandori: tawae
33. *crocodile*, buaya
 Ambaidiru: wankuri
 Mariadei: wankore
 Konti-unai: wankor
 Tindaret: onkor
 Arieipi: wankori
 Sarawandori: wankori
34. *spider*, laba-laba
 Ambaidiru: gwarakaki
 Mariadei: kakija
 Konti-unai: apaki
 Tindaret: ugarakaki
 Arieipi: kaki
 Sarawandori: papaki
35. *sago*, pepeda
 Ambaidiru: anan
 Mariadei: anate
 Konti-unai: ana
 Tindaret: anan
 Arieipi: anan
 Sarawandori: anan
36. *cassava*, kasbi
 Ambaidiru: insumore
 Mariadei: timburi
 Konti-unai: sumure
 Tindaret: insumure
 Arieipi: timburu
 Sarawandori: timburu
37. *taro*, keladi
 Ambaidiru: kambor
 Mariadei: kambor
 Konti-unai: kambor
 Tindaret: kambor
 Arieipi: kambor
 Sarawandori: kambor
38. *squash*, labu
 Ambaidiru: apisi
 Mariadei: airai
 Konti-unai: airai
 Tindaret: apisi
 Arieipi: apisi
 Sarawandori: airai
39. *betel vine*, sirih
 Ambaidiru: remambon
 Mariadei: anampure
 Konti-unai: anampu
 Tindaret: anapur
 Arieipi: reman
 Sarawandori: anapur
40. *areca nut*, pinang
 Ambaidiru: weran
 Mariadei: bera
 Konti-unai: beran
 Tindaret: beran
 Arieipi: --
 Sarawandori: beran
41. *breadfruit*, buah sukun
 Ambaidiru: wanam
 Mariadei: anita
 Konti-unai: wanam
 Tindaret: wanam
 Arieipi: wanam
 Sarawandori: wanam
42. *mango*, mangga
 Ambaidiru: --
 Mariadei: andani
 Konti-unai: andani
 Tindaret: gwimen
 Arieipi: andani
 Sarawandori: andani

43. *coconut*, kelapa
 Ambaidiru: ankai
 Mariadei: ankadi
 Konti-unai: ankai
 Tindaret: ankadi
 Ariepei: ankai
 Sarawandori: ankai
44. *edible tree-leaf*, genemo
 Ambaidiru: manapa
 Mariadei: manapa
 Konti-unai: manapa
 Tindaret: manapa
 Ariepei: manapa
 Sarawandori: manapa
45. *papaya*, papaya
 Ambaidiru: asyawai
 Mariadei: ansawai
 Konti-unai: mansawai
 Tindaret: sauburi
 Ariepei: ansoai
 Sarawandori: ansawai
46. *banana*, pisang
 Ambaidiru: kare
 Mariadei: kare
 Konti-unai: kare
 Tindaret: kare
 Ariepei: kare
 Sarawandori: kare
47. *milk*, susu
 Ambaidiru: ukam
 Mariadei: ugam
 Konti-unai: unkam
 Tindaret: tukam
 Ariepei: ukam
 Sarawandori: unkam
48. *pineapple*, nenas
 Ambaidiru: apokem
 Mariadei: ayamber
 Konti-unai: ajamber
 Tindaret: apokem
 Ariepei: apokem
 Sarawandori: ajamber
49. *valley*, lembah
 Ambaidiru: kaib
 Mariadei: karoye
 Konti-unai: kaiβe
 Tindaret: --
 Ariepei: kaiβe
 Sarawandori: kaiβe
50. *peninsula*, tanjung
 Ambaidiru: sesarikap
 Mariadei: abutume
 Konti-unai: bope
 Tindaret: sosar
 Ariepei: atum
 Sarawandori: abotum
51. *road*, jalan
 Ambaidiru: unani
 Mariadei: unandoi
 Konti-unai: unandi
 Tindaret: unani
 Ariepei: nandoi
 Sarawandori: nandoi
52. *water*, air
 Ambaidiru: mana
 Mariadei: mana
 Konti-unai: mana
 Tindaret: mana
 Ariepei: mana
 Sarawandori: mana
53. *wave*, ombak
 Ambaidiru: aneae
 Mariadei: anea
 Konti-unai: aneae
 Tindaret: babata
 Ariepei: aneae
 Sarawandori: aneae
54. *beach*, pantai
 Ambaidiru: --
 Mariadei: babone
 Konti-unai: babon
 Tindaret: matanebon
 Ariepei: --
 Sarawandori: wabone
55. *sand*, pasir
 Ambaidiru: nayab
 Mariadei: nibugane
 Konti-unai: nayabe
 Tindaret: nayab
 Ariepei: uga
 Sarawandori: nusye
56. *soil*, tanah
 Ambaidiru: kopa
 Mariadei: kopa
 Konti-unai: kakopa
 Tindaret: kopa
 Ariepei: kopa
 Sarawandori: kakopa

57. *garden*, kebun
 Ambaidiru: nawaisy
 Mariadei: andagwa
 Konti-unai: nawais
 Tindaret: nawais
 Arieppi: nawais
 Sarawandori: anagwa
58. *root*, akar
 Ambaidiru: pi:p
 Mariadei: kaune
 Konti-unai: kawen
 Tindaret: pi:p
 Arieppi: kawen
 Sarawandori: kawen
59. *grass*, rumput
 Ambaidiru: insumai
 Mariadei: unsume
 Konti-unai: --
 Tindaret: tantumai
 Arieppi: insumai
 Sarawandori: unsumai
60. *seed*, biji
 Ambaidiru: kami
 Mariadei: kami
 Konti-unai: kami
 Tindaret: kami
 Arieppi: kami
 Sarawandori: kami
61. *stone*, batu
 Ambaidiru: oram
 Mariadei: oroma
 Konti-unai: oram
 Tindaret: oram
 Arieppi: oram
 Sarawandori: oroman
62. *sago swamp*, dusun
 Ambaidiru: ananuga
 Mariadei: ba
 Konti-unai: ananuga
 Tindaret: serai
 Arieppi: anak
 Sarawandori: anak
63. *wood*, kayu
 Ambaidiru: nyo
 Mariadei: nyo
 Konti-unai: nyo
 Tindaret: nyo
 Arieppi: nyo
 Sarawandori: nyo
64. *knife*, pisau
 Ambaidiru: tiya
 Mariadei: tija
 Konti-unai: tiya
 Tindaret: tiya
 Arieppi: tija
 Sarawandori: tija
65. *machete*, parang
 Ambaidiru: omak
 Mariadei: umbene
 Konti-unai: omak
 Tindaret: omak
 Arieppi: omak
 Sarawandori: omak
66. *axe*, kapak
 Ambaidiru: tama
 Mariadei: tama
 Konti-unai: tama
 Tindaret: tama
 Arieppi: tama
 Sarawandori: tama
67. *bow*, ibu panah
 Ambaidiru: apae
 Mariadei: kapa
 Konti-unai: kapai
 Tindaret: apai
 Arieppi: apai
 Sarawandori: kapae
68. *arrow*, anak panah
 Ambaidiru: ato
 Mariadei: katu
 Konti-unai: kato
 Tindaret: taupo
 Arieppi: ato
 Sarawandori: kato
69. *fish-net*, jaring
 Ambaidiru: pam
 Mariadei: enam
 Konti-unai: enam
 Tindaret: pam
 Arieppi: enam
 Sarawandori: enam
70. *canoe*, perahu
 Ambaidiru: nyoman
 Mariadei: wai
 Konti-unai: nyoman
 Tindaret: nyoman
 Arieppi: wa
 Sarawandori: wa

71. *paddle*, dayung
 Ambaidiru: borae
 Mariadei: bo
 Konti-unai: bo
 Tindaret: borat
 Ariepei: bo
 Sarawandori: bo
72. *firewood*, kayu bakar
 Ambaidiru: nuja
 Mariadei: danom
 Konti-unai: jano
 Tindaret: noda
 Ariepei: noja
 Sarawandori: janom
73. *rope*, tali
 Ambaidiru: wai
 Mariadei: wai
 Konti-unai: wai
 Tindaret: wati
 Ariepei: wai
 Sarawandori: wai
74. *clothing*, pakaian
 Ambaidiru: ansun
 Mariadei: sansun
 Konti-unai: ansun
 Tindaret: sansun
 Ariepei: ansun
 Sarawandori: sansun
75. *string bag*, noken
 Ambaidiru: inkuja
 Mariadei: oda
 Konti-unai: wija
 Tindaret: inkoda
 Ariepei: oja
 Sarawandori: uija
76. *dish*, piring
 Ambaidiru: porai
 Mariadei: parai
 Konti-unai: purai
 Tindaret: porati
 Ariepei: paurai
 Sarawandori: paurai
77. *cloth*, kain
 Ambaidiru: siro
 Mariadei: siroi
 Konti-unai: siro
 Tindaret: sire
 Ariepei: siro
 Sarawandori: siro
78. *comb*, sisir
 Ambaidiru: yait
 Mariadei: yaiti
 Konti-unai: yait
 Tindaret: yait
 Ariepei: yait
 Sarawandori: yait
79. *mat*, tikar
 Ambaidiru: tani
 Mariadei: tani
 Konti-unai: tani
 Tindaret: tani
 Ariepei: tani
 Sarawandori: tani
80. *house*, rumah
 Ambaidiru: yawar
 Mariadei: yabar
 Konti-unai: yabar
 Tindaret: yabar
 Ariepei: yawar
 Sarawandori: yabar
81. *door*, pintu
 Ambaidiru: insanda
 Mariadei: yapanda
 Konti-unai: yabaunda
 Tindaret: intanda
 Ariepei: insanda
 Sarawandori: unsanda
82. *thatch*, atap
 Ambaidiru: manyum
 Mariadei: rate
 Konti-unai: manyum
 Tindaret: anangwau
 Ariepei: rate
 Sarawandori: manyum
83. *ladder*, tangga
 Ambaidiru: tenten
 Mariadei: tenten
 Konti-unai: tenten
 Tindaret: tenten
 Ariepei: tenten
 Sarawandori: tenten
84. *sky*, langit
 Ambaidiru: nam
 Mariadei: naum
 Konti-unai: naum
 Tindaret: naum
 Ariepei: naum
 Sarawandori: naum

85. *sun*, matahari
 Ambaidiru: uma
 Mariadei: uma
 Konti-unai: uma
 Tindaret: uma
 Arieppi: uma
 Sarawandori: uma
86. *moon*, bulan
 Ambaidiru: embae
 Mariadei: emba
 Konti-unai: semba
 Tindaret: jaon
 Arieppi: embae
 Sarawandori: embae
87. *star*, bintang
 Ambaidiru: tum
 Mariadei: tum
 Konti-unai: tum
 Tindaret: tum
 Arieppi: tum
 Sarawandori: tum
88. *rain*, hujan
 Ambaidiru: maru
 Mariadei: maru
 Konti-unai: maru
 Tindaret: maru
 Arieppi: maru
 Sarawandori: maru
89. *fire*, api
 Ambaidiru: tanam
 Mariadei: nona
 Konti-unai: tanam
 Tindaret: tanam
 Arieppi: tanam
 Sarawandori: tanam
90. *smoke*, asap
 Ambaidiru: kiyau
 Mariadei: kijo
 Konti-unai: kijau
 Tindaret: kiyau
 Arieppi: kijau
 Sarawandori: kijau
91. *ashes*, abu
 Ambaidiru: kapum
 Mariadei: kapum
 Konti-unai: kapum
 Tindaret: kapum
 Arieppi: kapum
 Sarawandori: kapum
92. *wind*, angin
 Ambaidiru: obar
 Mariadei: obar
 Konti-unai: obar
 Tindaret: obar
 Arieppi: obar
 Sarawandori: obar
93. *dark*, gelap
 Ambaidiru: kaumu
 Mariadei: sandoram
 Konti-unai: tandoram
 Tindaret: kaumur
 Arieppi: sandoram
 Sarawandori: sandoram
94. *lightning*, kilat
 Ambaidiru: ibak
 Mariadei: sibak
 Konti-unai: sibak
 Tindaret: sibak
 Arieppi: ikab
 Sarawandori: ibak
95. *rainbow*, pelangi
 Ambaidiru: eb
 Mariadei: sebi
 Konti-unai: seb
 Tindaret: sep
 Arieppi: eb
 Sarawandori: eb
96. *thunder*, guntur
 Ambaidiru: kaitir
 Mariadei: kunduma
 Konti-unai: katitir
 Tindaret: kaitir
 Arieppi: katitir
 Sarawandori: kaitir
97. *remember*, ingat
 Ambaidiru: aemen
 Mariadei: aemen
 Konti-unai: aemini
 Tindaret: aemen
 Arieppi: aemen
 Sarawandori: aemen
98. *forget*, lupa
 Ambaidiru: paranden
 Mariadei: anokakoba
 Konti-unai: anokakoba
 Tindaret: animari
 Arieppi: paranden
 Sarawandori: anekakoba

99. *go*, pergi⁴
 Ambaidiru: poroto
 Mariadei: poto
 Konti-unai: --
 Tindaret: to
 Ariepei: poroto
 Sarawandori: poroto
100. *cry*, menangis
 Ambaidiru: poyo
 Mariadei: poyo
 Konti-unai: poyo
 Tindaret: poyo
 Ariepei: poyo
 Sarawandori: poyo
101. *laugh*, tertawa
 Ambaidiru: guwe
 Mariadei: ogebe
 Konti-unai: ugebe
 Tindaret: uguen
 Ariepei: uguwe
 Sarawandori: uguwe
102. *awaken*, bangun
 Ambaidiru: seo
 Mariadei: sejo
 Konti-unai: seo
 Tindaret: teto
 Ariepei: seo
 Sarawandori: seo
103. *sleep*, tidur
 Ambaidiru: niki
 Mariadei: nei
 Konti-unai: niki
 Tindaret: niki
 Ariepei: niki
 Sarawandori: niki
104. *defecate*, buang air besar
 Ambaidiru: karabe
 Mariadei: karabe
 Konti-unai: karabe
 Tindaret: karabe
 Ariepei: karabe
 Sarawandori: karabe
105. *urinate*, buang air kecil
 Ambaidiru: paobe
 Mariadei: karibe
 Konti-unai: kakiribe
 Tindaret: patobe
 Ariepei: paobe
 Sarawandori: paobe
106. *sneeze*, bersin
 Ambaidiru: sikap
 Mariadei: sija
 Konti-unai: sikap
 Tindaret: sikap
 Ariepei: sikap
 Sarawandori: sikap
107. *play*, bermain
 Ambaidiru: baon
 Mariadei: baon
 Konti-unai: baon
 Tindaret: papaki
 Ariepei: baon
 Sarawandori: baon
108. *run*, berlari
 Ambaidiru: nansanan
 Mariadei: nansanan
 Konti-unai: nansanan
 Tindaret: nantanan
 Ariepei: nyansanan
 Sarawandori: nansanan
109. *bathe*, mandi
 Ambaidiru: mana raija
 Mariadei: kubuni
 Konti-unai: mana eja
 Tindaret: mana radan
 Ariepei: kubuni
 Sarawandori: koboni
110. *jump*, melompat
 Ambaidiru: sopat
 Mariadei: sopat
 Konti-unai: sopat
 Tindaret: koper
 Ariepei: sopat
 Sarawandori: sopat
111. *drift*, hanyut
 Ambaidiru: ki
 Mariadei: kokoba
 Konti-unai: koba
 Tindaret: ki
 Ariepei: kobar
 Sarawandori: mankobar
112. *cough*, batuk
 Ambaidiru: tatom
 Mariadei: tantum
 Konti-unai: tanto
 Tindaret: tatom
 Ariepei: tautom
 Sarawandori: tanto

113. *vomit*, muntah
 Ambaidiru: ninyo
 Mariadei: neno
 Konti-unai: nine
 Tindaret: nyunu
 Ariepe: ninyo
 Sarawandori: ninyo
114. *marry*, kawin
 Ambaidiru: baunam
 Mariadei: banam
 Konti-unai: bona
 Tindaret: baunam
 Ariepe: baunam
 Sarawandori: baunam
115. *sit*, duduk
 Ambaidiru: tuna
 Mariadei: tuna
 Konti-unai: tuna
 Tindaret: tuna
 Ariepe: tuna
 Sarawandori: tuna
116. *come*, datang
 Ambaidiru: nde
 Mariadei: nore
 Konti-unai: nore
 Tindaret: nde
 Ariepe: nde
 Sarawandori: nde
117. *die*, mati
 Ambaidiru: kakai
 Mariadei: nowe
 Konti-unai: nowe
 Tindaret: kakai
 Ariepe: kakai
 Sarawandori: kakai
118. *shiver*, gemetar
 Ambaidiru: tutar
 Mariadei: rorari
 Konti-unai: --
 Tindaret: tutar
 Ariepe: tutar
 Sarawandori: tutar
119. *want*, mau
 Ambaidiru: mayar
 Mariadei: --
 Konti-unai: mayar
 Tindaret: mayar
 Ariepe: mayar
 Sarawandori: mayar
120. *does not want*, tidak mau
 Ambaidiru: syonai
 Mariadei: amabea
 Konti-unai: sonai
 Tindaret: sonai
 Ariepe: sonai
 Sarawandori: syonai
121. *white*, putih
 Ambaidiru: poper
 Mariadei: buga
 Konti-unai: bua
 Tindaret: poper
 Ariepe: poper
 Sarawandori: bugwa
122. *red*, merah
 Ambaidiru: nijam
 Mariadei: nijam
 Konti-unai: nijam
 Tindaret: niyam
 Ariepe: nijam
 Sarawandori: nija
123. *black*, hitam
 Ambaidiru: karisya
 Mariadei: karisa
 Konti-unai: karisa
 Tindaret: kangan
 Ariepe: karisawan
 Sarawandori: karisya
124. *yellow*, kuning
 Ambaidiru: kua
 Mariadei: kuga
 Konti-unai: uga
 Tindaret: gua
 Ariepe: kuga
 Sarawandori: kugwa
125. *blue*, biru
 Ambaidiru: keke
 Mariadei: keketamu
 Konti-unai: keke
 Tindaret: nkeket
 Ariepe: keke
 Sarawandori: keke
126. *one*, satu
 Ambaidiru: ntabo
 Mariadei: tabo
 Konti-unai: ntabo
 Tindaret: intabo
 Ariepe: ntabo
 Sarawandori: ntabo

127. *two*, dua
 Ambaidiru: jiru
 Mariadei: diru
 Konti-unai: jiru
 Tindaret: jiru
 Arieppi: rorum
 Sarawandori: jiru
128. *three*, tiga
 Ambaidiru: madet
 Mariadei: mainde
 Konti-unai: mande
 Tindaret: manded
 Arieppi: mande
 Sarawandori: mande
129. *four*, empat
 Ambaidiru: mambis
 Mariadei: mambi
 Konti-unai: mambi
 Tindaret: mambis
 Arieppi: mambis
 Sarawandori: mambi
130. *five*, lima
 Ambaidiru: nadani
 Mariadei: na
 Konti-unai: nai
 Tindaret: nadani
 Arieppi: radani
 Sarawandori: radani
131. *six*, enam
 Ambaidiru: kawintabo
 Mariadei: kaujintabo
 Konti-unai: kaujientabo
 Tindaret: kawintabo
 Arieppi: kaujintabo
 Sarawandori: kaujintabo
132. *ten*, sepuluh
 Ambaidiru: abusyin
 Mariadei: sabui
 Konti-unai: abusin
 Tindaret: sabusin
 Arieppi: abusin
 Sarawandori: sabui
133. *eleven*, sebelas⁵
 Ambaidiru: abusyineyanintabo
 Mariadei: sabuieyantabo
 Konti-unai: abusinyanentaba
 Tindaret: --
 Arieppi: abusinayanintabo
 Sarawandori: sabuiyanentabo
134. *father*, bapak
 Ambaidiru: njai
 Mariadei: aidea
 Konti-unai: njaija
 Tindaret: njai
 Arieppi: njai
 Sarawandori: njaija
135. *mother*, ibu
 Ambaidiru: nko
 Mariadei: awea
 Konti-unai: nkoa
 Tindaret: nko
 Arieppi: nko
 Sarawandori: nkoa
136. *older sibling*, kakak
 Ambaidiru: anuija
 Mariadei: paniandoi
 Konti-unai: anduja
 Tindaret: anuija
 Arieppi: andoija
 Sarawandori: andoja
137. *younger sibling*, adik
 Ambaidiru: riyat
 Mariadei: jijake
 Konti-unai: rijata
 Tindaret: riatap
 Arieppi: rijata
 Sarawandori: rijata
138. *wife*, isteri
 Ambaidiru: anamu
 Mariadei: anamu
 Konti-unai: enamu
 Tindaret: anam
 Arieppi: --
 Sarawandori: anamu
139. *grandmother*, nenek
 Ambaidiru: anen
 Mariadei: anena
 Konti-unai: anena
 Tindaret: anenam
 Arieppi: anena
 Sarawandori: anena
140. *grandchild* cucu
 Ambaidiru: ajabi
 Mariadei: worija
 Konti-unai: ajabi
 Tindaret: ajabib
 Arieppi: ajabi
 Sarawandori: ajabi

141. *uncle*, om
 Ambaidiru: a:te
 Mariadei: awate
 Konti-unai: awate
 Tindaret: ababi
 Ariepei: ajabi
 Sarawandori: ajabi
142. *aunt*, tante
 Ambaidiru: anda
 Mariadei: ara
 Konti-unai: andeja
 Tindaret: andam
 Ariepei: anda
 Sarawandori: anda
143. *person*, orang
 Ambaidiru: batan
 Mariadei: batan
 Konti-unai: batan
 Tindaret: batan
 Ariepei: batan
 Sarawandori: batan
144. *male*, laki-laki
 Ambaidiru: anya
 Mariadei: aina
 Konti-unai: anya
 Tindaret: tanya
 Ariepei: anya
 Sarawandori: anya
145. *woman*, perempuan
 Ambaidiru: wanya
 Mariadei: waina
 Konti-unai: wanya
 Tindaret: wanya
 Ariepei: wanya
 Sarawandori: wanya
146. *name*, nama
 Ambaidiru: tame
 Mariadei: tame
 Konti-unai: tame
 Tindaret: tame
 Ariepei: tame
 Sarawandori: tame
147. *east*, timur
 Ambaidiru: wanamuran
 Mariadei: --
 Konti-unai: wanamura
 Tindaret: muran
 Ariepei: wanamuran
 Sarawandori: wanamuran
148. *west*, barat
 Ambaidiru: waret
 Mariadei: --
 Konti-unai: wanampui
 Tindaret: waret
 Ariepei: wanampui
 Sarawandori: wanampui
149. *cold*, dingin
 Ambaidiru: nanayao
 Mariadei: sansemu
 Konti-unai: --
 Tindaret: nanata
 Ariepei: --
 Sarawandori: sansemu
150. *strong*, kuat
 Ambaidiru: bambuni
 Mariadei: bamboni
 Konti-unai: bambuni
 Tindaret: bambuni
 Ariepei: bamboni
 Sarawandori: bamboni
151. *hot*, panas
 Ambaidiru: mamuan
 Mariadei: mamoa
 Konti-unai: mamua
 Tindaret: mamoa
 Ariepei: mamoa
 Sarawandori: mamoa
152. *fast*, cepat
 Ambaidiru: ababe
 Mariadei: mararu
 Konti-unai: ababi
 Tindaret: abiti
 Ariepei: ambabe
 Sarawandori: mondo
153. *new*, baru
 Ambaidiru: wanyin
 Mariadei: wanine
 Konti-unai: wanine
 Tindaret: riat
 Ariepei: wain
 Sarawandori: wanin
154. *old*, lama
 Ambaidiru: wisin
 Mariadei: wusine
 Konti-unai: wusine
 Tindaret: wusin
 Ariepei: wusin
 Sarawandori: wusyine

155. *heavy*, berat
 Ambaidiru: manke
 Mariadei: manke
 Konti-unai: manke
 Tindaret: manke
 Ariepei: manke
 Sarawandori: manke
156. *light*, ringan
 Ambaidiru: daradam
 Mariadei: sapija
 Konti-unai: saeke
 Tindaret: daradam
 Ariepei: daradam
 Sarawandori: saeker
157. *sore*, sakit
 Ambaidiru: joram
 Mariadei: --
 Konti-unai: joram
 Tindaret: nyoram
 Ariepei: joram
 Sarawandori: joram
158. *ulcer*, bisul
 Ambaidiru: papuam
 Mariadei: papoam
 Konti-unai: papugam
 Tindaret: paputam
 Ariepei: papugam
 Sarawandori: papugam
159. *hungry*, lapar
 Ambaidiru: maror
 Mariadei: kayara
 Konti-unai: kayara
 Tindaret: maror
 Ariepei: maro
 Sarawandori: kayara
160. *slippery*, licin
 Ambaidiru: saremo
 Mariadei: seremu
 Konti-unai: --
 Tindaret: saremo
 Ariepei: saremo
 Sarawandori: seremu
161. *thick*, tebal
 Ambaidiru: tapekan
 Mariadei: tapeya
 Konti-unai: tapekan
 Tindaret: tapekan
 Ariepei: tapekan
 Sarawandori: tapapekan
162. *thin*, tipis
 Ambaidiru: manini
 Mariadei: sambera
 Konti-unai: sambera
 Tindaret: maninian
 Ariepei: maninijam
 Sarawandori: samberam
163. *big*, besar
 Ambaidiru: manakoe
 Mariadei: andowi
 Konti-unai: mandayakoi
 Tindaret: akoi
 Ariepei: manakoi
 Sarawandori: manakoi
164. *small*, kecil
 Ambaidiru: mamau
 Mariadei: tubanet
 Konti-unai: mamau
 Tindaret: maumau
 Ariepei: tuban
 Sarawandori: tuban
165. *long*, panjang
 Ambaidiru: gwarabain
 Mariadei: wayaba
 Konti-unai: bayabait
 Tindaret: gwarabai
 Ariepei: sojain
 Sarawandori: gwayabain
166. *short*, pendek
 Ambaidiru: tumain
 Mariadei: arapa
 Konti-unai: tumai
 Tindaret: tumai
 Ariepei: tumai
 Sarawandori: tumai
167. *true*, benar
 Ambaidiru: tugae
 Mariadei: tugawa
 Konti-unai: tugai
 Tindaret: tugai
 Ariepei: tugai
 Sarawandori: tugae
168. *ripe*, masak
 Ambaidiru: mawit
 Mariadei: mawita
 Konti-unai: mawit
 Tindaret: mawit
 Ariepei: mawit
 Sarawandori: mawit

169. *unripe*, muda
 Ambaidiru: kamuram
 Mariadei: kamuram
 Konti-unai: kamuram
 Tindaret: kamuram
 Arieppi: kamuram
 Sarawandori: kamuram
170. *good*, baik
 Ambaidiru: ko
 Mariadei: ko
 Konti-unai: ko
 Tindaret: ngo
 Arieppi: ko
 Sarawandori: ko
171. *delicious*, enak
 Ambaidiru: manaban
 Mariadei: manaba
 Konti-unai: manaban
 Tindaret: manaban
 Arieppi: manaban
 Sarawandori: manaban
172. *full*, penuh
 Ambaidiru: tari
 Mariadei: tai
 Konti-unai: tai
 Tindaret: tari
 Arieppi: tari
 Sarawandori: tari
173. *same*, sama
 Ambaidiru: mamaisy
 Mariadei: maisa
 Konti-unai: mamais
 Tindaret: mamais
 Arieppi: mamais
 Sarawandori: mamai
174. *boiling*, mendidih
 Ambaidiru: kararadi
 Mariadei: kararari
 Konti-unai: kararari
 Tindaret: nyuri
 Arieppi: nuri
 Sarawandori: kararadi
175. *naked*, telanjang
 Ambaidiru: sarokani
 Mariadei: sarokani
 Konti-unai: sarokani
 Tindaret: sorokani
 Arieppi: atekokani
 Sarawandori: sarokani
176. *happy*, senang
 Ambaidiru: marinsen
 Mariadei: anusisi
 Konti-unai: nanuri
 Tindaret: marinsen
 Arieppi: --
 Sarawandori: anode
177. *shy*, malu
 Ambaidiru: samane
 Mariadei: samane
 Konti-unai: samane
 Tindaret: tamane
 Arieppi: mamaya
 Sarawandori: samane
178. *insane*, gila
 Ambaidiru: anaebi
 Mariadei: andauiibe
 Konti-unai: andaibibe
 Tindaret: anaibi
 Arieppi: anaibobi
 Sarawandori: anaebi
179. *angry*, marah
 Ambaidiru: pari
 Mariadei: ugabe
 Konti-unai: pari
 Tindaret: pari
 Arieppi: pari
 Sarawandori: pari
180. *draw (water)*, timbah
 Ambaidiru: raibin
 Mariadei: rawabi
 Konti-unai: rawabi
 Tindaret: rawabin
 Arieppi: rawabin
 Sarawandori: rawabi
181. *kill*, membunuh
 Ambaidiru: raubaisy
 Mariadei: raubai
 Konti-unai: tabais
 Tindaret: tabais
 Arieppi: raubai
 Sarawandori: raubai
182. *wash*, cuci
 Ambaidiru: rarandom
 Mariadei: randondo
 Konti-unai: rarandom
 Tindaret: rarandom
 Arieppi: rarandom
 Sarawandori: rarondo

183. *count*, hitung
 Ambaidiru: rator
 Mariadei: rato
 Konti-unai: rator
 Tindaret: ndator
 Arieipi: rator
 Sarawandori: rato
184. *eat*, makan
 Ambaidiru: raisy
 Mariadei: rai
 Konti-unai: rais
 Tindaret: rais
 Arieipi: rais
 Sarawandori: raisy
185. *drink*, minum
 Ambaidiru: ramanan
 Mariadei: --
 Konti-unai: ramanan
 Tindaret: ramen
 Arieipi: ramanan
 Sarawandori: ramanan
186. *see*, melihat
 Ambaidiru: raen
 Mariadei: rato
 Konti-unai: rato
 Tindaret: ndai
 Arieipi: rain
 Sarawandori: raen
187. *hit*, memukul
 Ambaidiru: ranepat
 Mariadei: ranepat
 Konti-unai: tanepat
 Tindaret: tanepat
 Arieipi: ranepat
 Sarawandori: ranepat
188. *hear*, mendengar
 Ambaidiru: raranib
 Mariadei: ankabayar
 Konti-unai: ranaun
 Tindaret: raranib
 Arieipi: ranaum
 Sarawandori: ranaun
189. *get*, ambil
 Ambaidiru: raguab
 Mariadei: rau
 Konti-unai: raguab
 Tindaret: raguab
 Arieipi: ragu
 Sarawandori: raguawa
190. *pound (sago)*, tokok
 Ambaidiru: --
 Mariadei: rakaro
 Konti-unai: rakaro
 Tindaret: raman
 Arieipi: rakaro
 Sarawandori: rakaro
191. *ask*, bertanya
 Ambaidiru: ranajo
 Mariadei: ranaide
 Konti-unai: ranaje
 Tindaret: ranade
 Arieipi: ranajo
 Sarawandori: ranajo
192. *rinse (sago)*, ramas
 Ambaidiru: --
 Mariadei: ranama
 Konti-unai: ranamai
 Tindaret: ranamat
 Arieipi: ranamai
 Sarawandori: ranamai
193. *look for*, mencari
 Ambaidiru: rakani
 Mariadei: rakani
 Konti-unai: rakani
 Tindaret: rakani
 Arieipi: rakani
 Sarawandori: rakani
194. *shave*, mencukur
 Ambaidiru: rakakar
 Mariadei: rakaka
 Konti-unai: rakaka
 Tindaret: rakakar
 Arieipi: rakaka
 Sarawandori: rakaka
195. *hold*, pegang
 Ambaidiru: rajja
 Mariadei: raja
 Konti-unai: rajja
 Tindaret: ratjar
 Arieipi: rajja
 Sarawandori: rajja
196. *close (door)*, tutup
 Ambaidiru: raguji
 Mariadei: ranantai
 Konti-unai: rauki
 Tindaret: rantuki
 Arieipi: raoki
 Sarawandori: raoki

197. *open (door)*, membuka
 Ambaidiru: rausya
 Mariadei: rausa
 Konti-unai: rapoe
 Tindaret: rapoe
 Arieipi: rapa
 Sarawandori: raosya
198. *plant*, tanam
 Ambaidiru: ranyum
 Mariadei: ranu
 Konti-unai: raenum
 Tindaret: ratayum
 Arieipi: ranyun
 Sarawandori: ranyun
199. *cook*, masak
 Ambaidiru: raun
 Mariadei: rau
 Konti-unai: raun
 Tindaret: raun
 Arieipi: raun
 Sarawandori: raun
200. *pour*, siram
 Ambaidiru: rauwar
 Mariadei: rauba
 Konti-unai: rauba
 Tindaret: raubar
 Arieipi: rabuga
 Sarawandori: raubar
201. *show*, tunjukkan
 Ambaidiru: raroron
 Mariadei: raroro
 Konti-unai: raroro
 Tindaret: raroron
 Arieipi: raroron
 Sarawandori: raroron
202. *fold*, lipat
 Ambaidiru: rakapan
 Mariadei: rakapa
 Konti-unai: rakapan
 Tindaret: rakapan
 Arieipi: rakapa
 Sarawandori: rakapa
203. *twist*, putar
 Ambaidiru: rasarirae
 Mariadei: rasarira
 Konti-unai: rasarirai
 Tindaret: rasarirai
 Arieipi: rasarirai
 Sarawandori: rasarirae
204. *dry*, menjemur
 Ambaidiru: ranyinyae
 Mariadei: ranina
 Konti-unai: ranina
 Tindaret: rainyat
 Arieipi: ranyinyai
 Sarawandori: raninae
205. *build*, bikin
 Ambaidiru: rabe
 Mariadei: ranari
 Konti-unai: ranari
 Tindaret: rabe
 Arieipi: ranari
 Sarawandori: ranari
206. *spear*, tikam
 Ambaidiru: ratukam
 Mariadei: ratuga
 Konti-unai: ratukam
 Tindaret: ratukam
 Arieipi: ratukam
 Sarawandori: ratukam

2.2 Quantitative analysis

The following analysis of the percentages of vocabulary shared between the various dialects of Yawa is intended to be a reflection of the present dialect situation of the Yawa language area. As such, the principles used in determining the percentages have differed somewhat from those used in doing rigorous lexico-statistical analyses. For example, as I mentioned above, words which have possibly been borrowed from neighbouring Austronesian languages have nonetheless been included in the word list and in the calculations of shared vocabulary, since many of these items are frequent in the everyday usage of the Yawa language. Further, and more importantly, the method of determining cognates has differed significantly from standard lexico-statistical practice. Whereas in strict diachronic analyses, regular sound correspondences must be established in order to determine cognates, in this study, as in most synchronic comparative analyses, the inspection method was used to establish

apparent cognates. That is, if two words were the same or nearly the same, they were judged to be apparently cognate apart from any sound correspondence rules. In determining whether two words were 'nearly the same' the following criteria were used: if a clear majority of the phones of two words were the same, and in the same order, those words were judged to be apparently cognate. Phones which differed only in one minor feature, such as voicing in consonants or one level of height in vowels, were judged to be nearly the same. If there were simple, regular sound correspondences between phones in different dialects, e.g. *t* in the Tindaret dialect often corresponds to *s* in all other dialects, such correspondences were also counted as being nearly the same.

The percentages of shared vocabulary were calculated on the basis of counts of apparent cognates. In each case the percentages were rounded to the nearest whole per cent. To document my calculations, I have listed, in the case of each comparison of a pair of dialects, all instances of correspondence and disagreement. To avoid listing all of the actual words in full, I have referred to them by the numbers under which they occur in the word list, e.g. in the first comparison between the Ambaidiru and Mariadei dialects, the number 1 refers to the first word in the above word list, glossed *eye*. At the end of each comparison I note the percentage of vocabulary shares between those two dialects.

At the end of the section a table appears which summarises the calculation of vocabulary shared between the various dialects. Several isoglossic maps are also included: see pages 55-60. Maps 2-6 mark various phonological isoglosses. Map 7 marks lexical isoglosses which group the Ambaidiru and Ariepi dialect together, as these will receive special attention in the conclusion of the paper. Map 8 marks other selected lexical isoglosses found in the word list. On each map, the isoglosses are numbered consecutively, and a key in the lower right corner of the map gives the numbers of items in the word list which document the corresponding isogloss. In all of the keys, the equals sign (=) should be read as 'refers to'.

1. Ambaidiru-Mariadei.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 56, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 138, 139, 141, 143, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 158, 160, 161, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 191, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206

Total: 141

Instances of disagreement: 3, 16, 18, 19, 23, 26, 32, 38, 39, 41, 48, 49, 50, 55, 57, 58, 62, 65, 69, 70, 72, 75, 81, 82, 89, 93, 96, 98, 103, 105, 109, 111, 117, 118, 120, 121, 134, 135, 137, 140, 149, 152, 156, 159, 162, 163, 164, 166, 176, 179, 186, 188, 189, 196, 205

Total: 56

Total instances: 197. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 72%

2. Ambaidiru-Konti-unai.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 172, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206

Total: 168

Instances of disagreement: 5, 11, 20, 23, 34, 38, 48, 50, 58, 69, 72, 81, 93, 98, 105, 111, 117, 121, 148, 156, 159, 162, 176, 186, 188, 196, 197, 205

Total: 28

Total instances: 196. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 86%

3. Ambaidiru-Tindaret.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191, 193, 194, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206

Total: 180

Instances of disagreement: 14, 20, 23, 39, 45, 53, 62, 68, 82, 86, 98, 107, 110, 123, 152, 153, 174, 195, 196, 197

Total: 20

Total instances: 200. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 90%

4. Ambaidiru-Arieipi.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 191, 193, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206

Total: 173

Instances of disagreement: 14, 17, 23, 26, 36, 50, 55, 58, 62, 69, 70, 82, 93, 109, 111, 148, 164, 165, 174, 177, 188, 196, 197, 205

Total: 24

Total instances: 197. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 88%

5. Ambaidiru-Sarawandori.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 56, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 160, 161, 163, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 191, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206

Total: 169

Instances of disagreement: 5, 16, 17, 23, 34, 38, 39, 48, 50, 55, 57, 58, 62, 69, 70, 72, 93, 98, 109, 111, 121, 148, 149, 152, 156, 159, 162, 164, 176, 188, 196, 205

Total: 32

Total instances: 201. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 84%

6. Mariadei-Konti-unai.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 158, 159, 161, 162, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206

Total: 157

Instances of disagreement: 3, 5, 11, 16, 18, 20, 23, 26, 30, 32, 36, 41, 49, 50, 55, 57, 62, 65, 70, 82, 89, 96, 103, 109, 120, 134, 135, 137, 140, 152, 163, 164, 166, 176, 179, 188, 189, 196, 197

Total: 40

Total instances: 197. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 80%

7. Mariadei-Tindaret.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 46, 47, 51, 52, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 106, 108, 112, 113, 114, 155, 116, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 154, 155, 158, 160, 161, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 191, 192, 193, 194, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206

Total: 131

Instances of disagreement: 3, 11, 14, 16, 18, 20, 23, 26, 30, 32, 36, 38, 41, 42, 45, 48, 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 65, 68, 69, 70, 72, 81, 82, 86, 89, 93, 96, 98, 103, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123, 134, 135, 137, 140, 149, 152, 153, 156, 159, 162, 163, 164, 166, 174, 176, 179, 186, 188, 189, 190, 195, 196, 197, 205

Total: 69

Total instances: 200. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 66%

8. Mariadei-Arieipi.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 158, 159, 160, 161, 164, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206

Total: 150

Instances of disagreement: 3, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 23, 26, 30, 32, 38, 39, 41, 48, 49, 55, 57, 65, 72, 81, 89, 96, 98, 103, 105, 117, 118, 120, 121, 134, 135, 137, 140, 152, 156, 162, 163, 165, 166, 174, 177, 179, 186, 188, 189, 196, 197

Total: 47

Total instances: 197. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 76%

9. Mariadei-Sarawandori.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206

Total: 165

Instances of disagreement: 3, 5, 11, 17, 18, 23, 26, 30, 32, 34, 41, 49, 55, 65, 81, 82, 89, 96, 103, 105, 117, 118, 120, 134, 135, 137, 140, 152, 156, 163, 166, 176, 179, 186, 188, 189, 196

Total: 37

Total instances: 202. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 82%

10. Konti-unai-Tindaret.

Instances of correspondence 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 73, 4, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 108, 109, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 119, 120, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206

Total: 161

Instances of disagreement: 5, 14, 23, 34, 38, 42, 48, 50, 53, 54, 58, 62, 68, 69, 72, 81, 82, 86, 93, 98, 105, 107, 110, 111, 117, 121, 123, 148, 153, 156, 162, 174, 176, 186, 188, 190, 195, 205

Total: 39

Total instances: 200. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 80%

11. Konti-unai-Arieipi.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 161, 163, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206

Total: 165

Instances of disagreement: 5, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 34, 36, 38, 39, 48, 50, 55, 62, 70, 72, 81, 82, 98, 105, 109, 117, 121, 156, 159, 162, 164, 165, 174, 177, 186

Total: 32

Total instances: 197. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 84%

12. Konti-unai-Sarawandori.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206

Total: 183

Instances of disagreement: 11, 16, 17, 20, 36, 50, 55, 57, 62, 70, 81, 105, 117, 152, 164, 176, 186, 197

Total: 18

Total instances: 201. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 91%

13. Tindaret-Arieipi.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206

Total: 167

Instances of disagreement: 17, 20, 26, 36, 39, 42, 45, 50, 53, 55, 58, 62, 69, 70, 82, 86, 93, 98, 107, 109, 110, 111, 123, 148, 152, 153, 164, 165, 177, 188, 190, 195, 205

Total: 33

Total instances: 200. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 84%

14. Tindaret-Sarawandori.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 51, 52, 56, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 154, 155, 157, 158, 160, 161, 163, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206

Total: 160

Instances of disagreement: 5, 14, 16, 17, 20, 23, 34, 36, 38, 42, 48, 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 62, 69, 70, 72, 82, 86, 93, 98, 107, 109, 110, 111, 121, 123, 149, 152, 153, 156, 159, 162, 164, 174, 176, 188, 195, 197, 205

Total: 45

Total instances: 205. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 78%

15. Ariepei-Sarawandori.

Instances of correspondence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206

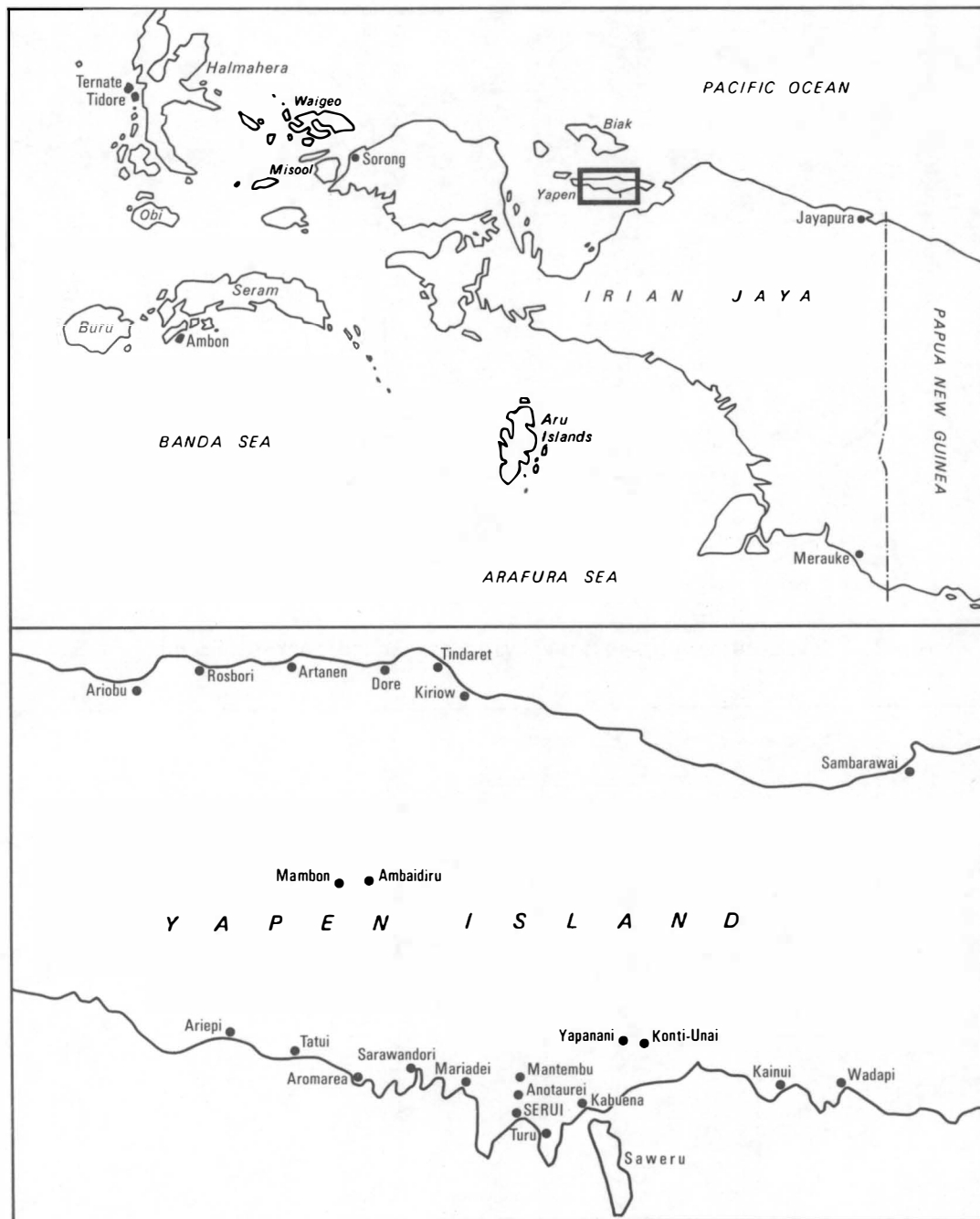
Total: 179

Instances of disagreement: 5, 14, 16, 23, 16, 34, 38, 39, 48, 55, 57, 72, 82, 98, 121, 152, 156, 159, 162, 174, 177, 197

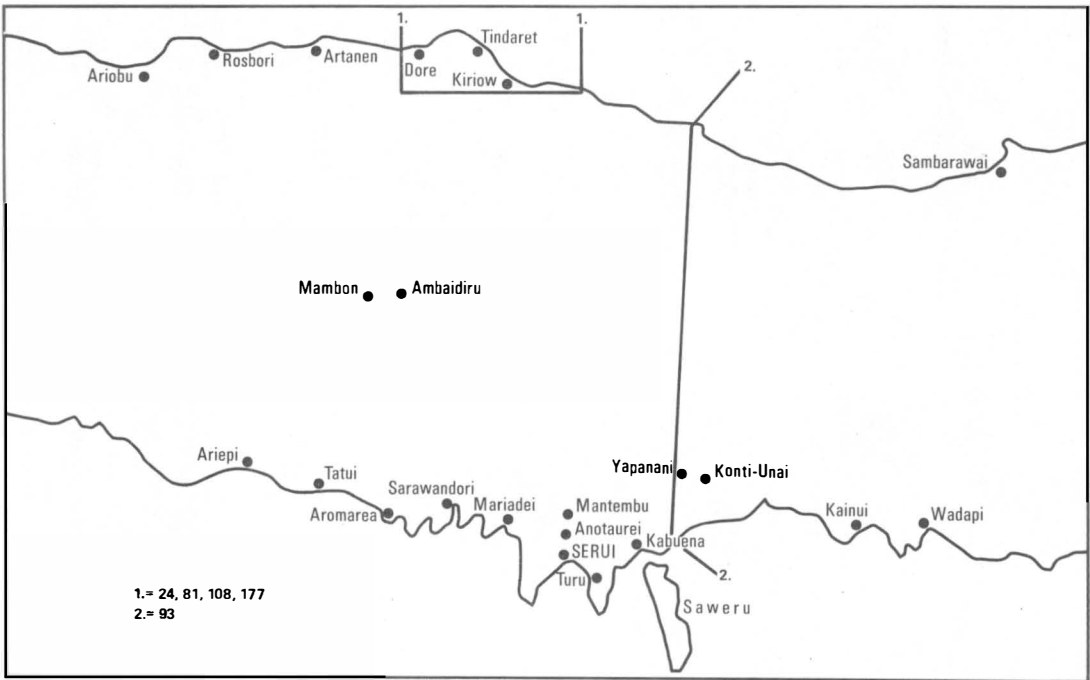
Total: 22

Total instances: 201. Percentage of shared vocabulary: 89%

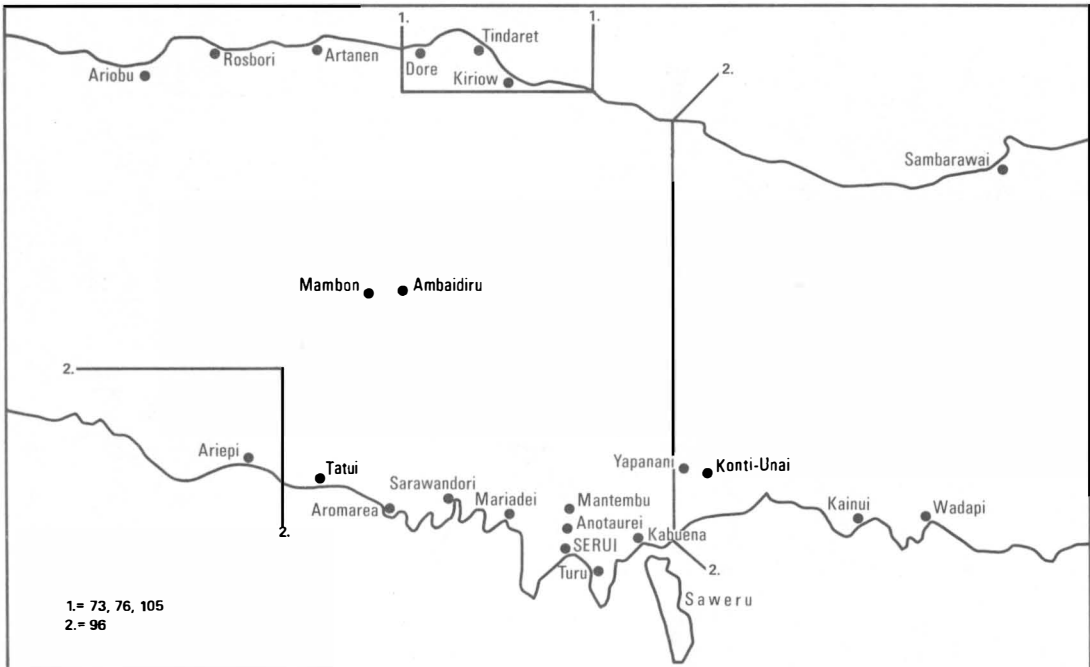
SUMMARY CHART OF PERCENTAGES OF VOCABULARY SHARED BETWEEN THE VARIOUS YAWA DIALECTS					
TINDARET					
90	AMBAIDIRU				
84	88	ARIEPI			
78	84	89	SARAWANDORI		
80	86	84	91	KONTI-UNAI	
66	72	76	82	80	MARIADEI



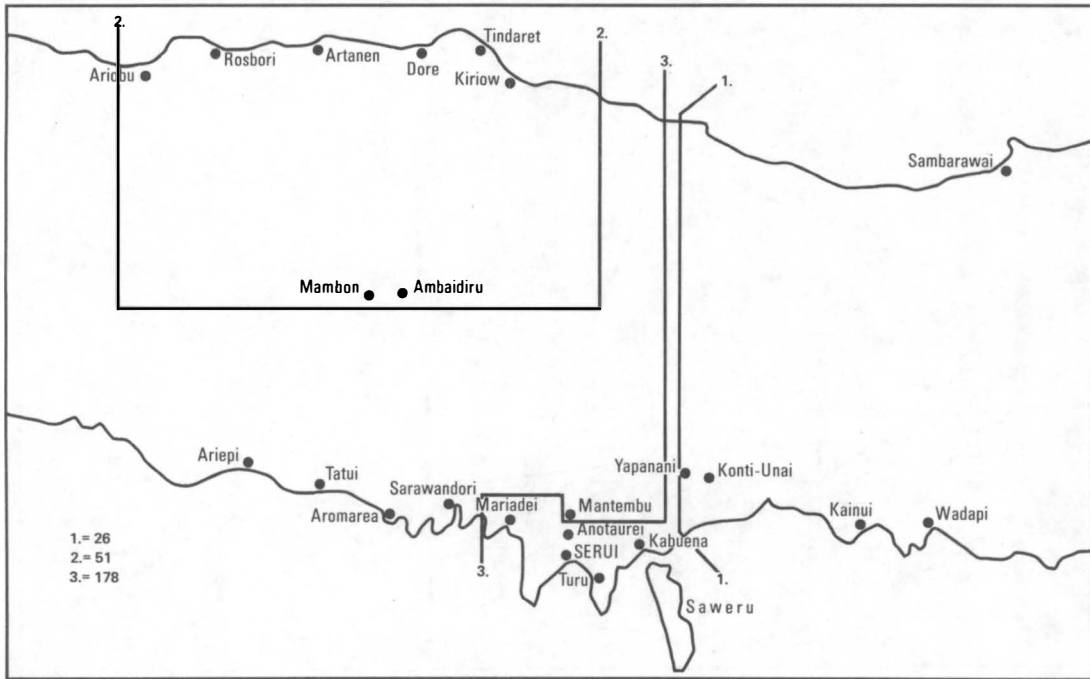
Map 1: Location of the Yawa language area



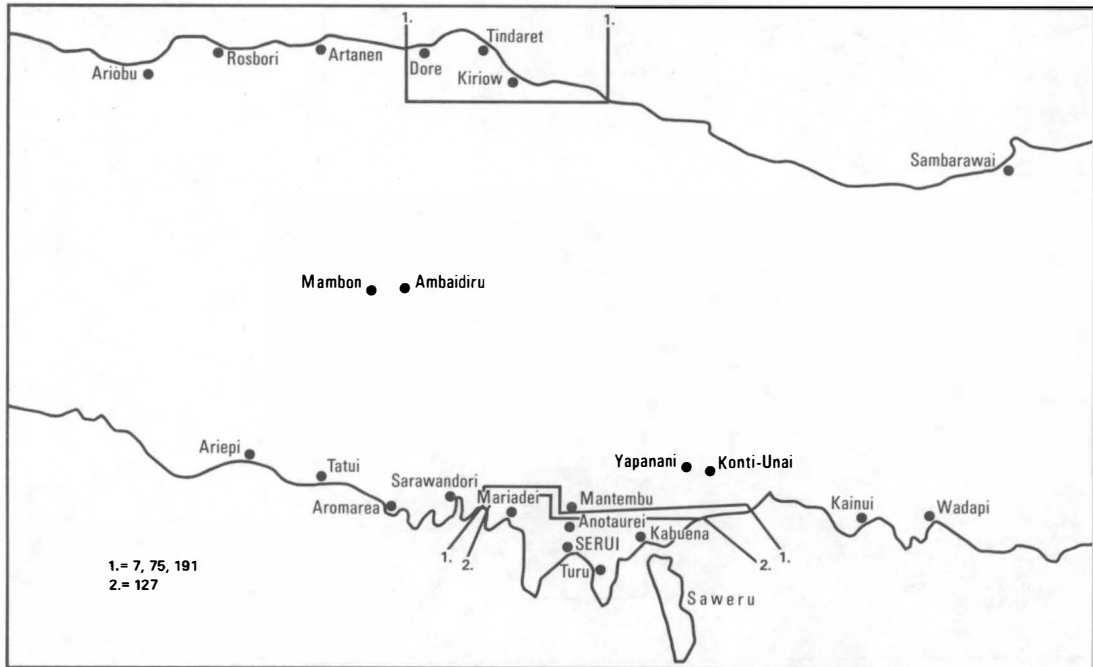
Map 2: Selected isoglosses involving the sound correspondence s:t



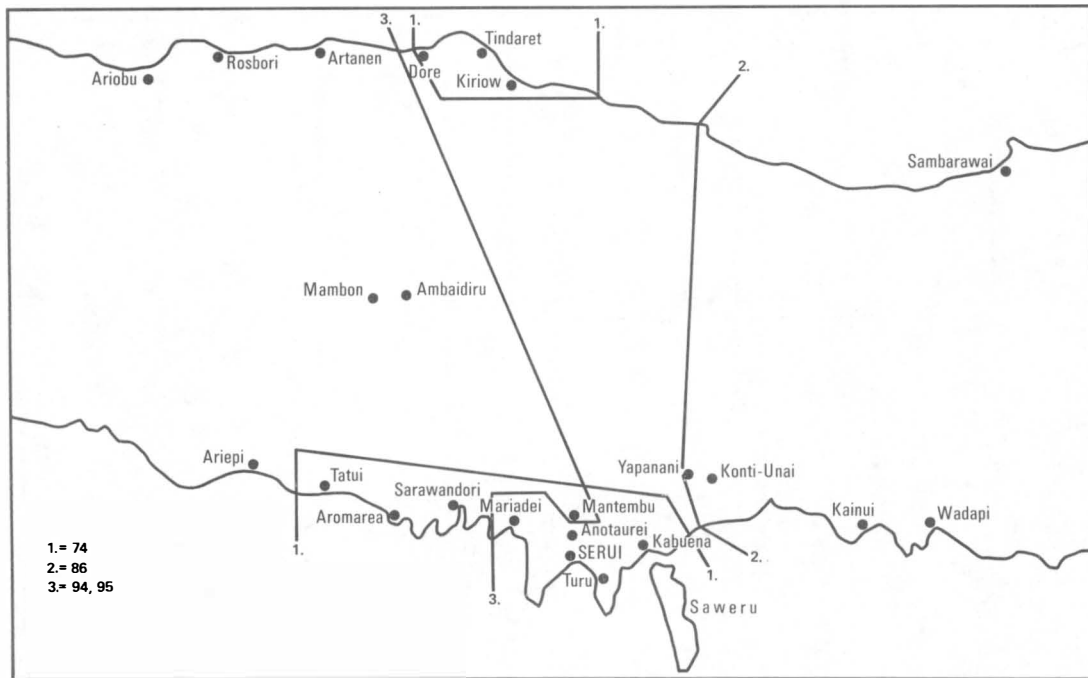
Map 3: Selected isoglosses involving the sound correspondence *intervocalic* t:Ø



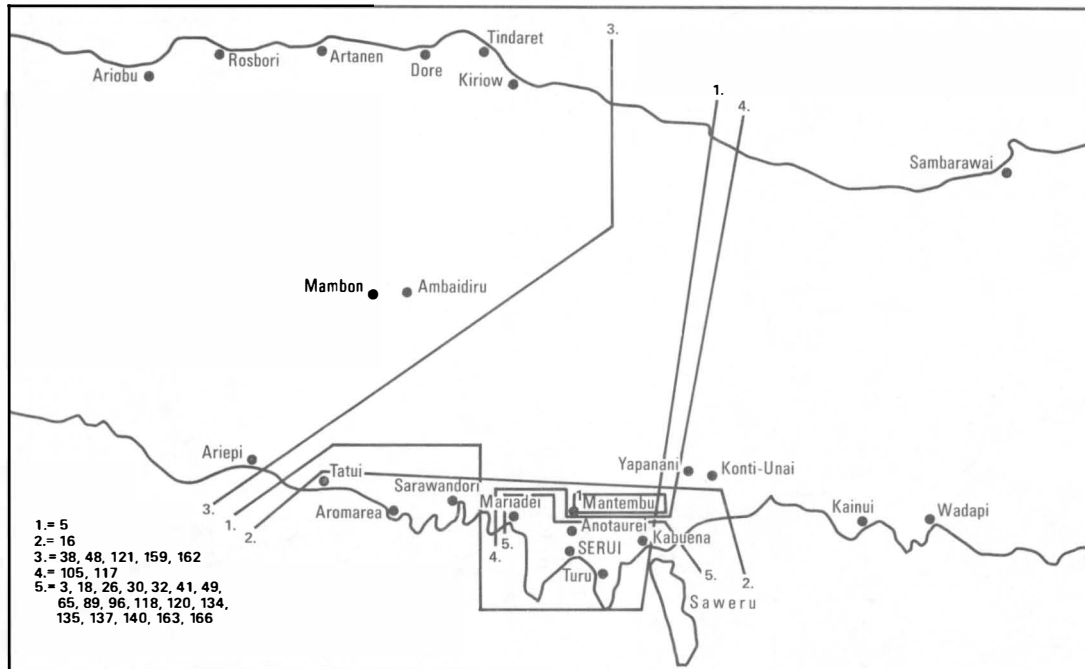
Map 4: Selected isoglosses involving the sound correspondence n:nd



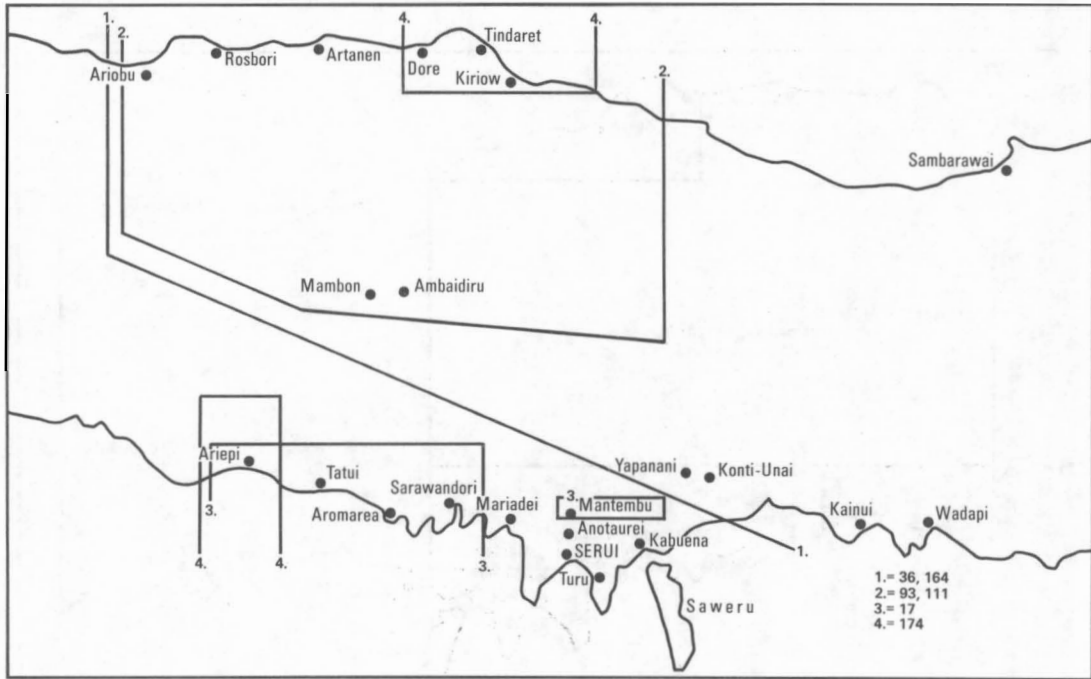
Map 5: Selected isoglosses involving the sound correspondence d:j



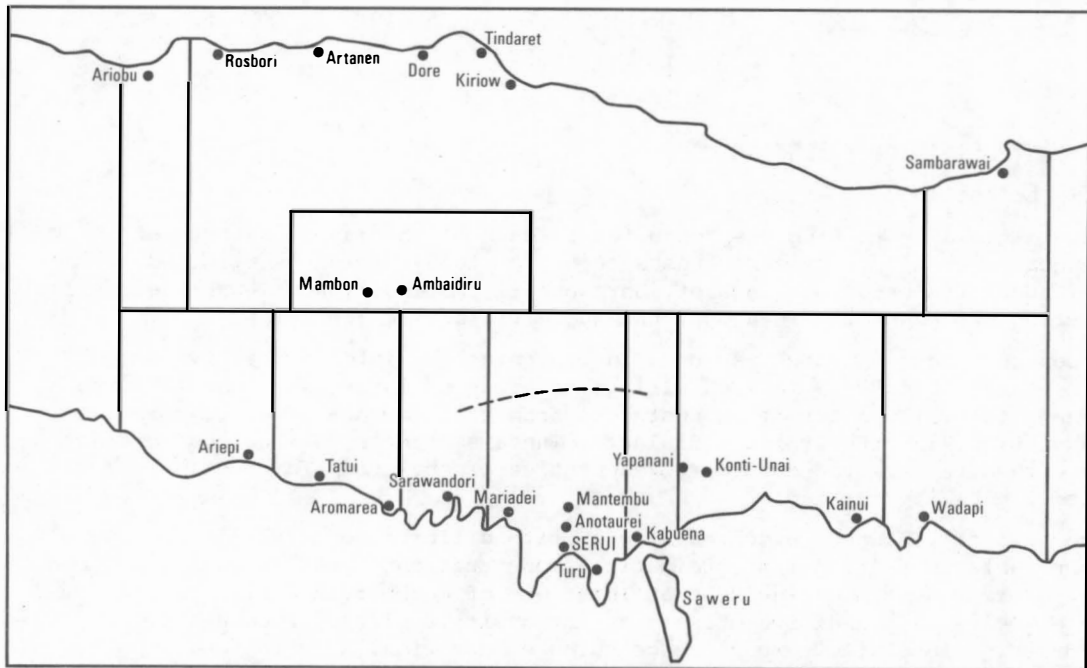
Map 6: Selected isoglosses involving the sound correspondence *initial s:Ø*



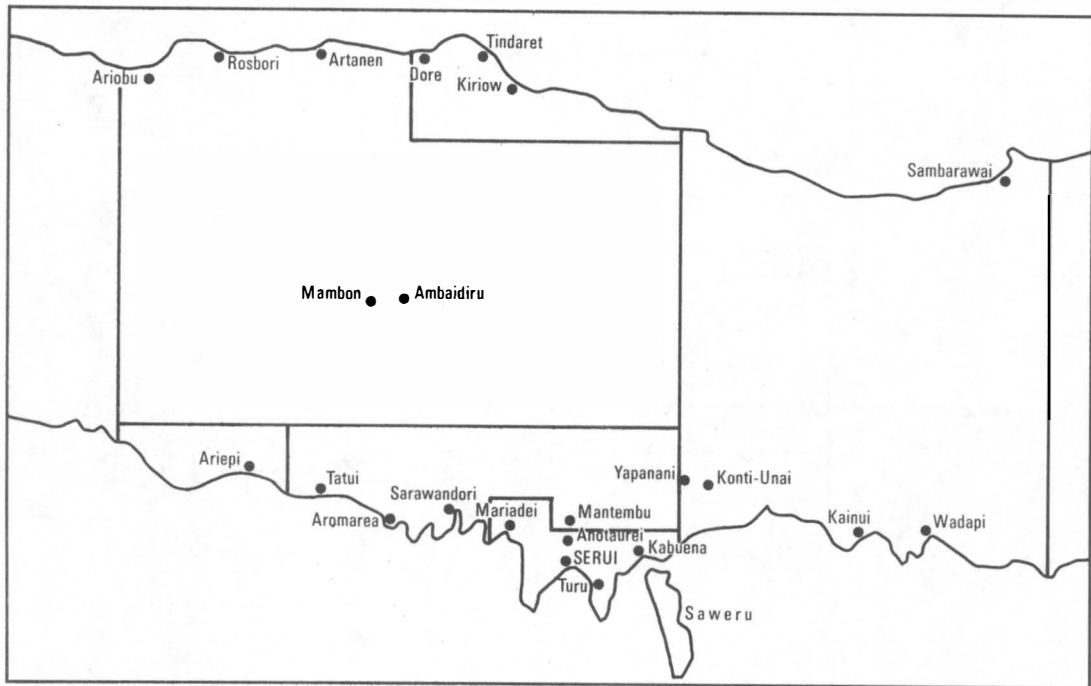
Map 7: Selected lexical isoglosses which group Ambaidiru and Ariepi together



Map 8: Selected lexical isoglosses which separate Ariepi from Ambaidiru



Map 9: Dialect boundaries in the Yawa language area according to Anceaux 1961:9



Map 10: Dialect boundaries in the Yawa language area according to this study

3. INTELLIGIBILITY TESTING

3.1 Methodology

Intelligibility testing was conducted in each of the major dialects of the Yawa language group. Tests were constructed from tape-recordings elicited in the villages of Ambaidiru, Tindaret, Sarawandori, Mariadei, Konti-unai, and Arieipi. Testing was conducted in all of the above villages as well.

A sentence test approach was used in designing the intelligibility test (cf. Casad 1974:89). In each village, a group of informants⁶ was asked to translate orally a set of 20 sentences from the language of elicitation, Indonesian, into their local dialect. These sentences in the local dialect were then tape-recorded by a representative of the group for use in intelligibility testing.

The sets of sentences elicited at each site differed semantically, but were comparable in the range of grammatical constructions found in each set. Each set of test sentences included at least one of each of the following: a benefactive, a transitive clause, an intransitive clause, a locative, an expression involving temporal succession or duration, a quotation, a cause-effect sentence, an instrumental, a conditional sentence, a command, a prohibition, an equative clause, a possessive, a negative, an information

question, and a comparison. The grammatical constructions chosen for inclusion in the tests were those found to have distinctive morpho-syntactic marking in the Sarawandori dialect. The lexical items in each test were from a broad range of semantic domains, so that each test included a representative cross-section of speech in a given dialect. Further, all lexical items in the tests were judged to be easily and unambiguously translatable from Indonesian into Yawa and vice versa on the basis of data gathered in the Sarawandori dialect. A sample set of Indonesian sentences used to elicit the test recordings is included in the appendix at the end of this paper.

The actual test procedure was as follows: a group of informants from the dialect to be tested listened to sets of sentences from each of the dialects, beginning with their own 'home-town' dialect. After each sentence, the group was asked to arrive at a consensus as to its meaning and to translate that meaning into Indonesian. These translations were then compared with the corresponding Indonesian sentences used to elicit the test sentences on the tape in order to determine the degree to which each set of sentences was correctly understood.

The method of scoring the tests was as follows: first, the sets of Indonesian sentences used to elicit the test sentences were examined and the total number of basic meaning components in each set of sentences was calculated. Each major lexical item in a sentence was assigned the value of one basic meaning component. The grammatical relationships between the various lexical items in a single sentence were collectively assigned the value of one basic meaning component. Thus, for example, in the sentence I threw the plate into the sea, the lexical items I, threw, plate, and sea are each valued as constituting one basic meaning component. An additional basic meaning component is added as the value of the various grammatical relationships in the sentence, yielding a total of five basic meaning components for the sentence. The total number of basic meaning components in each set of Indonesian sentences was roughly 100.⁷

The original sets of Indonesian sentences were then compared with the Indonesian translations given during testing by informants from the various dialects in response to the corresponding intelligibility test tape-recording. Each translation of a test sentence was given one point for every basic meaning component which matched a basic meaning component in the corresponding original sentence. Another point was added if the grammatical relationships between lexical items in the test translation matched those in the original sentence. The total number of points in each set of translations of test sentences was then calculated. The scores reported here constitute the percentage of each test recording correctly understood by speakers of each dialect.⁸

3.2 Results

The results of the intelligibility testing done in the Yawa language area are found in the table below. The column on the left of the table lists the sites where tape-recordings for the tests were elicited (called *reference sites* in the table). The row at the top of this table lists the sites where intelligibility tests were conducted (called *test sites* in the table). At the intersection between any reference site row and test site column the percentage of the reference site tape recording correctly understood by informants from that test site is recorded. The numbers found on the diagonal of the table from upper left to lower right are the hometown scores of each dialect, the

scores achieved on tests where the reference site was the same as the test site. The fact that these scores are all virtually 100 per cent⁹ is a significant indication of the reliability of the testing methodology used here.

TABLE OF SCORES ACHIEVED IN INTELLIGIBILITY TESTING CONDUCTED IN THE YAWA LANGUAGE AREA. ALL SCORES HAVE BEEN ROUNDED TO THE NEAREST WHOLE PER CENT.						
TEST SITE REFERENCE SITE	Ambaidiru	Mariadei	Konti-unai	Arieipi	Tindaret	Sarawandori
Ambaidiru	100	96	96	99	100	98
Mariadei	58	97	80	86	81	97
Konti-unai	94	91	100	90	98	90
Arieipi	94	95	88	99	92	98
Tindaret	99	73	88	94	100	87
Sarawandori	93	99	92	99	95	100

4. INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSION

4.1 The position of Arieipi

One of the obvious discrepancies in the data presented above is the fact that Arieipi appears to be a separate dialect within the Yawa language group, even though most informants intuitively listed Arieipi as a member of the Ambaidiru dialect. An examination of the percentage of vocabulary shared between Arieipi and the other Yawa dialects (cf. 2.2) indicates that Arieipi cannot be closely identified with any of the other dialects, and on this basis alone should probably be classified as a separate dialect. Such a classification, however reasonable, demands that we account for the native speaker intuitions which contradict it.

Some of the data presented above does link Arieipi with the Ambaidiru dialect. In the intelligibility testing, apart from the home-town test scores, there were only five instances of perfect or near perfect scores, indicating virtually perfect understanding. Of the Sarawandori test recording 99 per cent was understood by informants from Arieipi and Mariadei; 99 per cent of the Tindaret test recording was understood by Ambaidiru informants; 100 per cent of the Ambaidiru test recording was understood by Tindaret informants; and 99 per cent of the Ambaidiru test recording was understood by Arieipi informants. Some of these high scores can be explained by patterns of traffic to and from the township of Serui. There is a high degree of small-boat traffic along the south coast of Yapen as villagers travel to Serui to market garden produce and buy manufactured goods. As a result, speakers of the Arieipi dialect frequently land at villages speaking the Sarawandori dialect on their way to Serui. Likewise, speakers of the Sarawandori dialect invariably land at Mariadei and enter the town via road from there. The fact that both Mariadei and Arieipi are located within three kilometres of villages speaking the Sarawandori

dialect (Arieipi neighbours Tatui to the east and Mariadei is near Sarawandori to the west) also facilitates a high degree of interaction between speakers of these dialects. In a similar way, speakers of the Ambaidiru dialect are often exposed to the Tindaret dialect and vice versa. The long and difficult trip overland from Tindaret to Serui requires at least two days, and thus virtually all Tindaret speakers travelling to or from Serui spend at least one night in Ambaidiru.

While most of the unusually high non-home-town scores can be explained by the proximity of the villages involved and regular traffic patterns to the main commercial centre of the area, the high scores achieved by Arieipi speakers listening to the Ambaidiru test recording cannot. Travel between Ambaidiru and Arieipi is limited primarily to religious gatherings, which occur roughly once per year. The only means of communication between these two villages is a little-used rainforest trail – a trip from Arieipi to Ambaidiru on this trail often involves spending one night camping in the rainforest. This being the case, the high score achieved by Arieipi informants listening to the Ambaidiru recording could possibly be explained by positing some type of historical connection between Ambaidiru and Arieipi. This would support the intuitions of both Arieipi and Ambaidiru speakers that they speak the same dialect.

The isoglossic maps also indicate a link between the Arieipi and Ambaidiru dialects. In maps 2-6 there are only three phonological isoglosses which separate Ambaidiru from Arieipi: isoglosses 2 in map 3, isogloss 2 and isogloss 3 in map 4. These isoglosses involve three different correspondence sets in the word list. All other phonological isoglosses noted in the paper (ten isoglosses involving a total of 18 different correspondence sets) group Arieipi and Ambaidiru together. Further, most of the lexical isoglosses noted in the word list also grouped Arieipi with Ambaidiru (see map 7). Of the lexical isoglosses which separate Arieipi from Ambaidiru (map 8), all but one of these (isogloss 4, involving one correspondence set) groups Arieipi with the Sarawandori dialect. This suggests that the lexical differences between the Ambaidiru and Arieipi dialects may largely be due to borrowing of vocabulary from their nearby and easily accessible neighbours in the Sarawandori dialect.

Taken as a whole, the above data indicates that, while, at the present time, the dialect spoken at Arieipi must be considered distinct from that spoken in Ambaidiru, the dialects are closely related and probably diverged from one another more recently than either did from the other Yawa dialects. If true, this would account for the native speaker opinions which intuitively link Arieipi and Ambaidiru together as a single dialect.

4.2 Conclusion

A final conclusion to be drawn from this study lies in an explanation of the discrepancies between this study's results and those published in Anceaux 1961. Anceaux (1961:9) grouped the following villages together as homogeneous dialects areas: Ambaidiru and Mambon were set apart as speaking a unique dialect, which had many similarities with the dialect spoken in Rosbori, Artanen, Dore, Tindaret, and Kiriow. Ariebu was seen as speaking a distinct dialect of its own, as were the villages of Sambarawai and Yobi. Yapanani (called by Anceaux *Yapanani-borai*), Sarawandori, and Kabuena were grouped together as members of a single dialect, as were Mariadei, Mantembu, Turu, and the various villages situated close to Serui which now exist as place names,

but not as functioning Yawa communities. Konti-unai and Kainui were grouped together, apart from the similar, but (according to Anceaux) nonetheless distinct dialect spoken in Wadapi Darat. Further, although Anceaux himself published no figure for the total number of Yawa dialects, Voorhoeve (1975:873), relying on Anceaux's unpublished word lists, suggests that the total number of dialects in the Yawa language area is 15. Maps 9 and 10 show the dialect boundaries proposed in Anceaux 1961 and in the present study, respectively.¹⁰

Since Anceaux published no word lists to substantiate the dialect distinctions he posited in the Yawa language area,¹¹ it is difficult to analyse his dialect decisions and compare them with those of this paper. As a result, Anceaux's methodology and reasoning in this analysis are open primarily to conjecture rather than critical examination. He does mention (1961:1, 3) that he acquired Yawa word lists from sources in the Dutch administration of Yapen (although he does not evaluate their reliability). He also notes (1961:2, 3) that nearly all of the data which he personally collected on the Yawa language was gathered in May 1958, during the time when he was also gathering material for the comparison of the Austronesian languages on Yapen.

Some of the discrepancies between this analysis and Anceaux's can be attributed to the changes and movements of people during the 26-year gap between his analysis and the present study. For example, it is highly likely that Yawa speakers did at one time live in Yobi, although presently this village is comprised exclusively of Biak speakers. Likewise, it is possible that the village of Yapanani, which is now situated inland from the south coast, close to Konti-unai, was at one time located on the south coast itself, as Anceaux's map places it. Other discrepancies can be explained by supposing that Anceaux based his classification of dialects on fairly minute differences in speech.¹² A more finely grained approach on Anceaux's part could explain his distinguishing Ariobu from its closest north coast neighbour, Rosbori. A fine-grained analysis might also explain Anceaux's classifications of Samabarawai and Wadapi Darat as speaking dialects distinct from Konti-unai.

On the other hand, several of the discrepancies between this study and Anceaux's cannot be so easily explained. The classification of Rosbori, Artanen, Tindaret, Dore, and Kiriow into a single dialect area, the grouping of Sarawandori, Kabuena, and Yapanani as a homogeneous speech community, and the identification of the dialect spoken at Mantembu with that spoken in Mariadei, Turu, and the villages close to Serui are all directly contradicted by the findings of this study. The explanation of these differences probably lies in the short amount of time Anceaux spent in the Yawa language area and the fact that his primary focus of attention during that time was Yawa's Austronesian neighbours. It is quite likely that Anceaux did not have time to check his word lists personally by visiting each of the Yawa dialect areas. Also, it is probable that Anceaux used a standard word list in gathering his data for the Yawa language, rather than specifically adapting a word list to the unique features of Yawa, as was done in this study. Use of an unadapted word list will often of itself give a distorted picture of the dialect geography in an area, in that items which are ambiguous, difficult-to-elicited, or redundant in a particular language area are often included on such lists. Use of these items in calculating cognate percentages invariably skews the analysis based on them.

This leads us to a fitting conclusion to the study. Reliable results in dialect geography research will only be obtained when sufficient time is invested in preparatory research in the language area under study and, further,

when the instruments used to establish dialect boundaries (word list, intelligibility tests, etc.) are adapted to the unique characteristics of the languages under study.

APPENDIX

ELICITATION SENTENCES	TOTAL NUMBER OF BASIC MEANING COMPONENTS (INCLUDING ONE COMPONENT FOR GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS)
1. <i>I sewed roofing (for) my older brother.</i> Saya menjahit atap untuk kakak laki-laki saya. ¹³	5
2. <i>My sister went (to) Jayapura (for) two months, (then) she came home.</i> Adik perempuan saya pergi ke Jayapura selama dua bulan, lalu ia pulang.	8
3. <i>I am holding all (of) the spoons.</i> Saya pegang semua sendok.	5
4. <i>The child wants to open the door.</i> Anak mau buka pintu.	5
5. <i>I don't want to buy a crab.</i> Saya tidak mau membeli kepiting. ¹⁴	5
6. <i>Mother has three pans.</i> Ibu punya tiga belanga.	5
7. <i>The cat is sitting under the house.</i> Kucing duduk di bawah rumah.	5
8. <i>We (2) came to talk together.</i> Kami dua datang untuk cakap-cakap bersama.	4
9. <i>Father said (he) does not want to come.</i> Bapak bilang dia tidak mau ikut.	5
10. <i>Give me (the) other cloth.</i> Kasih saya kain lain.	5
11. <i>This fish (and) that fish (are) the same.</i> Ikan ini dan ikan itu sama persis.	4
12. <i>She is not my wife.</i> Dia bukan isteri saya.	4
13. <i>You (sg) be quiet.</i> Engkau tenanglah.	3

- | | |
|---|---|
| 14. <i>My younger brother (is) a teacher.</i>
Adik laki-laki saya adalah guru. | 3 |
| 15. <i>You (2), don't hit the child₁.</i>
Jangan engkau dua pukul anak ₁ . | 5 |
| 16. <i>Why (is) the child sleeping?</i>
Kenapa anak tidur? | 4 |
| 17. <i>I walked (to) Ambaidiru so my knees
are sore.</i>
Saya jalan ke Ambaidiru jadi lutut
saya sakit. | 6 |
| 18. <i>I use an axe to split logs.</i>
Saya pakai kapak untuk membelah
kayu. | 6 |
| 19. <i>Whose child picked the papaya?</i>
Anak punya siapa petik papaya? | 5 |
| 20. <i>(If) I fall, I feel embarrassed.</i>
Kalau saya jatuh, saya malu. | 5 |

NOTES

¹Data for this paper was gathered during ten months of residence in the Yawa language area, between July 1983 and December 1984. Most of this time was spent in the villages of Sarawandori, on the south coast, and in Rosbori, on the north coast. An extensive survey of the entire Yawa language area, including visits to most of the major villages, was conducted during the months of May and June 1984. All research was conducted with the Cooperative Program of Cenderawasih University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I here gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the police and civilian officials of Kabupaten Yapen-Waropen, Irian Jaya, and the hospitality and cooperation of numerous Yawa speakers in the villages of Ambaidiru, Konti-unai, Sarawandori, Ariepei, Mantembu, Sambarawai, Tindaret, Dore, Kiriow, Aromarea, Tatui, Yapanani, Mariadei, and Rosbori. I am also grateful for the help of Philip Fields in the elicitation of the word lists.

²The names for this language used by Galis and Cowan are actually the names of villages situated near Serui. Cowan and Galis probably elicited their word lists in these fairly accessible villages.

³Callister (1977) argues convincingly for the need to take native speaker intuitions into account in synchronic dialect studies.

⁴All these forms were judged to be apparently cognate on the basis of their common root to. The variation in the Mariadei dialect indicates a slight difference in the marking of the third person masculine subject for this verb. The word elicited in Tindaret was a root without any affixation whatsoever.

⁵The purpose of including this apparently redundant item in the word list was to compare the way the various dialects expressed the concept 'plus', as in 'ten-plus-one'. All of these forms were judged to be apparently cognate in that they all use the morpheme yane, or a slight variant of this morpheme to express this concept.

⁶Groups of Yawa villagers were used as informants because, generally, the Yawa people were more comfortable interacting with a Westerner in a group situation rather than individually. In each case, care was taken that the group be composed of middle-aged men who were all born in the village where the data was being elicited, whose parents were native speakers of that dialect, and whose wives were not from another Yawa dialect area.

⁷I list here the actual number of meaning components calculated for each set of Indonesian elicitation sentences: Ambaidiru, 97; Mariadei, 97; Konti-unai, 101; Tindaret, 97; Ariepi, 93; and Sarawandori, 92.

⁸It could be objected that this scoring procedure depends too heavily on the informant's ability to translate between his mother tongue, Yawa, and the language of elicitation, Indonesian. This weakness is virtually inescapable in most types of intelligibility testing. In this study, the fact that virtually the entire Yawa language community is conversant in the form of Indonesian used in Irian Jaya greatly reduces the gravity of the objection.

⁹The only home-town score which might be interpreted as significantly less than 100 per cent is the Mariadei home-town score: 97 per cent. This seemingly low score on a home-town test can be explained by the fact that technical difficulties occurred during the administration of the home-town test in Mariadei. It is precisely at the point on the test tape where technical difficulties occurred that the Mariadei informants failed to understand 100 per cent of the test recording.

¹⁰Discrepancies were found when Anceaux's prose description of the dialect boundaries among the Yawa (1961:9) was compared with the dialect map included in the same book. The map in the present study is based on Anceaux's prose description, on the assumption that it more accurately reflects his intended analysis.

¹¹In fairness, it needs to be recognised that Anceaux's primary focus was the comparison of the Austronesian languages on Yapen. Thus he cannot be unconditionally criticised for failing to provide word lists from the Yawa language area. However, since the Yawa language was not his focus of research, and, as a result, Yawa word lists were omitted from the published study, it might have been better to have refrained from commenting on the dialect boundaries among the Yawa, rather than doing so without documentation.

¹²The fact that minute differences in speech weighed heavily in Anceaux's classification of language can be seen in his comparison of Ambai and Wadapi Laut, two Austronesian villages on the south coast of Yapen. Although in his own comparison of word lists, these two languages were 99 per cent cognate (Anceaux 1961:140), he nonetheless preferred to classify these villages as speaking separate languages (1961:11).

¹³In colloquial Irianese Indonesian first person possession is often unmarked when referring to kin relations. Therefore, for the purposes of scoring consistency, expressions such as *my older brother* were judged to constitute only one basic meaning component.

¹⁴The meaning *does not want* is expressed by a single word in Yawa. Therefore, this expression as a whole was counted as constituting one basic meaning component.

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

Francesca Merlan and Alan Rumsey

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 teamiyl
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 molyimel
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 moluy
like when there's land trouble, it stinks
- yabu kalupa-lyiyl 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 teamiyi nyin-da i kapola-ko
if you say let's have court that's o.k. too

mola temal-tiyi palupiyi
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 kayiyi 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 kalyayl ekepu naa nyimulu
we went around talking in public, so now we won't talk
 ya eni-nga kerime-n kanumulu lyip ka samiyl nyingi-da papu
we'll watch your mouths and if you say jail her, good

lyip 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-ayl 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 lipiyl 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 molym, 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-iyi
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 leyim
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 leyim
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'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 medipulayl 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
- ?:
570. ul kalyayl tripela tep i tep mel nyirimul
doing it like that three times

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 moly maku-na molurum
the child is there, it got there

ya kuduyl *dokta-yl-n* kang-abola i tepa nu-n tek ai naa jily n
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 nyily m
a thing like a hen's egg is there, they say

kub-ki angantipa kang-abola ai naa lely m
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-jily m
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-iyul
I knew about the boy
- pilyip-kin tripela de kangayl-nga medipulu nyib pilyirid-iyul
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? iyyi-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 iyyi-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 toboikumul, 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 moly
[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-iy
the woman is yours

1130. nu-nga ola kadisna moly
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-iyi 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 [Sumuyl 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?
akiyi midi pilyai-a, pilyik kayi teai-a
just listen, listen well
pilyidanga-na pilyip oyo 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):
akiyi na nyab-i
shall I speak?
nu taua nu nyikin akiyi kung ab sul tolymeli
what you are saying, 'banana', that they kill pigs and women
ya ung nyilymeli ung akiyi nyib anginsip na mel peki tolyo
they say these things, talking about that, I do beg for things
sika nyikim, na mel lyirid akiyi 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
abayi 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 oronsilymayi 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 akiyi 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 kangi 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
 kangi-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?]

MIDIPU 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 kujuyi 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 anumuy! ne wabra tum-iy! kang-abola kinya wabra tum
*now an 'old' [long-married] woman whored about, she had a child
 doing so*
- Ulka-Upuka eni mong lyimulu 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-iy!
 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 lyipa naa
 sikim-iy!
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 lkutuku pup walytintamiyl nyik pilyikimil mola
do you think we should go inside and ask her [for you] or
- ul-iy! eni-ni yabu-la boni kangi-na lelym-na molymeli
*or is it that you people [Sumuy! '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 moluy! 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 lipiyul
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 teamiyul, 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 uli 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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THE NOTION OF TOPIC IN MOMUNA NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Martha Reimer

1. INTRODUCTION

The notion of topic is an integral part of human perception and information processing. An observer of the real world must process what he perceives. This is necessary because he cannot perceive all things, events, and states simultaneously. Nor can he perceive all sensory information as being equally important. For example, when he looks at a picture he will perceive certain details as the figure and the rest as ground.

Similarly, when a speaker wishes to communicate about what he has seen, he must organise this information in such a way that he can direct the addressee's attention to what he wants to talk about and then proceed to say something about it. In other words, the speaker must establish a conceptual framework first in order to fit the relevant information he is wishing to communicate into it.

In this paper I will discuss topic as a discourse notion in Momuna¹ narratives and will attempt to show that it is an entity or situation that establishes a framework for a stretch of discourse that follows from it. I will define the kinds of frameworks that a speaker can establish and discuss how the events or sequences of events that follow them fit into the established frameworks.

1.1 A definition of topic

Topic or topicality has been variously defined in linguistic literature. The Prague School linguists, who prefer to use the term *theme* rather than topic, share the assumption that topic is the 'point of departure' for an utterance. This 'point of departure' may be defined conceptually, as the idea one begins with and to which other ideas are then added, or structurally as the first part of a sentence. Others define topic as 'what the sentence is about' (Halliday 1967:212). Finding that these definitions did not accurately characterise topic constructions across languages, Chafe (1976:51) has redefined topic. He reasoned that since 'what the topics appear to do is to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain ...' topic can more accurately be defined as setting 'a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds' (Chafe 1976:50).

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For a long while, studies of topic or theme were limited to the level of sentences. It was relatively easy, for definitional purposes, to divide clauses or sentences into two distinct notions or constituents — one of them the topic or theme (or *old* information) and the other the comment or rheme (or *new* information).

When the attention began to shift from a purely sentence-oriented perspective for topic to a more discourse-oriented perspective, the view of 'topic' as an 'atomic, discrete entity' or 'a single constituent of the clause' became harder to justify. When Haiman (1978) examined the categories of 'conditional' and 'topic' in Hua, he found that in essence they were the same. 'Some conditionals in Hua ... are clearly syntactically and semantically topics of their sentences: syntactically, they are left-dislocated tokens, corresponding to reduced matrix tokens of finite clauses; semantically they are given in the sentence, subject to either interrogation or denial' (1978:575). He concludes that 'this cross-linguistic similarity of superficial form, baffling if the categories are semantically unrelated, is to be expected if conditionals are in fact topics of the sentences in which they occur. Left-dislocation apes the discourse situation in which topics are generally established: initial mention in a full form is followed by subsequent mention in a reduced form' (Haiman 1978:577).

Further evidence for a close connection between the syntactic categories 'conditional' and 'topic' comes from languages that characteristically mark conditionals and topics in the same way. Haiman cites Turkish and Tagalog. Momuna is another.²

The conclusion one can draw from this is that conditionals and topics are both frameworks for the following discourse. A conditional clause is a situational framework; a topic is an individual framework (Lowe 1985).

Chafe's original sentence-oriented definition thus needs to be expanded to include the discourse-oriented situational framework.

I propose the following definition of *topic*, which is an amalgam of those offered by Chafe, Lowe and Haiman (1978:585).

The topic represents an entity whose existence is agreed upon by the speaker and his audience. As such, it constitutes the individual, temporal, spatial and/or situational framework which has been selected by the speaker for the ensuing discourse.

I will use this definition as a starting point for defining the kinds of frameworks that a speaker can establish in Momuna narrative discourse. Real world entities and situations marked as topics can constitute any one of the four frameworks identified in the definition above. In sections 2, 3, 4, and 5 I will go on to discuss how the speaker can establish an individual, spatial, temporal or situational framework for a particular event or sequence of events.

1.2 Pragmatic topics and textual topics

In Momuna it is necessary to make a distinction between two different categories of topic, which are, in fact, marked by different morphemes. I shall call them pragmatic topics (marked by *bo*) and textual topics (marked by *ne*).

Both of these topics constitute an individual, temporal, locational or situational framework, for some ensuing stretch of discourse which I will call the *comment*. They are also both given. The two topics can, however, be distinguished from each other in the following two respects: a) the sense in which they are given and b) the kind of framework established and the relation of the content of the comment to this framework.

1.2.1 Pragmatic topics

A pragmatic topic (marked by *bo*) is an entity or situation which the addressee *needs* to take as given in order for the discourse to proceed. Its referent may or may not be recoverable from the preceding linguistic context but if not, it is always identifiable from real world knowledge.

Pragmatic topics set up individual, temporal, spatial and situational frameworks that can be characterised as follows. A pragmatic topic that constitutes an individual framework will either introduce a new participant into the story or reintroduce a previously mentioned major participant in a new role. Thus a pragmatic topic will initiate either a new episode or a new span in which the dominance relationships between major participants have changed from what they were in a previous span. The change can be either in the *direction* of the dominance axis (i.e. $A \rightarrow B$ changes to $A \leftarrow B$) or the dominance axis itself may involve other participants (e.g. $A \rightarrow B$ changes to $A \rightarrow C$), where A, B, and C are participants and the arrow is drawn from dominant to dominated.

Similarly a pragmatic topic that constitutes a temporal or spatial framework will introduce a new time or location into the story. I use the term 'new' here in the sense of 'not recoverable from the preceding context'.

A pragmatic topic that constitutes a situational framework is realised by marking a reduced verb with *bo*. This merely sets up a point of departure for the events that follow in the comment, and because there is no expectation for the kind of events that will follow. Thus, we might say that there is a very loose relationship between the point of departure and what follows.

1.2.2 Textual topics

A textual topic (marked by *ne*) is an entity or situation which is *given* in the more narrow sense of being recoverable from the preceding linguistic context. I use the term 'preceding linguistic context' in its wider sense to include both the *intratextual* context, that is, the context of the text being currently produced; and the *intertextual* context, that is, the context of one or more previously encountered texts of the same kind (see de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981).

The term 'recoverable' needs to be examined in more detail. When the *ne*-topicalised element is a nominal, 'recoverable' simply means that the referent of that nominal can be determined by examining the preceding linguistic context because it has already been mentioned there. This is the sense in which a *ne*-topicalised nominal element is given. When the topicalised element is a situation, however, the *ne* marking occurs on a verb and it is necessary to examine more closely what 'recoverable' means in this case. We find that for clauses with such topicalised verbs, the nominals in them are always

co-referential with a participant, prop, time or location mentioned in the previous context. The verbs, on the other hand, do not usually refer to actions reported in the preceding context. Yet each clause containing a ne-marked verb is meaningful in the linguistic context in which it is found – the nominals all have unique referents, and the verbs report actions that make sense either because they are relevant to the situation that has been developed to that point in the text, or because they can be inevitably inferred from the preceding linguistic context. This justifies our use of the adjective 'textual' for describing ne-marked topics.

A textual topic constitutes either an individual, a temporal, spatial or situational framework. When a textual topic sets up an individual framework, the topicalised participant is involved in an action that is dynamic, i.e. an action that advances the plot of the story. (In contrast, a participant introduced by a pragmatic framework is merely put on stage – a process that rarely advances the plot.)

The situational frameworks set up by a textual topic can be either local or global. If the framework is local, the comment does not move the event line forward, whereas if it is global, the events constituting the comment do move the event line forward. Both frameworks share the common characteristic that what follows in the comment is almost predictable in terms of the topicalised situation. In other words, the possible directions in which the comment can go are quite restricted, given the topicalised situation and the preceding context. Thus, we might say that there is a very *tight* relationship between a textually topicalised situation and its comment.

I will restrict my discussion for the rest of this paper to textual topics only. Thus, when I use the term topic, I am referring to the textual topic marked by ne.

2. INDIVIDUAL FRAMEWORKS

The individual framework is limited to people and things in the real world. Three parameters are necessary to define the distinctions in the way they are encoded in narrative discourse:

a) The scope of their persistence in discourse. Here, only two distinctions need to be made – between major participants on the one hand and minor participants and props on the other hand. A *major participant* is defined as one who has global persistence throughout an episode or discourse. Such a participant can be 1) introduced at the beginning of an episode or discourse by bo, or 2) assumed as given at the beginning of an episode and marked with ne, or 3) introduced with the focus particle -ka,³ and his role can be encoded as dominant by the appropriate verb type.

Minor participants and *props* are identified as those who persist only locally within an episode or discourse. They can be introduced either with a simple noun phrase or with the focus particle -ka. In either case they do not assume a dominant role in the episode.

b) Their role as dominant vs. dominated. The dominance of a participant in an episode or discourse is encoded by the verb. A participant is dominant in an episode if he is the agent whose actions initiate an interaction with another participant and if those actions are controlling, volitional, or aggressive.

A participant is non-dominant if his actions are an involuntary response to those initiated by the dominant participant or if in his struggle for dominance, he is still the underdog.

The actions indicating the dominance of a participant are encoded by either the serial, reduced or final verb types (see Appendix A); whereas the actions that indicate the non-dominance of a participant are encoded by the grounded, reduced or final verb types. When a participant gains dominance, i.e. when his role is reversed from dominated to dominating, the particular action that gains him his dominance is encoded by the serial verb.

c) Topical vs. non-topical. The marking of topical vs. non-topical participant is what I primarily wish to deal with in this section. I have defined the parameters of major participants vs. minor participant and dominant vs. non-dominant participant in order to contrast them with that of topic.

The primary function of marking a participant as topical is to direct the addressee's attention to him. Van Dijk (1977:118) states that 'cognitively, this 'topicalization' of certain phrases is probably a process whereby knowledge of certain individuals is 'foregrounded' i.e. taken from long-term memory stores to some working memory, in which the established information may be combined with the incoming new information'. Both major participants, and minor participants and props can be marked as topical, as well as participants who are either dominant or non-dominant. It is clear, then, that a participant is marked as topical, not because of his persistence or role in an episode, but because the speaker wishes to direct the addressee's attention onto him, in order to establish him as the individual framework for a particular stretch of discourse.

This is born out by evidence based on the distribution of participants marked as topical within an episode, as well as the marking of topic within the scope of a single sentence. I will discuss first, marked topicalisation that is sentence oriented, and then topicalisation that is best accounted for from a more global discourse perspective.

2.1 Individual topic – a sentence perspective

The unmarked word order for a typical transitive clause is SOV. The subject, as the initial element in the clause, need not be marked as topic. Frequently, however, either the subject or the object, or both are marked as topical. When the subject or both the subject and object are topicalised, two clause variations occur: 1) S ne OV and 2) S ne O ne V. In both cases the topic marker ne is simply inserted following the element that is topicalised.

When the object is topicalised, it is either fronted and the subject or subject-substitute marked as agent as in example (1) below, or the subject is deleted from the clause as in example (2) below (see page 201 for list of abbreviations). In either case the topicalised object is in sentence-initial position.

- (1) MO NE bà-ree bo bi-ra-ba ne-b-ere ne,
him TOP *machete*-AGENT POD *cut*-TEL-COMPL PRES-COMPL-pl TOP
As for him₁, when they cut (him₁) with the machete ...

- (2) MO KÉ NE sira-ta boo-o,
his younger brother TOP compel-SIM go-3sg GRND
Concerning his younger brother₁ (topic), he₂ went,
all the while compelling (him₁) ...

In both of the above examples, as well as in a S ne OV clause or a S ne O ne V clause, we can say that the textual topic marker ne primarily functions to direct attention to the element it marks. This is because an SOV clause with no markings on the nominals already has an unmarked topic – the subject. To topicalise that subject is to draw further attention to it. Why is such attention then drawn to either a subject or an object? The answer cannot come from a sentence-oriented perspective of topicalisation. I will attempt to address this question more fully from a discourse perspective in section 2.2.

There are, however, instances where it can be clearly demonstrated from a sentence perspective that a topicalised element can establish the individual framework for the predication that follows it. Example (3) below is such an instance.

- (3) IN BOÓ NE takibo rankoo-b-ere.
our house TOP door close-IMMED-pl
Regarding our house, we closed the door.

The marking of 'our house' in (3) above as an individual topic restricts the domain of the comment that can follow from it. Closing the door is a relevant predication within that framework.

Example (4) below is another instance where the textual topic constitutes the individual framework that has been selected for the two-fold comment that follows from it.

- (4) ¹ANEE BEEA NE ²Bena ne mo manta.
that Beea TOP Bena TOP his wife
³Koorokousoonoonee ne mo imoo.
Koorokousoonoonee TOP his in-law
¹Regarding that Beea, ²Bena was his wife.
(And) ³Koorokousoonoonee was his in-law.

Note that in example (4) above there is an embedding of individual topics. The two topics in the comment (clauses 2 and 3) are embedded within the topic, 'Regarding that Beea', that constitutes the individual framework for clauses 2 and 3.

2.2 Individual topic – a discourse perspective

In discussing the individual framework from a discourse perspective, I will deal with participants only.

It is necessary to recall first two observations made in the previous discussion about individual frameworks. The first is that not all nominals in a clause have a topic marking. The second is that when a speaker marks a participant as topical, his purpose is to direct the addressee's attention to that participant.

The question one can ask at this point is this: at what point(s) in the narrative would a speaker wish to direct the addressee's attention to a particular participant? Or, at what point in the story is it critical to have an established individual framework into which to fit an event or episode?

Three criteria for marking topical participants can be established. I will discuss these criteria below and illustrate them with examples from narrative texts.

a) Establishing the individual framework for a story. The narrator will establish the individual framework, i.e. the participants involved for a story, within the first several clauses of a text. Typically a narrative will begin as follows:

- (5) Beea NE ...
Beea TOP
Beea (topic) ...
- (6) Máneee e bo Rúenee e bo TUN NE
Maenee PRES POD *Ruenee* PRES POD *they* TOP
Maenee and Ruenee, they (topic) ...

In example (5) above, *Beea* is given on the basis of intertextual information. The addressee knows from his exposure to Momuna folklore literature that *Beea* is the younger brother and that he will be the hero of the text being currently produced. Therefore, *Beea* is established as the individual topic for the narrative at the very beginning.

In example (6), on the other hand, the participants *Máneee* and *Rúenee* are not recoverable from the linguistic context, and are, therefore, established as given by the pragmatic topic marker *bo*. After they have been introduced as pragmatic topics, they are established as textual topics for the narrative by means of the *ne* after *tun they* at the end of the example.

Another way of establishing an individual framework for an episode is by means of a verb of perception, such as 'to see', whose object contains information on the participants, props, and situation which is to be introduced. (This is treated in detail in example (22) in section 5.2 on Global Situational Frameworks.)

- (7) Bo-meea be-sa baree- y- oo ne
go-DUR go-COMPL see-PERF-3sg TOP
- NOOAIN NE kì to-o-n-t-era-noo
women TOP canoe travel-CONT-SIM- pl-GRND
Having gone a little while, he saw (topic) (that) the
women (topic) were travelling by canoe.

Example (7) is the opening statement of an episode. It specifies the participants who will be involved, namely he (Ooroo) and the women, a prop, namely the canoe, and the situation that the participants are involved in at that point in the discourse. The addressee's attention is directed first to the situation that is being introduced by means of the topicalised verb of perception, *baree-y-oo ne see-PERF-3sg TOP*, and then to the women who are selected as the individual topic, by means of the textual topic marker *ne* following *nooain women*, for the events that are to follow.

b) Ensuring that the addressee's attention is on the correct participant. A speaker can direct the addressee's attention toward a particular participant to insure that he will view an event from the correct individual framework. This will be necessary at various points in the narrative.

i) Turning points in the story. These are points of conflict in the story where there is a flurry of complex activity with long reaching consequences for the subsequent plot development. At these points, participants' identities can easily be confused and so explicit marking is in order. A participant who has been involved in previous action in the story and who continues to be involved in the present conflict will be marked with the textual topic marker *ne*. (A new participant or a participant engaged in a new role, on the other hand, will be marked with the pragmatic topic marker *bo*.) The turning point that I will use to illustrate the *ne*-marking concerns itself with the final dispatching of the villain.

The context for example (8) below is this: two men, Beea, the teenage hero, and Roru, the villain, have been engaged in combat. A teenage girl, Bena, sees them fighting. She also sees that Beea is very handsome and would make a good husband for her. So she asks her father, Koorokousoonoonee, to intervene and kill the villain. The events proceed as follows:

- (8) ¹RORU NE te- ta bo ²boó kain kati - ra- ba
 Roru TOP *continue*-SIM POD *house under come*-TEL-COMPL
 ne- b- oo ne ³Koorokousoonoonee-ka-ree bo
 PRES-COMPL-3sg TOP *Koorokousoonoonee*-FOC-AGENT POD
 tokoo memenee e- ba bei- ba ⁴boóroo kè
 head brain matter PRES-COMPL go down-COMPL earth skin
 tee to- ya sera-b- oo.
 at pierce-PERF give-COMPL-3sg
¹Roru (topic) *continued on (toward the house)*, and ²when he had
come underneath the house (topic) ³Koorokousoonoonee put (an
 arrow) *through his brain and* ⁴(it) *pierced the ground*.

The pragmatic topic marker *bo* occurs twice to alert the addressee to the fact that we are dealing with new roles and new situations. It occurs with the reduced verb *teta continued on* to establish Roru's approach to the house as the point of departure for a new sequence of events, and with the participant, Koorokousoonoonee, who assumes a new role (indicated by *bo*) as an agent (indicated by the agentive suffix *-ree*) of death.

Within this context, then, it is crucial for the addressee to identify correctly which participant is entering the scene of slaughter. Therefore, at the very beginning of the example, the narrator directs the addressee's attention to Roru, the recipient of the fateful arrow, by marking him with *ne* topic.

ii) Important transactions. To ensure that the addressee will not confuse participants involved in transactions important to the plot of the story, the narrator can mark the key participants as topical at the time of the transaction.

After the death of Roru in example (8) above, the narrative proceeds as follows:

- (9) ¹Kweea-b-oo-o-bo, ⁶ ²Beea ne boó toobookoo-b-oo
die-COMPL-3sg -GRND-COH Beea TOP house enter-IMMED-3sg
- ³Koorokousoononee-ree bo tomoo kasee-ba ⁴Beea
Koorokousoononee-AGENT POD tobacco wrap-COMPL Beea
- sera-b-oo. ⁵ANEE BENA NE Beea serakoo-b-era.
give-IMMED-3sg that Bena TOP Beea leave-IMMED-pl
- ¹When he had died, ²Beea (topic) entered the house.
³Koorokousoononee wrapped some tobacco and ⁴gave it to Beea.
⁵Regarding that Bena, they gave (her) to Beea.

In the above example, two participants are marked as topical. One is Beea, marked by *ne* in clause 2. He is the hero who has survived the attack by Roru, the villain (see example 8), and when he enters the house, a new sequence of events will follow. The second is the girl, Bena, marked by *ne* in clause 5. After Beea has entered the house, the girl's father gives him two things — some tobacco (clauses 3 and 4) and Bena, his daughter for a wife (clause 5).

In order to ensure that the addressee does not confuse the girl involved in this transaction with any other girl, the narrator marks her first with the demonstrative pronoun *anee that* in clause 5, and then with the textual topic marker *ne*. Recall that the referent of a *ne*-marked nominal is recoverable from the preceding linguistic context. The girl, Bena, in clause 5 is the only girl mentioned in the preceding linguistic context. The addressee, therefore, could not possibly confuse her with anyone else.

iii) Initial quote margins.⁷ All initial quote margins i.e. quote margins which precede their quote content, require that the speaker be named. Such margins can be set up in either of two ways, as illustrated in examples (10) and (11).

- (10) Mo-ree ya-b-oo ne
he-AGENT say-IMMED-3sg TOP
He said (topic) ...
- (11) Kenee e-b-oo ne
younger brother PRES-IMMED-3sg TOP
The younger brother (said) (topic) ...

In example (10) the speaker is referred to by the pronoun *mo he* marked with the agent suffix *-ree* and then follows the verb *ya say* followed by the tense-person/number suffixes *-b-oo* immediate past-3sg. The whole thing is marked by *ne* topic at the end of the expression.

In example (11) an equivalent to the speech margin is created by the nominal *kenee younger brother* followed by the presentative morpheme *e*. Then this morpheme (like the verb root *ya- say* of example 10) is followed by the tense-person/number markers and ultimately by *ne* topic.

The kind of quote margin in example (11) is found much more frequently in narrative texts than the kind in example (10). By its use, the narrator draws the addressee's attention to the speaker of the quote and thus establishes an individual framework for the comment, which in this case is the quote content.

Not all quote content is introduced by an initial quote margin. However, when it is, the narrator wishes to ensure that the addressee knows who is saying what. This is particularly true when there are a number of participants involved in a conversation. The quote content of each participant is then introduced by an initial quote margin to specify the individual framework for it.

A narrator will also use an initial quote margin to introduce a participant's comment on a local situation which is relevant only from that participant's viewpoint.

The context for the illustration in (12) below is this: a man has left his companions and gone off hunting alone. He comes upon a pig and shoots it. However, to his horror, he realises that he has not shot a wild pig, but a domesticated pig. He calls for his companions and when they come, he says the following to them:

- (12) ¹NA NE-B-00 NE ²Wò ibà mee tee sei ye.
 I PRES-IMMED-3sg TOP pig wild kind at NEG PRES
³In botee wò-ka bo-b-a ne.'
 our in-law pig-FOC hit-IMMED-1sg TOP
¹I (said) (topic), ²It's not a wild pig. ³I shot our
 in-law's pig (topic).'

The speech quote in (12) above can be attributed to only one man — the one who shot the pig. In this first person account he identifies himself within the initial quote margin which is given in clause 2 and is the same kind as example (11). The quote is more relevant to him than to anyone else as he is seeking help from his addressees.

c) Maintaining the continuity of the topic. The narrator may need to remind the addressee at times of the individual framework that has been established for the narrative. This is frequently the case when, after establishing a major participant as the topic for an episode, the reader's attention is first shifted away from that participant to a minor one, and then back again to the major participant.

The context for the illustration in (13) below is this: two young boys, Bankoenee and Rúenee, decided one day, that they wanted to go bird hunting down river. The narrative continues as follows:

- (13) ¹Kì wera-ba ²o-sa ³má yobu toobookoo-ba
 canoe take-COMPL go south COMPL bird place enter-COMPL
⁴o-ya ⁵baree-re ne MÁ NE mera sa-b-oo-o.
 go south-PERF see-IMM-pl TOP bird TOP none become-COMPL-3sg-GRND
⁶Kootoo TUN NE tetera-ba ⁷be-sa ⁸kì
 then they TOP turn around-COMPL go-COMPL canoe
 bokoo toobookoo-ba
 inside enter-COMPL
¹(They) took the canoe, ²went south, ³arrived at the place of
 the birds, ⁴and having gone south ⁵they saw (topic) (that)
 there were no birds (topic) left. ⁶Then they (topic) turned
 around, ⁷went and ⁸climbed into the canoe and ...

The reader's attention is drawn first to the birds in clause 5, where they are topicalised by MĀ NE *bird* TOP. When it is discovered that there are none left (clause 5) and the two participants must respond to that state of affairs, the reader's attention is then drawn back to these participants by the topic marker ne on tun *they* of clause 6.

3. SPATIAL FRAMEWORKS

In discussing spatial frameworks, it will be necessary to keep in mind the distinction made earlier between pragmatic topics (marked by bo) and textual topics (marked by ne). A pragmatic topic is an entity that the addressee needs to take as given in order for the discourse to proceed. A textual topic is an entity which is given, i.e. recoverable from the preceding linguistic context.

The spatial framework is realised by a noun phrase, most frequently utilising the post-position tee *at*. In Momuna narrative it is not common to find a ne-marked noun phrase that defines the spatial framework for a predication. The reason for this is not hard to find. In a fastmoving narrative, locations may change as well to keep pace with the action. When they do, they are marked by bo. Rarely will the same location be mentioned twice. But when it is, it will already be given information in which case the textual topic marker ne will be used.

- (14) Kootoo, ¹in muro neea kouwa tee NE ²nyá
then river west place across at TOP person
 roomo kirin sa-b-ere.
whoop return become-IMMED-pl
Then, ¹across the river to the west (topic), ²a person
whooped in return.

The location 'across the river to the west' (clause 1) is recoverable from the linguistic context in which example (14) is found. For that reason the textual topic marker ne is used here.

4. TEMPORAL FRAMEWORKS

A temporal framework can be established in two ways. One is by means of nominals such as koroo *yesterday* or oomee *before*.

- (15) In ne OOME E NE weeree titi sa-n-t-era-n tee,
we TOP before TOP hungry very become-CONT-SIM-pl-CONT IRREAL
We (topic) before (topic) had become very hungry, but ...

Note that in example (15) the temporal framework for the clause, realised by oomee ne *before* (topic), is embedded within the individual framework realised by in ne *we* (topic). This is frequently the case in the body of a narrative when the speaker is more concerned with who was involved in an event than when that event took place in time. The context in which example (15) is found is this: two groups of young men had gone down river to visit some friends. Group A then went further down river to visit some other friends, leaving group B behind. Group B was not given much food to eat by their friends and they become very hungry. When group A returned, they brought a lot of sago back with them and shared it with group B. It is at this point in the story

that the narrator makes the statement found in example (15). He is more concerned that the addressee understand who had become hungry 'we (topic)' than when they had become hungry 'before (topic)' and therefore he establishes the individual framework for the clause before the temporal framework; hence the embedding.

The second way of establishing a temporal framework is by means of a verb to encode temporal processes like the coming of dawn or dusk. When such a process constitutes the temporal framework for an event and it is new information (i.e. it is not recoverable from the previous linguistic context), it is encoded by the grounded verb with a cohesive suffix that makes the verb dependent on the main clause. Note that the third person singular form of the cohesive suffix is -bo. It should not be confused with the pragmatic topic marker bo.

Example (16), found near the beginning of an episode, illustrates this use of the grounded verb to establish a temporal framework that is not recoverable from the previous linguistic context.

- (16) ¹Keera-y-oo-o-bo, ²in koorò-ree beé toò
 dawn-PERF-3sg-GRND-COH our companion-AGENT sago bundle
 rookoò Wakee sera-b-era.
 one Wakee give-IMMED-pl
 ¹When it had dawned, ²our companion gave a bundle of sago to Wakee.

When temporal information is recoverable from the previous linguistic context, the verb that encodes that information will be marked with the textual topic marker ne. Example (17) below comes from the same text as (16); in fact, the episode that it introduces follows immediately after the episode in which (16) is found.

- (17) ¹Te-a-ba bo ²KEERA-Y-00 NE ³Kiriroko tere bo
 take-SEQ-COMPL POD dawn-PERF-3sg TOP Kiriroko to POD
 After that, (it) having dawned (topic), (we said) to Kiriroko ...

The pragmatic topic marker bo occurs twice here to alert the addressee to the fact that we are dealing with a new episode. It occurs with the reduced verb teaba *after that had happened* to establish the previous event as a point of departure for a new sequence of events, and with a new participant, Kiriroko, who is being addressed for the first time. The temporal information in clause 2, however, is marked with ne which means that the episode introduced by (17) occurred the same morning as the event in (16). The dawn of clause 2 in example (17) is recoverable from the linguistic context, having been mentioned previously in clause 1 of example (16).

The criteria, then, in marking a temporal framework with the topic marker ne is that the temporal information must be recoverable from the previous linguistic context. We have found previously that this is the same criterion that also defines the establishment of individual and spatial frameworks marked with ne.

5. SITUATIONAL FRAMEWORKS

Two kinds of situational frameworks are realised by textual topics. They are local situational frameworks and global situational frameworks.

5.1 Local situational frameworks

A local situational framework can be established by marking a finite verb with the textual topic marker *ne*. Final, reduced and grounded verbs can all be topicalised in this way, setting up a local framework or topic. The comment then adds *detail* about the action described by the topicalised verb. The effect of this is only local because the comment is restricted to the topicalised event only. The information given in the comment never moves the event line forward.

- (18) ¹Mo ne ké 0-B-00 NE ²bà-ree o-b-oo.
he TOP snake kill-IMMED-3sg TOP machete-INSTR kill-IMMED-3sg
¹*He killed the snake (topic), ²with a machete he killed (it).*

In example (18), the verb in clause 1 is topicalised while the second clause adds detail about the action of the first clause by giving the instrument with which that action was performed.

- (19) ¹Ayankee ne kwi-sa BE-SA NE
Ayankee TOP jump-COMPL go-COMPL TOP
²ín bera-ra tou-sa ín koo-ba
river dive-COMPL submerge-COMPL river swim-COMPL
 boo-o-bo,
go-(3sg)-GRND-COH
¹*Ayankee jumped and went (topic), ²when he had dived into the river and submerged and swam and was going that way ...*

In example (19), the compound event in clause 1 is topicalised, while the second clause adds detail about the action in the first clause by giving an amplified restatement of it.

At other times a local situational framework is created by the speaker in order to suspend the progression of the narrative so that he can elaborate on an event with more detail. The example (20) below is taken from a pig-hunting narrative. The speaker chronicles the actions of the hunting party in rapid succession by means of a long series of (22) reduced verbs and then he interposes this elaboration:

- (20) ¹Kwíreekwíree-b-u-o-bo, ²in kooròò keiyo
dusk-COMPL-3sg-GRND-COH our companion two
 T00B00K00-B-ERE NE ³toobookoo-b-ere-noo-o,
enter-IMMED-pl TOP enter-COMPL-pl-GRND-COH
⁴tebanee e tebanee keiyo-ke bo
tree kangaroo PRES tree kangaroo two-REFLEX POD
 oú wokoo e bo ki kebe e te-ba
lizard Wokoo PRES POD shrimp PRES take-COMPL
⁵mee waru tee ki-ba ⁶ree-ree-ma
kind can into put in-COMPL eat-PROC-INFIN
⁷mee-a ⁸keera-y-oo-o-bo
sleep-COMPL dam-PERF-3sg-GRND-COH
¹*When dusk had come, ²our two companions entered (topic) ³and when they had entered, ⁴we took a tree kangaroo and two more tree kangaroos and a wakoo lizard and shrimp ⁵and put them into a can ⁶and ate a long while ⁷and slept and ⁸when dawn had come ...*

In the above example the topicalised verb T00B00K00-B-ERE NE *to enter* TOP in clause 2 is a final verb. A final verb always indicates the end of a sentence. It also moves the event line forward, especially when it comes at the end of a long chain of dependent clauses as it does here. When such a final verb is topicalised, as it is in clause 2, any forward movement of the event line is temporarily suspended in order to allow for the elaboration in the comment. The comment in (20) above consists of clauses 3, 4, 5, and 6 and just gives details about a feast. It is not difficult to see how the feast celebrated by the arrival of the two hunting companions halted any progressive steps they may have taken toward hunting down a pig, which was the original objective of the story.

5.2 Global situational frameworks

A global situational framework establishes a situation and its preceding context as topic, and the comment that follows from it moves the event line forward. Its effect is therefore global. I will define and discuss three different types of global situational frameworks below.

a) Topicalised verbs of perception with a situation defining object. The device here consists of a topicalised verb of perception like 'see' whose object is an embedded clause with situation defining information, that is, information that introduces participants and props and the action they are engaged in. The participants and props can be recoverable from the linguistic context or they can be new.⁸ Thus, this device functions like a presentative. The defined situation is linked with the subject of the verb of perception because that verb states that the situation is within the perceptual sphere of the subject. The total framework defined at this point in the story, however, consists not only of the immediate situation but also of relevant information from the preceding linguistic context, including especially any reported desires, intentions or plans of any of the participants. The comment which follows the framework will report events that arise from the situation and these events will advance the main event line. Such events may well be related to the desires, intentions, or plans already expressed in the preceding context.

The contextual information for example (21) below is the following: Ooroo, the older brother, upon seeing a canoe load of women coming north, wishes to take one as a wife. His younger brother discourages him because the women are visitors to the area, but he comes up with an excuse and sets out to get himself a wife. The narrative continues as follows:

- (21) ¹Bo-meea be-sa ²BAREE-Y-00 NE ³NOOAIN NE KÌ
go-DUR go-COMPL see-PERF-3sg TOP women TOP canoe
 TO-ON-T-ERA-NOO. ⁴'Na ne-be,' ⁵a-ba
travel-SIM-pl-GRND I PRES-ASSERT thus-COMPL
 ya-b-oo. ⁶'Kun ne abee ne rookoò rookoò ne
say-IMMED-3sg you TOP today TOP one one TOP
 na manta sa-n-k-e ne' ⁷b-oo. ⁸Nooain ne
my wife become-CONT-FUT-1sg PRES-IMMED-3sg women TOP
 tun outoo kì oto osee-ra.
they first canoe way go south-IMMED-pl

⁹Siki-ma-oo-o ¹⁰in riti tee bo kò boò tee
 chase-HAB-DUR-3sg-GRND river middle at POD tree log at
 be-sa bu-oo.
 go-COMPL sit-PERF-3sg
¹Having gone, ²HE SAW (TOPIC) ³THE WOMEN (TOPIC) TRAVELLING BY
 CANOE. ⁴(Let) me (in) too, ⁵he (said). ⁶'Today one of you
 will become my wife.' ⁷he (said). ⁸The women, they went south
 by canoe first. ⁹He chased them, ¹⁰and went and sat down on
 a log across the middle of the river.

The device that establishes the situational framework is clauses 2 and 3, 'HE SAW (TOPIC) THE WOMEN (TOPIC) TRAVELLING BY CANOE'. Thus, the women travelling by canoe are introduced on stage, related to Coroo (subject of *baree see*); and the addressee would expect that the canoe too will figure in the interaction that will take place between Ooroo and the women. The preceding context has already mentioned both the women and the canoe so that these are given information. It has also established the identity of 'he' as Ooroo and also his intention to take steps to secure a wife when he meets up with these women.

Thus, although the framework cannot unerringly predict the outcome of the interaction, it can both indicate the general direction that the events will take and adequately account for them. This is the nature of the tight relationship I claimed between this kind of situational framework and its comment.

- (22) ¹BERESINI-B-00 NE ²OBO-MA-M-ERA-N00.
 Look up and see-IMMED-3sg TOP go south-HAB-DUR-pl-GRND
³Booro titi tee bo o-sa takee-ra-noo-o
 close very at POD go south-COMPL stand-pl-GRND-COH
⁴kwi-s-onoo-o ⁵kì eebèe tee bo
 jump-COMPL-3sg-CLO canoe tail at POD
 bei-ba takee-b-oo. ⁶'Yi sooe noó
 go down-COMPL stand-IMMED-3sg Yi little mother
 sooe Benatena ko ne retoo-ke. ⁷Nooain-ree
 little Benatena you TOP move-BEN women-AGENT
 kì eebèe nà takee-ma-tee e-be,
 canoe tail NEG stand-HAB-IRREAL PRES-ASSERT
⁸a-b-oo. ⁹Wete anee ne na sera-bee
 thus-IMMED-3sg paddle that TOP me give-IMPER
 e'- ¹⁰b-oo.
 PRES-IMMED-3sg
¹HE LOOKED UP AND SAW (TOPIC) (that) ²they were going south.
³When they had come south and were very near, he ⁴jumped ⁵and
 landed in the tail end of the canoe. ⁶'Little girls and
 mothers, you move! ⁷Women should not be standing in the tail
 end of the canoe,' ⁸he said. ⁹'That paddle give it to me,'
¹⁰he said.

Example (22) follows immediately after example (21) in the same text. Here again, the topicalised perceptual verb 'look up and see' of clause 1 with a situation defining object 'that they were going south' of clause 2 sets up the situational framework, which is almost identical with that of example (21).

In fact, the participants are the same, the circumstances of meeting are the same, Ooroo's desires and plans are the same; only the time and place are different.

b) Topicalised speech proposals. The device here consists of a speech proposal, either in the first or second person, like 'let's eat' followed by the textual topic marked *ne*. Such a topicalised speech proposal defines a situation which the participants concerned need to act on, and it may even give details on how to act on it. What follows in the text is the comment which describes how the situation was acted on. Thus, the comment advances the main event line and is therefore global in effect. (The speech proposals in (23) are marked in capitals.)

(23a) ¹Neria eekee ne mure-ree bei-ba
complete sun TOP west-AGENT go down-COMPL
 takee-y-oo-o-bo, ²sere-ra-a-b-ainre-no
stand-PERF-3sg-GRND-COH cook-TEL-SEQ-COMPL-pl-CLO
³MEÉ AROO KAEÉ KYESINI-RA NE, ⁴a-ba
people food take off-FUT-(pl) TOP thus-COMPL
 ya-ee-re-noo-o ⁵nyá ini toobookoo-ba
say-PERF-pl-GRND-COH person all enter-COMPL
⁶kaeé kyesini-ba ⁷guru kwene ne
food take off-COMPL teacher cooked food TOP
 mo o soonoo, ⁸bwoó taeé e tee-a
he EXCL only turtle meat PRES take-COMPL
⁹nyá nyá kwene ini bwoó taeé e soonoo
people cooked food all turtle meat PRES only
 tee-re.
take-IMMED(pl)

¹When the sun had already gone down in the west, ²and after they had finished cooking, ³PEOPLE, LET'S TAKE THE FOOD OFF (TOPIC), ⁴when they had said that, ⁵all the people came ⁶and took off the food, ⁷the teacher (took) his own, ⁸and took it with turtle meat, ⁹the people took only the food with turtle meat.

(23b) ¹⁰RU-RA NE' ¹¹b-ere. ¹²Nyá ini toobookoo-ba
eat-FUT-(pl) TOP-IMMED-pl people all enter-COMPL
¹³bu-to-ba ¹⁴re-ra-a-b-ainra-na, ¹⁵boó
sit together-COMPL eat-TEL-SEQ-COMPL-pl-CLO house
 toobookoo-ri-ba ¹⁶kwene meta mee
enter-MULT ACTION-COMPL cooked food thing kind
 re-ra-ba ¹⁷beea mee.
eat-TEL-COMPL finished.

¹⁰'LET'S EAT (TOPIC), ¹¹they (said). ¹²All the people came ¹³and sat down together, ¹⁴and after they had eaten, ¹⁵(they) each went to their houses ¹⁶and ate up what had been cooked, ¹⁷and that was all.

Examples (23a) and (23b) above are successive sequences of events in the same narrative. The situational context in which the events take place is defined by the speech proposals of clause 3 and clause 10. In clause 3, the proposal 'let's take the food off' is concerned with the removal of food from the cooking pit, and in clause 10 the proposal 'let's eat' is concerned with the eating of that food. Note that there is a closure to the sequence of events when the proposal has been fully executed. In (23a) that closure is indicated by the final verb teere *they took* (clause 9) and in (23b) the closure comes by means of the phrase beea mee *finished* (clause 17).

Note that in (23a) and (23b), the speech proposals come at the beginning of an episode in clauses 3 and 10 respectively, immediately after the deictic anchorage (see Rommetveit 1968) has been established for the ensuing stretch of discourse. The events that constitute the comment for the speech proposals in (23a) and (23b), then, are in the same episode as the speech proposals that introduce them.

However, a proposal for action or an instruction can also come at the end of an episode. This happens when the proposal is an instruction of the kind where the participant to whom it is addressed must separate himself from the rest and go to another location in order to carry it out. Thus, a new deictic anchorage needs to be set up before the instruction is carried out and hence a new episode begins there. The instruction, however, still establishes a framework for the new episode.

Example (24) illustrates this. It is divided up into two parts, first (24a) which is the speech proposal or instruction, coming at the end of its episode, and second (24b) which describes the events which take place when the addressee of (24a) seeks to carry out those instructions.

- (24a) ¹Me no⁹ ko-ku keiyoko tee soonoo
this TOP you-EXCL together at only
- bo-ma bo-ma bo ²boó booro
go-INFIN go-INFIN POD house near
- tee bo riora-eebaree-bo ³o-bee e,¹
at POD make noise-when-COH kill-IMPER PRES
- ⁴a-y-oo-o-bo ⁵mo no ko boó ya ouwo no
thus-PERF-3sg-GRND-COH he TOP your house at south TOP
- ⁶ko-ree seé-ree no meranee-ee-ra NE,¹
you-AGENT bow-INSTR TOP do away with-FUT pl TOP
- ⁷a-ba ya-b-era.
thus-COMPL say-IMMED-pl
- ¹Regarding this, it (the cassowary) will follow only you as
you go, ²and when it begins to make a noise, ³kill it (PRES)'
⁴and when he had said that, ⁵'regarding it, when it is south of
your house, ⁶then with your bow you do away with it (topic)'
⁷thus they said.

Taken from a Momuna legend, the above instructions were given to a man, who was told that a cassowary would follow him home and he was to kill it for food for his child. Note the presence of the presentative morpheme e in clause 3, which functions to coordinate clauses 1, 2 and 3 with clauses 5 and 6, thus

marking the whole quote content as a speech proposal. This whole proposal is then topicalised by the *ne* at the very end of clause 6. The events which follow these instructions are the following:

- (24b) ⁸Kera, mo o boó a bo-m-oo-o bo-m-oo-o
then his EXCL house toward go-DUR-3sg-GRND go-DUR-3sg-GRND
- ⁹boó booro nyo bei-sa takee-y-oo-o-bo,
house near somewhat go down stand-PERF-3sg-GRND-COH
- ¹⁰mo kaki tokoo a tee meta me ne 'Kwiriri kwiriri'
his back side toward at thing this TOP Kwiriri kwiriri
- soonoo-ba kera-b-oo. ¹¹Baneè-ka anee sora-ba
only-COMPL do-IMMED-3sg arrow-FOC that fit-COMPL
- sera-t-oo-o. ¹²Be-sa reka sire-ma-ka.
give-SIM-3sg-GRND go-COMPL collapse-INFIN-FOC
- ⁸Then, he journeyed on and on toward his own house, ⁹and when he had gone south and come near the house, ¹⁰the thing that was at his back began to cry 'Kwiriri, kwiriri'. ¹¹He fitted that arrow and shot him (the cassowary). ¹²It went a bit further and collapsed.

c) Topicalised events that follow inevitably from the preceding context. Sometimes a state of affairs described in the preceding context leads inevitably or almost inevitably to other situations. Such inevitable situations can be treated as textual topics because they are givens in the sense that they are recoverable, i.e. inevitably inferrable from the text. If, then, the narrator wants to talk about events arising from such situations, he will mark the situation as a textual topic with a *ne* and then proceed with his comments.

The contextual information for example (25) below is this: a father has kidnapped his infant child from its mother, who is told that she will never see him (the child) again. It is the father who must now take care of the child and meet its needs. To make those needs known the child will inevitably cry. In (25) below the narrator sets up the child's crying as a given (marked by *ne*) since that will inevitably occur, and makes his comment about it.

- (25) ¹Meé-ree TEETEE TE-Y-00-0 NE ²beé ín
child-AGENT tear take-PERF-3sg-GRND TOP sago juice
- bouba ³sera-b-oo a-ta bo-m-oo.
squeeze-COMPL give-COMPL-3sg thus-SIM go-DUR-3sg
- ¹When the child cried (topic), ²he squeezed sago juice
³and would give (it to the child).

A further examination of the episode in which (25) is found reveals that several other situations that inevitably arise from the same previous context are also established as given by the narrator and marked by *ne*. These situations all have to do with the growth and care of the child. The latter, namely the care of the child, has already been established as a situation that the father will inevitably need to address in the events that follow. Another inevitability arising from the human situation is that, unless death strikes prematurely, the child will grow.

Situations having to do with the care and development of the kidnapped child are then inevitably inferrable from the previous context and can be established as given by the narrator. In (26) below I present the other situations that the narrator has marked as textual topics (with a *ne*) along with the comments that follow from them.

- (26a) Kyon-t-oo KYON-T-00 NE
continue-SIM-3sg continue-SIM-3sg TOP
meé ne yoó sa-b-oo.
child TOP tooth become-IMMED-3sg
As time went on (topic) the child got teeth.
- (26b) Weianeen-t-oo WEIANEEN-T-00 NE
care for-CIM-3sg care for-SIM-3sg TOP
mo o-ree boo-soon.
he EXCL go-IMMED-3sg
As he contined to care (for him) (topic) the child
walked by himself.
- (26c) Renee too SA-Y-00-0 NE wò
Reno like become-PERF-3sg-GRND TOP pig
witi ki kebe ne mo meé ne sera-ma ne
cassowary shrimp TOP his child TOP give-INFIN TOP
oyoo e sei.
noise PRES NEG
When he (the child) became (as big) as Renoo (topic) he gave
his child a lot of pig, cassowary and shrimp.
- (26d) Kyon-t-oo KYON-T-00 NE meé ne
continue-SIM-3sg continue-SIM-3sg TOP child TOP
na too sa-b-oo.
I like become-IMMED-3sg
As time went on (topic), the child became (as big) as me.
- (26e) TE-Y-00-0 NE meé ne bo-oree
thus-PERF-3sg-GRND TOP child TOP wild game
o-ma ne oyoo e sei.
kill-INFIN TOP noise PRES NEG
When that happened (when it became as big as me) (topic),
the child killed a lot of wild game.

The above sequence of situational frameworks raises the possibility that we are dealing with a framework that is global in scope. Not only can a number of more local situational frameworks, all inferrable from the same context, be established throughout the course of an episode, but the comments for each of the situational frameworks in (26) also move the event line forward.

We could therefore posit a global framework for the episode, namely the care and development of the child. This global framework would be implicit yet nevertheless given because it is inevitably inferrable from the original situation, namely the infant child left with its father. We can define the nature of this global framework by examining the previous context and the series of more local situational frameworks that are inferred from it.

We can conclude from the above discussion that topicalised finite verbs together with the context in which they are found can define the situational framework for a sequence of events. When they do, they pragmatically function to segment a narrative into manageable chunks for the addressee to process. For each of these sequences of events they define the situational framework from which to view the events. They allow the addressee to see the topic, or the framework first, so that he can fit the new information or the comment into it.

This paper represents a departure, then, from the way in which people have traditionally viewed topics. Topic in Momuna narrative discourse is not a discrete entity. A proposition, i.e. a topicalised verb together with contextual information, as well as a nominal entity like a participant can constitute a framework for a stretch of discourse.

Moreover, it is not sufficient to regard topic simply as given information that constitutes a starting point for the adding of new information. Momuna requires that a distinction be made in the nature of the givenness. A topic that is recoverable from the preceding linguistic context is marked differently from a topic that the narrator establishes as given in order to proceed with a stretch of discourse.

APPENDIX A

There are four verb types in Momuna that contrast with each other 1) in their affixation for person-number and 2) in their affixation which indicates their inter-clausal function and position in the sentence.

The *final verb* formally indicates the end of a sentence which can consist of either a single clause or a long sequence of clauses realised by any one of the other three verb types.

The *grounded verb* differs from the final verb in that it must obligatorily be marked with a grounding suffix (GRND) which causes that clause to become a setting or apposition to the clause that follows it. When the cohesion suffix (COH) follows the grounding suffix, a clause realised by a grounded verb becomes dependent upon the main clause.

The *serial verb* encodes events that are sequentially ordered in time. When the closure suffix (CLO) follows the person-number suffixes, the verb cannot stand in the final position of the sentence.

The *reduced verb* forms a macro-event with either a final, grounded or serial verb. Structurally it is the most simple verb in that the person-number suffixes are conflated into a single form -a. It is also the only verb type that can occur with the pragmatic topic marker bo.

In Figure 1 below I present 1) the person-number suffixes for the four verb types, 2) the grounding and cohesion suffixes for the grounded verb and 3) the closure suffixes for the serial verb. They appear in paradigm form together with the immediate past tense/completive aspect suffix -b.

PERSON-NUMBER	VERB TYPE			
	FINAL	GROUND-GRND-COH	SERIAL-CLO	REDUCED
1 sg	-b-a	-b-a-noo-o	-b-enonoo-o	-b-a
2 sg	-b-o	-b-o-noo-o	-b-ono-bo	-b-a
3 sg	-b-oo	-b-oo-o-bo	-b-onoo-o	-b-a
pl	-b-era	-b-era-noo-o	-b-ainra-na	-b-a

Figure 1: Person-number suffixes for the four verb types

ABBREVIATIONS

AGENT	Agent	MULT ACTION	Multiple Action
ASSERT	Assertive	NEG	Negative
BEN	Benefactive	pl	Plural
CLO	Closure	POD	Point of departure (pragmatic topic)
COH	Cohesion		
COMPL	Completive aspect	PRES	Presentative
CONT	Continuative aspect	PROC	Process
DUR	Durative aspect	REFLEX	Reflexive
EXCL	Exclusive	sg	Singular
FOC	Focus	SIM	Simultaneous aspect
FUT	Future tense	SEQ	Sequential
GRND	Ground	TEL	Telic
HAB	Habitual	TOP	Textual topic
IMMED	Immediate past tense	1	First person
IMPER	Imperative	2	Second person
INSTR	Instrument	3	Third person
IRREAL	Irrealis		

NOTES

¹Momuna, a Papuan (non-Austronesian) language, is spoken by approximately 1000 people who live between the Balim and Kolff River systems south of the central mountain range in Kabupaten Jayawijaya of the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya. Originally called 'Somahai', a Yali term meaning 'lowland people', Momuna is classified by Voorhoeve (1975) as a Family-Level Isolate within the Trans-New Guinea Phylum.

Momuna phonemes are orthographically symbolised as follows: the stops t, k, b; the liquid r; the sibilant s; the nasals m, n; the semi-vowels w, y; the labialised stops bw, kw; the palatalised consonants sy, by, ny; the vowels i, ee (close mid front), e (open mid front), a, o (low back), oo (close mid back), u; the diphthongs ei, ai, oi, au, ou. There are three levels of contrastive

tone on monosyllables: high (marked by the acute accent), mid (unmarked) and low (marked by a grave accent). On non-monosyllabic words only two levels are contrastive, and these on the stressed syllable only.

The present study was undertaken in a workshop held in 1984 in Danau Bira, Irian Jaya with the Cooperative Program of Cenderawasih University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Analysis was done on more than 20 texts representing Momuna folktales, legends and personal accounts of real life events and collected between June 1981 and October 1984.

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²Momuna marks both conditional and contrafactual clauses with the topic marker *ne*. Also marked as topical is all quote content which deals primarily with the mental and emotional world of the participant involved in the narrative. Since I am restricting this paper to the marking of topic within the real world of the story only, I will not discuss conditionals or quote content any further.

³I use the term 'focus' to refer to new information, particularly information that the addressee is not expecting.

⁴The presentative or coordinating morpheme (glossed as PRES) has two variant forms, namely *ne* and *e*. The form *ne* occurs with pronouns, and *e* occurs with all proper and common nouns. Since the *ne* form is homophonous with the topic marker *ne*, I am currently investigating whether there is an overlap in function between the presentative morpheme and the topic marker. The hierarchy of 'potentiality of topicality' (Givon 1983) predicts that pronouns have a greater potential for topicality than do proper names. Since the presentative morpheme *ne* occurs only with pronouns, which also have a greater potential for topicality, an overlap in function between the presentative morpheme *ne* and the topic marker *ne* cannot be summarily ruled out.

⁵Raised numbers placed before a word are used to number the clauses in the example and in the gloss. Raised numbers placed after a word will be used to number footnotes.

⁶The suffix *-bo* is a third person singular cohesion marker on the grounded verb. It is not to be confused with the pragmatic topic marker *bo*.

⁷The initial quote margin contrasts with other entities that constitute an individual framework in that the topicalised element is a verb rather than a NP. However, it functions more like an individual framework than a local situational framework whose topicalised element is also a verb. The comment for a local situational framework adds only local detail to the topicalised verb, whereas the quote content (comment) introduced by the initial quote margin can have global implications (see section 5.2 on topicalised speech proposals), which would make the quote content more weighted or important than the quote margin. For this reason, it is more appropriate to consider the topicalised initial quote margins as constituting an individual framework rather than a local situational framework.

⁸When a participant introduced in the embedded object of a perceptual verb is 'given' information, he is marked with *ne*. If, however, a completely new participant, i.e. one not identifiable in terms of the preceding linguistic context, is introduced in such an embedded object, he must be marked with the focus particle *-ka*.

⁹The potential topic marker *no* is found almost exclusively in reported speech and hortatory texts. It contrasts with the textual topic marker *ne* in that it marks entities or propositions which have not been realised in the real world at the time of the speech event, but which the narrator fully expects will be realised at some point in the future. *ne*, on the other hand, marks real world entities and propositions.

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DOMINANCE AND NON-DOMINANCE IN SIKARITAI DISCOURSE

David L. Martin

INTRODUCTION

In tying together the various parts of a discourse, deictic morphemes usually play an important role. And Sikaritai¹ discourse is no exception. In fact, there seems to be an abundance of particles playing some deictic role.

The family consists of the particles *bi*, *ba*, *bu*, *be*, *bo*.² The first two of these help sort out participants and props with regard to their involvement in advancing the story plot; while the last three have to do with creating a spatial, temporal, individual, or situational framework. By observing occurrences of these particles throughout a text, then, the addressee can accurately determine a given character's³ role in the overall story, and also in any portion of the story. At the same time, relationships between characters are clearly delineated.

In this paper, I will examine the functions of two of these particles, *bi* and *ba*, in tracking participants and props, and occasionally propositions, in Sikaritai discourse. Since *bi* and *ba* function most widely in narrative discourse, this genre is considered most carefully. However, other discourse genre are referred to as well.

1. DOMINANCE — A DEFINITION

To begin with, let us consider the role within the overall discourse played by various kinds of participants and props. By far the common distinction is that between *major* and *minor*. Major characters are those who interact with each other for a greater part of the discourse, while minor characters are those who interact only with major characters, and then only for short stretches of the discourse. (That is to say, minor characters never interact with each other.) The distinction between major and minor is therefore a global distinction, in that a major character remains major and a minor character minor, throughout a discourse.

Another distinction is between *dominant* and *dominated*. A participant A is said to have a dominant role over another B when A outranks B in power or initiative for a particular action or situation of a story. Thus, for example, if A is the agent of an action while B is the patient, A would be dominant over B. We can look on A as being dominant over B both with respect to single actions and with respect to larger stretches of discourse. In any stretch of discourse

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where A is dominant over B, A will be more directly involved in advancing the plot of the story than B, because the dominant participant is the one who has the initiative for the actions.

The *major-minor* distinction, then, is not quite the same as the *dominant-dominated* distinction. A major participant can at times be dominated and a minor participant can at times be dominant. Nevertheless, we would expect that, more frequently, major participants would be dominant and minor participants non-dominant. This is in accord with Grimes' (1975) observation that major participants play a more dominant role within a discourse (on the average). In no way could a minor or non-dominant participant be considered unnecessary or optional, as they also play their part in advancing the plot of the story. But in comparison with the major (usually dominant) characters, whose actions and even presence advance the plot line, minor or non-dominant characters are lower on the hierarchy of dominance.

This paper, then, will focus on the means by which Sikaritai speakers distinguish between characters which are dominant and those which are non-dominant. Occasionally the dominance applies to information rather than characters (cf. sections 3.1.4 and 3.2.3). Accordingly, participants and props which contribute directly at a given point to the advancement of the plot are considered dominant; whereas those which are dominated or overshadowed by the major characters, and therefore contribute only indirectly, are considered non-dominant.

In keeping with this division, then, the particle *bí* is analysed as marking those characters which are globally dominant in Sikaritai discourses, while *bá* marks those that are globally non-dominant. Furthermore, the combination *babí* signals a reversal in dominance relationships between characters. On the other hand, *bíba* between two clauses links these together in a *head-modifier* relationship.⁴

2. DEICTIC PARTICLES AND NOMINALS

Sikaritai discourse uses a variety of particles, all of which perform some sort of deictic function. The collection includes: *bí*, *ba*, *bu*, *be*, *bo* and each of these at least in some way helps to rank participants, props, and situations in relation to one another.

These five particles mark all the relevant distinctions of the participant reference system in Sikaritai. These distinctions and the particles which mark them are:

1. *bí* and *bá* classify participants and props as to their dominance in terms of the overall plot.
(In contexts where dominance is not at issue, *bí* and *ba* will function as third person pronouns.)
2. *bu* classifies a noun referent as under specific attention at a given point within the discourse.
3. *bé* *bó* identify participants and propositions as to the context of the situation in which they occur.

To these morphemes must be added the feature of tone which indicates the system, if any, within which the referent operates. Thus, high tone (') on a particle establishes that referent as operating within a restricted system, while the same particle with low tone (unmarked) has no such restriction. The precise nature of the restriction for *bí* and *ba* will be dealt with in section 3.2.

With these particles, then, a speaker specifies who or what is dominant vs. non-dominant in terms of the plot of the story; who or what is under attention at a given point; and in what situations these roles are played.

With that overview, let us discuss the role of the particles *bí* and *ba* specifically in establishing the dominance or non-dominance of participants and propositions in Sikaritai discourse. The other three particles will not be discussed further in this paper.

3. BI AND BA IN RELATION TO DOMINANCE

The particles *bí* and *bá*, on examining a given discourse, are most directly connected with establishing and maintaining the relative dominance of characters and propositions throughout the discourse. Thus, it could be said that the root meaning of *bí* is dominance or advancing the plot of the story. As such, *bí* in a summary section at the end of a story can refer to the whole plot, the whole event content of a story. But more commonly it occurs with nouns, thus establishing the noun referent as dominant, and so directly involved in advancing the plot.

On the other hand, *bá* indicates that a noun referent is dominated by or overshadowed by those referents marked with *bí*. Nouns marked with *bá* are usually not directly involved in advancing the plot. Thus, *bá* never occurs in summaries. This is in keeping with the common use of *ba* as third person pronoun in normal conversation. A speaker only uses *bí* when he wants to single out one particular participant from the rest; usually this singling out is with regard to dominance, but occasionally other parameters can be involved.

Concerning the effect of tone, the fact that the pronoun *bí* is always marked with a high tone is in accord with the fact that it only operates within the restricted system of dominance. Similarly, *bá* operates in a restricted system, while *ba* operates in a non-restricted system.

Finally, given the roles of *bí* and *bá* in determining the relative dominance of characters, is there a means of shifting the status of a character either temporarily or permanently? This is in fact accomplished by a combination of *bí* and *bá*, specifically *babí*. On the other hand, the combination *bíba* adds secondary information to aid in understanding a dominant character or proposition.

3.1 Dominance — *Bí*

Bí marks a participant or prop as globally dominant in a text. In other words, such a participant or prop is directly involved in events which advance the plot of the story.

3.1.1 Globally dominant character – NP + b'í

The most easily understood use of b'í with nominals is as a suffix on an NP at or near the beginning of a narrative. This establishes the referent(s) as dominant participants, i.e. as initiators of the events that advance the story plot. Thereafter in the text, NP + b'í may be repeated, referring again to that participant. However, more often, b'í is used as a pronoun (anaphorically) to refer to that participant and thus assert his dominance. Any subsequent nominal in the text that refers to a dominant participant is also marked with b'í. This applies whether there is only one dominant participant in the story or several.

- (1) In a text describing a wife's adultery with an unmarried man, and events resulting from the act (hereafter called the 'Burmese Adultery' text), there are three participants, all marked with b'í, i.e. the wife, her husband, and the unmarried man. Accordingly, following the text setting, we first find (see page 228 for list of abbreviations):

T'ug-B'í. Siwáya t'ug-sí-B'í. Waugsa bgóda-B'í. Bgódetaí
wife-DOM Siwai wife-CST-DOM Burmese bachelor-DOM bachelor

k'ía-B'í.
other-DOM

There was A WIFE, i.e. A SIWAI WIFE. There was A BURMESE BACHELOR, I mean ANOTHER BACHELOR.

Then, after detailing how these two participants committed adultery, the narrator continues:

Babí t'ugja-ka- bgóda- B'í ded- é keé. Ápuéd bédko keé.
 RR *wife-not-bachelor-DOM fish-for go Apui toward go*
And THE WIFE AND HER HUSBAND went fishing. They went, went towards Apui.

Thus, each of the three major participants are introduced by NP + b'í. It follows, then, that their presence and actions are crucial to the communication of the story plot and the story moral, which is that adultery and murder to not pay. Then, as the story unfolds, each of the three continues to be referred to by b'í, including the husband even after he is killed by his wife, for his death sparks off the search for and murder of the adulterous woman.

- (2) Similarly, in a text describing the killing of a man with a giant scrotum, and the resultant ruin of the surrounding land (the 'Big Scrotum' text), the major participants, i.e. the man, his wife, and the children who killed him, are all introduced by NP + b'í. First, the man:

Tró pája- B'í Degkó kró. B'í tró Ápuédtaí be-púd-pi.
man devil-DOM Degko old 3DOM men Apui clan there-live-p
THE DEVIL, whose old name is Degko. HE lived with the Apui people.

Then, after describing his living quarters in a tree, the wife is brought on the scene:

Túg ó-bu ... pi pa-buúdéta-peí. BÍ pí- sí ta-tíepesí.
wife his-POD sago down-harvest-REM 3DOM sago-CST from-whistle
HIS WIFE was harvesting sago. SHE in the sago whistled.

The narrator then discusses typical activities of the man and his wife, before introducing the children, and in turn their killing of the man:

Bgódetaí egkí, BÍ o dá asuai do-pí-bi.
bachelor small 3DOM here 2pl bow hold-p -ques
They were SMALL BOYS. THEY held their bows like you
(reference to boys present in the audience at the moment of speaking)?

Then, as the story continues, each of these three is in turn referred to by bí.

The entire cast of major participants may be introduced together but as evidenced by these two examples, more commonly they are introduced as they become relevant to the story. But in any case, the presence of bí with the NP identifies the referent as dominant.

- (3) The use of NP + bí in introducing and marking dominant characters varies somewhat in expository discourse, as demonstrated in a sermon describing Jesus feeding 5000 people. Jesus is a major character throughout the setting and leading up to the climax of breaking and multiplying the food, but he is referred to by name only, not by NP + bí, up to that point. This is probably because he is not dominant over the situation, but rather is simply cooperating with the crowd in obtaining food. Accordingly, the bread and fish, for example, are introduced by NP + bí

Tró kgíkgala bépi-bu ded betiá-BÍ róti-bu líma beg-pí.
man certain there-POD fish two-DOM bread-POD five give-p
A certain man there gave TWO FISH and FIVE LOAVES.

It is only when Jesus multiplies the food, and thus is established as dominant over the situation, that he is marked by NP + bí

Yésu-BÍ asai kédbé óko posúáje-sá wakó Yésu-BÍ wakó
Jesus-DOM body common here gather-and when Jesus-DOM when

Alá-kó kuré-kúgjúa-bí wakó pgadó-wa.
God-to above-talk-then when divide-pres
When JESUS was in front of all those gathered, HE talked to God and then divided (the food).

Thus, dominance is not at issue when the speaker described Jesus' actions, until the climax is reached, and so he is marked by neither bí nor bá until then.

3.1.2 Foregrounding a prop — NP + bí

Bí can also be used to foreground a prop which is especially crucial to the advancement of the plot at a particular point in the story. Since a prop cannot be said to dominate another prop or a participant, the most clear explanation for this use of bí is that the prop so marked provides the impetus

so that a participant is able to achieve dominance over a potential obstacle, and thus advance the plot.

- (4) This is from an origin story describing how the ancestors of one clan were rescued from the middle of the Mamberamo River by tying down and then climbing onto a palm tree (the 'Mamberamo Escape' text). At the crucial moment, the last man jumps onto the tree and cuts the vine so that the tree bounces back into place. In the text, the word *kwéd* *vine* is suffixed with *bí*, thus:

Kód kígjokwé turí-sa kwéd-BÍ puia kurúwa. Kwé ugpúd túed.
last-one jump-and vine-DOM open take then bounce-back
The last one jumped and cut open THE VINE. Then (the tree)
bounced back.

Since the cutting of the vine is the key to the deliverance of the people to higher ground and a new life, the vine is clearly crucial to their dominance over the river, and thus it is marked by *bí*.

- (5) Similarly, in the 'Big Scrotum' text, the narrator describes the preparations by the children to kill the man. As they approach with bows and arrows to shoot him, the text says:

Ké ug-bejá-sué. Awíd-BÍ we-tig-peí. We-tig kuéjokwé.
just up-look-ints scrotum-DOM down-hang-REM down-hang very big
They just looked up. THE SCROTUM was hanging down. Hanging
down very big.

The speaker foregrounds the scrotum for a few clauses, so that during this span the addressee's whole attention is on it and its vulnerability. The scrotum does not dominate the other participants, except in the sense that their actions are oriented around it. It does dominate the addressee's attention. Following this span, there is a report of the man being shot and the resulting ruin of the surrounding area.

On a somewhat different level, in expository discourse and conversation, Sikaritai speakers often include *bí* following a pronoun. This contrasts the pronoun referent with some other participant, and so can be said to foreground it in that sense. Thus:

- (6) In a prayer asking God's help in preaching a sermon, God is requested to stand instead of the speaker:

Di- BÍ be ugtá- tei.
 2sg -DOM here stand-imperative
YOU (GOD) stand here!

The speaker wishes God to replace him as preacher (of the sermon to follow), and so contrasts God (you) with himself (me). In doing so, GOD is foregrounded.

- (7) Similarly, when two or more people are concluding a visit to another's house, they most often say prior to leaving:

A- BÍ tig- wa- ke.
 we-DOM go-pres -will
WE (IN CONTRAST WITH YOU) are about to go.

In doing so, they contrast themselves (we) with those who are not leaving (you). The data shows this usage of *bí* only with pronouns. In such uses, it foregrounds the pronoun referent by contrasting it with the other participants in the situation.

3.1.3 Summary statements – *Bí*

As was mentioned earlier, the root meaning of *bí* is dominance or advancing the plot of the story. Thus, in the summary section of a narrative, which occurs after the narration of all the events of the story, *bí* will be found as a clause-initial pronoun. In such summaries, the *bí* does not refer anaphorically to a nominal in the text. Rather, it means the whole content of the story up to this point.

- (8) In the 'Mamberamo Escape' text, after the speaker has finished narrating the actions of the plot, he says:

Bí kuépi. *Bí* kíbra.
 DOM *like-that* DOM *all done*
IT happened like that. THAT'S all there is.

These statements summarise all the events narrated so far, and advise the addressee that those events are completed. Then, the statement:

Pam- *Bí* kgíg kíbra.
 clans-DOM *important*
THESE CLANS are the important (ones).

specifies that the plot of the story just concluded was about clans. The narrator then relates how the events he has narrated relate to the present situation. Thus, although in the third clause, he uses *pam-Bí*, i.e. NP + *bí* this NP is anaphoric only in the sense that it refers back to the whole plot and applies all that happened to that one subject, i.e. clans. This then is followed by several clauses all beginning with *bí*. These *bí*'s do not refer to the dominant participants and props, but to the whole content of the story. As long as the events of the story were being presented, *bí* refers to dominant characters. So it is only at the conclusion of these events that *bí* refers to the sum total of the events of the story.

Such a summary need not even be as extended as in the example above, but may consist of only one clause, as in another origin story where the action finishes, and then the narrator closes with:

- (9) *Bí* kí kíbra.
 DOM *just all done*
THAT'S just all there is to say.

Here again, *bí* refers not to a dominant character, but to the sum total of all that has been narrated. It is as if the narrator says, 'That's all I know on that subject. Don't expect any more.'

A slight variation of the summary use of *bí* is seen at the conclusion of a discourse section centring around two or more dominant participants who have been interacting.

- (10) In the 'Mamberamo Escape' text, after describing the people's deliverance, the narrator relates an extended dialogue and a description of two sets of brothers and sisters, representing two clans, interacting and eventually marrying. This section is concluded by:

Kwé atéjé kí bé pad-pí. BÍ kí pad-sá. BÍ óko
then together just there live-p DOM just live-and DOM here
 pad-sá BÍ kwíó.
live-and DOM like-that
Then THEY lived there together. THEY only lived there.
THEY lived like that.

Since in the preceding context the separate groups of brothers and sisters united, the *bí*'s here refer to both the men and the women, who are the dominant participants, and their marriage had culminated the preceding section. Thus, although *bí* is glossed in the clause of the example here as *they*, its influence could be said to cover the whole section in which they interact. Thus, *bí* also sums up the section and states that *THEY* are the dominant participants in it.

In summaries, then, *bí* is used to refer to the whole content of the story, or preceding material. It does not refer to a specific character.

3.1.4 The Sikaritai cleft construction – *bí* ... *bí*

To conclude our investigation of *bí* marking nominals, consider the construction *bí* + NP + *bí*. The sentence in which this sandwich occurs functions like some cleft sentences ('it was X that Y') do in English. In Sikaritai, the *bí* sandwich foregrounds the NP and asserts that its referent is unique in its role in moving the plot forward at the current point in the story. No other referent except this one could have fulfilled that role. The referent itself can be a participant, a prop, an action, or a temporal. As in cleft sentences in English, the sandwiched NP in Sikaritai is given information, and is topic-like in function. A general gloss for this construction might be, 'it was this very thing or action that ...'

- (11) In the 'Mamberamo Escape' text, when the wind blew a palm tree so that it landed on an ironwood tree, and so was available for the people to climb onto and escape to higher ground, we find:

BÍ kepíg BÍ be túóg alá pa- we- síg- sái.
 DOM blowing DOM there ironwood branch down-on-put-and
 IT WAS THIS VERY BLOWING THAT put it (the palm tree) on the
 ironwood branch.

Thus, the narrator marks *kepíg* *blowing* with a *bí* sandwich to show the unique role of this event in facilitating deliverance of the people from being marooned in the middle of the Mamberamo River, and ultimately in getting them to a better life. Nothing else could have done this.

- (12) In the 'Big Scrotum' text, after describing the tree and man lived in, the speaker adds:

BÍ tíg alá BÍ be kwá sé-su- sá- bí.
 DOM tree branch DOM there house up-build-and-then
 IT WAS IN THOSE VERY TREE BRANCHES THAT he built his house.

Soon after this part in the story, the narrator describes how the scrotum of the man living in the tree hung between its branches right down to the ground so that the animals came and rubbed it and thus were killed as game. This situation is an indispensable part of the plot of the story. And it was because the man lived in a tree of just this height and with just these branches that his scrotum hung down in the right way. This uniqueness of the tree branches is foregrounded by putting the NP *tíg alá tree branches* inside a *bí* sandwich.

The *bí* sandwiched nominal has a topic or framework-like function. First, the *bí* sandwich always operates on the first constituent in a clause, which is the preferred position for a constituent with a topic-like function. Further, I have checked the texts and found that the nominal in the sandwich is always given information.

Therefore, in summary, we can say that a *bí* sandwich marks a nominal both as topic-like and as foregrounded because of its uniqueness.

In summary we see, then, that whenever *bí* is used, it establishes its referent as dominant or involved in moving forward the plot of the story or both. Most commonly *bí* occurs first with a NP, and then subsequent mentions of that NP referent may be made with *bí* in isolation. When *bí* follows a prop, it temporarily foregrounds that prop and shows that it has an important role in moving the plot forward at that point. *Bí* acts as summariser at the conclusion of the main events of a discourse, or in a few cases at the end of a topic section (as this term is defined in note 4). When used thus, *bí* refers not to a dominant participant or prop, but to the content of the discourse as a whole. Finally, a specialised use of foregrounding occurs with the *bí* sandwich which contrastively foregrounds the nominal it sandwiches, asserting the uniqueness of the nominal referent in a key role.

3.2 Non-dominance – *bá*

Whereas Sikaritai speakers use *bí* to indicate a participant or prop as dominant or involved in carrying forward the plot of the story, *bá* marks those participants or props which are uninvolved or not directly involved, in advancing the plot. Such participants may be dominated by the major participants, or they may simply carry on behind the scenes with actions that merely aid the major participants to accomplish their purposes. In no way could we claim that these non-dominant characters are not necessary to the story, otherwise they would not be included in the story. But in the speaker's mind, they are overshadowed by characters marked with *bí*.

Bá functions in discourse in three ways:

1. The most unmarked function is as a general third person pronoun. Used in this way, *ba* does not function in the restricted system of dominance, and so is marked with low tone. As such, it is used primarily in normal, casual conversation.

2. NP + bá marks participants and props as having non-dominant roles, in that they are either uninvolved in advancing the plot of the story, or are dominated by the major characters.
3. The bá sandwich (bá ... bá) marks a relative clause in Sikaritai. This use of bá backgrounds the relative clause information. Used in these ways (2. and 3.), bá operates within the restricted system of dominance, and so is marked with high tone.

3.2.1 Independent third person pronoun – ba

Ba (low tone, unmarked) is most commonly used in normal conversation as a general third person pronoun. As such, it identifies the referent as neither dominant nor dominated. Thus, the speaker simply states something about the referent, and the situation serves to identify the referent of the ba.

- (13) Thus, during a typical village conversation, a host may make the following comment as his guest is going home:

BA kwá dó-ko tig-wa-ke.
 3sg house his-to go-pres -will
 HE is going to his house (now).

Identification of the referent of ba is clear, since he is still in the speaker and addressee's presence, and from the standpoint of interaction, neither the speaker nor the referent is dominant or dominated, so that the non-restricted form ba is used.

- (14) Similarly, in the 'Burmese Adultery' text, the setting describes God creating first things, then mankind, and specifically the clans involved in the text. We find there:

BA ajé apota sig-pí. Awépeg aka sig-pí, kwé trótai ...
 he self create put-p food begin put-p then mankind ...
 HE (GOD) himself created. Food he made, then humans ...

Here, God is the only participant in the setting. His dominance, then, is not under consideration, but rather the things he did. Thus, he is referred to with ba.

So we see that the most common function of ba is as a general third person pronoun in normal conversation. Here, dominance is not at issue. Similarly, in discourses where participant dominance is not under consideration, ba is used as a pronoun to identify participants.

3.2.2 Globally non-dominant or dominated character – NP + bá⁵

In discourse, the most widespread use of bá is probably as a marker of participants and props which are not directly involved in advancing the plot. These may be:

1. Characters who assist the dominant participants in carrying out the actions of the plot.
2. Characters who are dominated by the dominant characters.

3. Props which simply act as instruments behind the scenes, to help in carrying out the actions of the plot.

In any case, the presence of *bá* signals that the *bá* referent is overshadowed by those referents marked with *bí*.

3.2.2.1 Globally non-dominant character – NP + *bá*

When a non-dominant participant or prop is first introduced into a text, the construction NP + *bá* is used. Note how this is similar to the way NP + *bí* introduces dominant participants. Then, as that character is referred to subsequently in the text, either *bá* by itself or NP + *bá* is used. Thus, it is always clear that that referent is not directly involved in advancing the plot of the story.

- (15) Thus, in the 'Burmese Adultery' text, first the major participants, i.e. the wife, unmarried man, and the husband, are all introduced by NP + *bí*. Then the initial events, the adultery and murder of the husband, occur. The next section centres around searching for the dead body of the husband and then searching for and killing the adulteress. It begins by introducing the additional participants, i.e. the husband's brother, mother, and child. Of these, only the brother is dominant, as he is active in the searching and subsequently the killing. His mother only takes care of the child while he searches. Thus:

Awed kipiá BÁ- bu túé puráre kúejokwé túegje-sá
mother old NDOM-POD child male very big carry-and
 kwákad kásai. Póye- wa. Túé- BÁ póye- wa.
path walk-round cry-pres child-NDOM cry-pres
 THE OLD MOTHER carried the very big boy and walked around.
 THE CHILD was crying.

Neither the mother nor the child have any part in the events that move the plot forward, so they are introduced with NP + *bá*, and are subsequently referred to by *bá*. Thus, their non-dominance, or here, non-involvement, is marked.

3.2.2.2 Dominated character – NP + *bá*

By far the more common use of NP + *bá* in a text is to introduce and identify characters which are dominated by the dominant characters. These dominated characters may have the role of undergoer, i.e. they are acted upon in order to advance the plot. But they may simply be under the influence of the dominant characters. Furthermore, their dominated role may be permanent or temporary.

- (16) In the 'Big Scrotum' text, the children of the man with the big scrotum who lived around his tree house are first introduced by the construction:

Tró kía túé- lo BÁ- bu bóro kwá su- kád- ko.
men other child-his NDOM-POD his house build-round-stative
 THE OTHER PEOPLE HIS CHILDREN built houses around his.

The man has a dominant role over the children at this point, both with respect to size (he is a giant) and location (he lived in a tree). Thus, the children are here marked with *bá*. However, later on in the story, the same children plan to kill the man; so not only does the pronoun marking them change from *bá* to *bí* (by means of *babí*, to be discussed in 3.3), but the scrotum, which was initially referred to (in example 5) by NP + *bí* is subsequently referred to by NP + *bá* indicating the children's dominance over it, and in turn over the man.

- (17) In the 'Mamberamo Escape' text, the main participants are two brothers. Two clauses before the point in the story where the elder brother establishes dominance over the younger by tying him up and sending him down river, the younger is referred to by NP + *bá*.

Tró kía- BĀ atí, 'Í do- kó!
man other-NDOM voice I hold-stative
 THE OTHER MAN SAID, 'I'm holding it (the captured mouse).'

Although the younger brother is holding the captured mouse that the elder was looking for at this point in the story, and thus might appear to be the dominant character, in fact the NP + *bá* marking tells the addressee that the real situation is that he will almost immediately be dominated, i.e. by being tied up by his elder brother.

- (18) Later in the same story, when this younger brother frees himself from the tope that he is tied with, we find:

Igtógi akaug-ko bgí-pi kíd-a kurí-sa déje- BĀ pidó-wa.
knife shoulder-in kept-p pull-and take-and rope-NDOM cut-pres
 He pulled out the knife in his shoulder and cut THE ROPE.

The rope is clearly being acted upon, and thus is totally dominated by the knife. This *bá* marks a dominated prop.

3.2.2.3 An instrument to carry out an action of the plot – NP + *bá*

Bá also marks props (rarely participants) which are an instrument or a means of accomplishing all or part of an action of the plot.

- (19) In another speaker's version of the 'Mamberamo Escape' text, after the older brother ties up the younger and puts him in a boat, we find:

Kwé síg- BĀ puia- sála bíd- tá kudé- wa.
then boat-NDOM untie-having land-from push off-pres
 Then having untied THE BOAT, he pushed it away from land.

In this example, the *bá*-marked boat is the instrument used to carry the man (and by extension his whole clan) to the place where they can climb onto the palm tree and escape to higher ground, which is the culmination of the plot.⁶ It is interesting to note that four clauses later in the same text, the same boat is foregrounded by using NP + *bí* (see 3.1.2), because there it is a crucial prop in the climax of the story.

- (20) In the 'Big Scrotum' text, when the children have made plans to kill the man, they first make bows and arrows and then they bring these bows and arrows to the site of the murder:

Kwéó, bakó síke- BÁ p'ísa- BÁ do- kéd- sá be-sé- ke- tig.
then they bows-NDOM arrow-NDOM hold-pl and there-up-bring
Then they took THE BOWS and ARROWS and held them.

Again, these instruments are used by the children to kill the man, and so are dominated by the children in this action. The result, i.e. the death of the man and the subsequent ruin of the surrounding land, is the outcome of the story, and the instruments help to accomplish this outcome.

To summarise, then, the most widespread uses of *bá* in texts establish the referent(s) as not *directly* involved in moving the plot forward. Characters marked with *bá*, as such, do one of three things: they may assist the major characters in moving the plot forward, they may be dominated by the major characters, or they may serve as instruments in actions that move the plot forward.

3.2.3 The Sikaritai relative clause – *bá* ... (*bá*)

To conclude our discussion of the role of *bá* in Sikaritai discourse, consider the *bá* sandwich. This sandwich is the most common means of creating a *relative clause*. This use of *bá* fits in well with the overall function of *bá* as marker of something that is overshadowed or dominated. But, we might ask: what is being overshadowed or dominated? In the relatively limited number of relative clauses available in texts at present, the construction either identifies or characterises a participant in terms of some previously mentioned action or situation. As such, the presence of the initial *bá* backgrounds the information in the relative clause. At the current stage of analysis, the final *bá*, which is optional, seems to function only as a surface marker, showing at what point the relative clause ends. The participant or prop thus identified or characterised may be named by the NP head of the relative clause, or the clause itself may be headless. Every example of a relative clause I have seen occurs in a paragraph initial sentence so the relative clause information serves as a cohesive link between the preceding discourse and what is to follow.

The Relative Clause has two functions in Sikaritai discourse:

1. To link the paragraph following to the previous, and to identify, and occasionally to characterise, a participant on the basis of his previous involvement in the discourse.
2. To subdivide a group of participants (or props) into subgroups in terms of characteristics of these subgroups already mentioned in the previous context. Such a subdivision is necessary because at times the situation changes so that a previously dominant group splits up into a dominant subgroup and a non-dominant one.

Examples 21, 22, and 23 exemplify the first function.

- (21) The second version of the 'Mamberamo Escape' text begins with the initial setting in which one brother sets a trap and waits for the mouse. Then, while he is sleeping, his brother kills and eats the mouse. In the part of the story giving the sequel to this action, the following relative clause:

Kwé BÁ dokúg sa- pí babí
 then NDOM mouse eat-p RR
 Then THE ONE WHO ATE THE MOUSE

occurs three times in the following sentences (given in translation), each time at the beginning of a paragraph:

- i) *Then THE ONE WHO ATE THE MOUSE put his knife in his shoulder strap.*
- ii) *Then THE ONE WHO ATE THE MOUSE stood and held the palm tree branches.*
- iii) *Then THE ONE WHO ATE THE MOUSE gathered with his other brothers.*

This relative clause has two functions:

1. It identifies the participant, the younger brother, on the basis of his previous involvement in the discourse. In this story, eating the mouse was the first step in a chain of events which led finally to the culmination of the story, namely the migration of the clans. Specifically, the younger brother stole the mouse from his elder, and the latter in anger tied him up and set him adrift in a boat on the Mamberamo River. Eventually, the boat hit a tree in the middle of the river and the younger brother contrived to escape via a palm tree which was conveniently bent over to be within his reach and his escape led to the migration of the clans.
2. It characterises the participant in terms of his action which is viewed as bad.

Each time the relative clause occurs, it introduces a new paragraph, and thus establishes the referent as a continuing participant in the discourse. But since the information in the *bá* sandwich is explanatory information only, providing a link with the previous context, but not reporting an event on the main event line at this point, it is accordingly backgrounded.

- (22) In the 'Big Scrotum' text, the narrator first describes how the children prepared to murder the man with the big scrotum and states that 'only the children did the killing; the parents hunted pigs and cassowaries'. The narrator next describes the murder, and how it led to the ruin of the surrounding land. Then the parents ask why the ruin has come upon them. In referring to these parents, the narrator identifies them by relative clause information in a *bá*-sandwich in the following paragraph-initial sentence:

Tró-BÁ túé doreí díg ku- sá kgá sigje BÁ
 men-NDOM child hold pig kill and down put NDOM
 The men WHO HELD (HAD AUTHORITY OVER) THE CHILDREN, WHO HAD
 HUNTED PIGS AND SLAUGHTERED THEM.

Thus, here again, the parents are identified in terms of their previous actions. This identificational information comes in a relative clause, and is backgrounded by being bounded by a preceding and a following *bá*. It serves merely to explain which people are being considered and is a cohesive link; it does not report an event on the main event line.

- (22) In the 'Mamberamo Escape' text, after the people climb onto the palm tree, and it swings back into normal position, the speaker states:

Bí be- sé- pad. *BÁ* betigjá asgád-kó do- kéd- pi.
 3DOM *there-up-live* NDOM *palm tree leaf-to hold-pl-p*
THEY lived up there, those WHO HELD ONTO THE PALM TREE LEAVES.

Here, the *bi* refers to a group of people, and the relative clause information introduced by *ba* identifies these people because in the preceding context people have been reported as holding onto a palm tree. At the same time, the characterisation of these people in terms of the relative clause information is important because the sequel discusses the difficulties that people who live hanging onto trees have in building houses.

The relative clause using *bá* can also function to divide a dominant group of participants or props into subgroups. In this usage, an overall group is first referred to by *bí*, indicating their dominance in the total story. Following this, the group is divided into subgroups, which are characterised by information given in relative clauses. The relative clauses flash back to reports in the story of previous involvements of the subgroups and thus contain background information.

Examples 24 and 25 exemplify this function of the relative clause.

- (24) Towards the end of the 'Mamberamo Escape' text, the speaker concludes a section describing the courtship and marriage of representatives from two clans, with a statement that:

Kwé atéjé kí bé pad- pí. *Bí* óko pí- pad- sá.
then together just there live-p DOM *here begin-live-and*
Then they just lived together there. THEY began living there.

in which the pronoun *bí* refers to the two groups together. Then the narrator adds:

Tró *BÁ* Bgadté**bí** pad- pí o- bé óko pi- paig.
men NDOM *Maitebi live-p here-there here begin-go down*
The men WHO LIVED AT MAITEBI came down to this place.

BÁ Sawésá wadkó pad- pí BA- bé Ápuéd akra-kó paig.
 NDOM *Sawesa flow live-p* NDOM-*there Apui in-to go down*
Those WHO LIVED WHERE THE SAWESA FLOWS came down into Apui.

The subject NP's and their relative clauses in these last two sentences, viz. *(THE MEN) WHO LIVED AT MAITEBI* and *(THOSE) WHO LIVED WHERE THE SAWESA FLOWS*, identify the two subgroups of clans which together constitute the referent of *bi* in the very first sentence cited for this example. In the ensuing discourse, only the first mentioned of these is the participant subgroup under attention and only they advance the plot of the story, so they

become dominant, and thus will be marked with *bí*. Again, these relative clauses occur in paragraph-initial sentences and the identification is in terms of information already given in the preceding context. (Note that in the first relative clause there is no following *ba*.)

- (25) Finally, consider the following from a text dealing with a migration due to a flood long ago. The speaker describes how an ancestor ordered members from various clans to leave their location and accompany him. As they left, their pigs wanted to go with them, but there was no room in their canoes. So the following tells what the humans did to stop the pigs from going with them:

BÍ díg- BÁ Bgadtébi Ód Awédtá bókó pad- kó babí
 DOM pig-NDOM Maitebi Od Mountain there live RR

pi kí- sí apaug- ko kudá ...

sago only-CST head-on throw

They, that is THE PIGS WHO LIVED ON THE MAITEBI AND THE OD MOUNTAINS, had sago thrown at their heads.

BÁ Bgadtébi-tai tíg- bu bíka- lá díg apaug óko bogjé.
 NDOM Maitebi-men go-POD paddle-with pig head here hit
Those WHO WENT WITH THE MAITEBI MEN were hit with a paddle on the head.

The whole group of pigs, referred to by the initial *bí* of the first sentence, stands in a *whole-part* relationship with each of the subgroups defined by the relative clauses. Accordingly, the first relative clause, viz. *WHO LIVED ON THE MAITEBI AND THE OD MOUNTAINS*, specifies one group of pigs at a particular site, and states how they were detained. The second relative clause, viz. *WHO WENT WITH THE MAITEBI MEN*, delineates a second group and states in turn how they were detained. Since neither of the subgroups dominates the whole group, each is marked by *bá*. And the information in the relative clause is backgrounded and serves only to identify the subgroup; in this example on the basis of location. Finally, the *babí* at the end of the first relative clause indicates that the first group, i.e. *THE PIGS WHO LIVED ON THE MAITEBI AND THE OD MOUNTAINS*, is to become involved in further development of the plot of the story. (The *bí* here acts similarly to the *bí* of example 24.)⁷

To summarise, how does the relative clause, marked by a preceding *bá* and an optionally following one, function in Sikaritai discourse? As a general rule, the initial *bá* backgrounds the information within the clause and uses it to identify a participant in terms of events narrated in the preceding context. The relative clause may identify a participant (group) as a subgroup of a previously mentioned group (this is an extended use of the *biba* Head-Modifier Construction). The identification usually characterises the participant, and in some cases (e.g. example 23), this characterisation itself is relevant to the argument of the ensuing discourse. The relative clause for the most part occurs in a paragraph-initial sentence and is cohesive.

What then is the function of the particle *bá* in discourse? We can understand this better by comparing its function with that of *bí*. In general terms, *bí* identifies participants and props as dominant or directly involved in carrying

out the plot of the discourse as a whole; while *bá* identifies participants and props as dominated or not directly involved in advancing the plot. In conversation, and occasionally in a text, *ba* (low tone) acts as a general third person pronoun in situations where dominance is not at issue. NP + *bá* at or near the beginning of a text, introduces a character not directly involved in advancing the plot. It can identify a participant or prop as dominated, or as simply an instrument for carrying out actions which advance the plot. Finally, *bá* in relative clauses serves to identify or characterise a participant on the basis of previous happenings. Such relative clause information is backgrounded and cohesive. In all these cases, the presence of *bá* establishes the associated material as not directly involved in advancing the plot at the current point in the story.

3.3 Role reversal – *babí*

Given the understanding that in Sikaritai discourse, *bí* identifies those referents that are dominant and actively involved in advancing the plot of the story; while *bá* specifies referents which are either dominated or only indirectly involved in advancing the plot, the next logical question is: does Sikaritai have a means of temporarily changing the dominance status of a participant or prop? In other words, what happens if:

1. A dominant participant is momentarily dominated, but his status in terms of the whole discourse remains dominant?
- or 2. A non-dominant character is momentarily lifted to a position of dominance, but overall his status as a non-dominant character is retained?
- or 3. A permanent change of dominance status is imminent (usually this means that a dominant character is about to be dominated)?

How are these processes signalled?

It follows from the functions of *bí* and *bá* when occurring separately, that the combination *bá* + *bí* = *babí* should signal such a shift. Two formal devices using *babí* are found: in general terms, *babí* following a nominal (NP + *babí*) indicates a temporary change of dominance status, or an imminent shift of a more permanent nature. On the other hand, *babí* either preceding or following a clause indicates an imminent shift of a more permanent nature.

3.3.1 Dominant character temporarily dominated – NP + *babí*

In most narrative discourses, interest in the story is kept high by varying the dominance status especially of major participants (i.e. between dominance and being dominated). Thus, an element of suspense is added when a dominant character is temporarily dominated.

- (26) In the 'Mamberamo Escape' text, the younger brother is the key to the deliverance of the people, and so is dominant in the overall scheme of the story. However, at one point, he is tied up and sent down river, and here is clearly dominated by his older brother. Thus, it is not surprising that at this point he is referred to by NP + *babí*:

Kwé bá dokúg sa- pí BABÍ igtógi akaug-ko bgí- pi.
 then NDOM mouse eat-p RR knife shoulder-in kept-p
 Then THE ONE WHO ATE THE MOUSE put the knife in his shoulder.

Thus, all the while he is tied up, the younger brother, referred to here as *THE ONE WHO ATE THE MOUSE*, is dominated by his older brother in the immediate events. Nevertheless, he is still dominant in the overall scheme of the story. Later, when he leads the deliverance, the same relative clause is used followed by *babí*, but now with *bí* repeated as subject of the sentence to indicate that he is once again dominant over the local events as well. This is seen in the following clause:

Kwé bá dokúg sa- pí BABÍ, BÍ bétigjá asgád-kó ugtá do- wa.
 then NDOM mouse eat-p RR DOM palm tree leaf-to stand hold-pres
 Then THE ONE WHO ATE THE MOUSE stood and held the tree leaves.

- (27) Similarly, later in the story, the palm tree which the people climb onto and swing up to deliverance, is obviously a key prop, and in fact is referred to by *bí*. However, at the moment that it is being held and tied down, and the people are climbing onto it, it is appropriately referred to by NP + *babí*:

Tígjá BABÍ ugtá do-wa, túóg ala- kó pa- we- síg- wa
 palm tree RR stand hold-pres tree branch-to down-to-put-
 ugtá do- wa. Tígjá BABÍ ugtá do- sála ígjo- wa.
 stand hold palm stand hold-having tie-
 (He) stood and held THE PALM TREE, stood and held it down on the
 ironwood branch. Stood and held THE PALM TREE and tied.

At this point, the palm tree is dominated by the people, as well as being used as an instrument to accomplish their deliverance, while in the overall scheme it is a key prop, labelled with *bí* in the preceding and following paragraphs.

3.3.2 Non-dominant character temporarily dominant – NP + *babí*

On the other hand, when referring to a participant or prop (usually a prop) who is non-dominant in terms of the overall discourse, NP + *babí* signals a temporary lifting into a position of dominance, probably for some crucial action.

- (28) In the 'Burmese Adultery' text, just after the wife commits adultery and then murders her husband, a star representing his spirit comes to inform his mother and brother of his death. The star does this by lighting on each of them, and then hanging up his (the dead man's) net bag and loincloth. At this point, the star is referred to by NP + *babí*:

Kwé sejákóg BABÍ si- kó kébetig- kó betía be- ug-tíg-pi.
 then star RR net bag loin cloth two there-up-go-p
 Then THE STAR hung up (his) net bag and loincloth.

The star is, in the overall scheme of the story, only an instrument to lead the people to discover the dead body, and ultimately to punish the adulterous wife by death. However,

at this point, the star is dominant over the other participants as he tells them vital information about the body which they did not yet know, and the babí shows that it is lifted to a position of temporary dominance.

- (29) Similarly, in the 'Mamberamo 'Escape' text, when the younger brother has freed his hands, he takes out the knife which was in his shoulder strap, and cuts the rope which bound him and releases the remainder of his body. At this point:

Alá kíd-a kuri-sá igtó BABÍ igtógi akaug-ko bgí-pi
hand pull take-and knife RR knife shoulder-in kept-p

déje-bá pidó- wa.

rope-NDOM cut-pres

(He) pulled out THE KNIFE, the one in his shoulder, and cut the rope.

The knife is still primarily an instrument for carrying out the crucial action of cutting his bonds. However, the narrator wishes to stress the knife's dominant role at this point, and so gives it temporary foregrounding by the babí marking. It is as if he is saying, 'consider this knife carefully'.

At the current stage of analysis, the difference between the foregrounding use of bí (section 3.1.2) and this use of babí to mark a dominated character as temporarily dominant is not completely clear. But perhaps with bí the prop is foregrounded for a longer span, while with babí the foregrounding is more brief.

3.3.3 Imminent change in the global dominance scheme of the discourse – NP + babí or clause + babí or babí + clause.

By far the most widespread use of babí is to indicate an imminent change in the dominance scheme of the discourse as a whole. This change is a permanent one (and not temporary as were the changes described in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2), and is effected by any one of the three babí devices given in the subtitle here. When such a device occurs in a story, the addressee can expect a permanent change in dominance relationships between participants. The change may be reported one or several clauses later in the story, but in any case it is imminent.

3.3.3.1 Imminent permanent change of participant dominance status – NP + babí

Whereas the primary function of NP + babí is to indicate that a character's global dominance status is being changed temporarily, it can also signal an imminent permanent change of this status.

- (30) In the 'Big Scrotum' text, as discussed earlier, the children who kill the man are introduced as dominated participants by NP + bá. But just before they gather and plan the murder we find:

Kwéó túé- lo kwá sukó BABÍ díg kí bokó-sí
then child-his house build RR pig only there-CST

ku- sá sa- wá.

kill-and eat-pres

*Then HIS CHILDREN WHO BUILT HOUSES there only had to kill pigs
 and eat (them).*

While at this point in the story the children are still dominated by the man, the babí after the NP *HIS CHILDREN WHO BUILT HOUSES* signals that shortly a change will take place in this relationship. And in fact ten clauses later they kill him and achieve dominance, and so an upgrading in dominance has occurred.

- (31) Further, near the end of the text, after the people discuss the ruined conditions of the land, the speaker begins a new paragraph with:

Kwé tró BABÍ pa- ku- wa kúejokwé.

then men RR recip-kill-pres very-big

Then THE PEOPLE had a very big war.

The result of this war is the total elimination of the group. Thus, the babí after the NP *tró men* indicates that the end of their dominance over the situation is at hand. Here a downgrading in dominance has occurred.

So we see that NP + babí can signal an imminent change of status in the overall dominance scheme in either of two directions:

1. The dominated participant achieves dominance.
2. The dominant participant is done in.

3.3.3.2 Imminent permanent change of participant role within clause – clause + babí

Babí at the end of a clause involving an agent and a patient indicates that the agent is being phased out, and the patient will become the new agent, and thus become dominant.

- (32) In the introduction of the 'Burmese Adultery' text, God's creation of things is first described, then the creation of man. There follows:

Kwé trótai apota síg BABÍ. Ápuéd bé- pad- pí.

then humans created put RR Apui there-live-p

Then (he=God) created humans. (They) lived at Apui.

Whereas the man was the patient in the first clause, being created by God, the babí at the end of the clause reverses this status, so that God drops out of the picture, and the humans become the new agent, specifically the dominant participant of the text.

3.3.3.3 Imminent permanent change of dominance status as per addressee expectation – babí + clause

Similarly, babí clause initial, signals a reversal of the dominance relationships that are expected by the addressee. Such addressee expectation would be based either on the participant roles established so far in the discourse (see example 33), or on cultural norms (see example 34).

- (33) This is from a text describing a woman's adultery with a snake and its consequences. After the adultery the woman and her husband exchange short bits of conversation. At this point, one would expect, based on what is said, that the snake has more power over her than her husband. However, the clause following the exchange states:

Kwésa BABÍ, bí sejá tig bí kúg-ko pasúéya akúgja
 then RR DOM sun go DOM speak-stat gather story

bí pú kurabí

DOM bow take

Then when the sun went down, they had talked together, he took his bow.

The babí reverses the expected dominance relation, i.e. snake over woman, and, in fact, for the remainder of the story the husband is dominant over the snake on behalf of the woman. His dominance is further signalled by the occurrences of bí in this example.

- (34) In the 'Burmese Adultery' text, after a wife has committed adultery with an unmarried man, she contrives to dominate her husband and kill him. At this point in the text, the following two clauses occur together:

BABÍ túgja- ka- bgóda- bí ded- é keé.
 RR wife-not-bachelor-DOM fish-for go down
The wife and her husband went fishing.

BABÍ té- o- sí áje be apód- kó sígjo.
 RR husband-her-CST self there kill-stat leave
(She) killed her husband herself there and left him.

In the first clause, the initial babí indicates that the cultural expectation of a husband's dominance over his wife is about to be disrupted as they go fishing. Then, the second clause expresses the same idea, but states specifically how the tables were turned. Note that the two clauses together indicate just one dominance reversal. It is not expected, i.e. not a cultural norm, for a wife to kill her husband, although in this story the addressee has had a certain amount of warning in the description of the wife's adultery in the preceding context.

The following example is in fact a combination of the two devices, NP + babí and babí + Clause, both of which signal an imminent and permanent reversal of dominance relationships.

- (35) At one point in the 'Mamberamo Escape' text, the older brother ties up the younger and sends him down river. We find:

Kwésa BABÍ tró BABÍ kwé- la igje- sála pi- ke- wá.
 then RR man RR vine-with tie-having begin-go down-pres
 Then (he=the older brother) tied him (the younger brother) up
 with vine, and sent him down river.

In this example, the NP tró *man*, which in the context can only mean 'younger brother', is followed by babí. This tells the addressee that the younger brother who up to and including the event of this clause has been dominated, will soon become dominant. And, the babí preceding tró *man* is a 'clause initial' babí which also indicates an imminent reversal of dominance relationships. Thus, the two markings are in accord with each other.

In summary, then, the presence of babí indicates a role reversal of some kind. In the case of NP + babí, this reversal may mean a temporary upgrading or downgrading of a character's dominance status, while his dominance status with respect to the total discourse remains the same. However, NP + babí may operate on a higher level than clause. It may indicate that a permanent change of dominance status, either a permanent downgrading (including elimination) or a permanent upgrading, is about to take place. Similarly, a babí clause initial or final indicates an imminent and permanent reversal of dominance relationships between characters. When babí occurs clause final, the semantic roles in the marked clause are reversed in the succeeding clause and the change in dominance is permanent. However, when babí occurs clause initial, it means that the dominance roles at this point in the discourse, defined and expected either in terms of the events in the preceding context, or failing this, in terms of cultural norms, will soon be permanently reversed.

3.4 Essential and secondary information in a clause pair – bíba

We have seen that bí marks dominant characters and bá marks non-dominant ones. However, the combination bí + bá = bíba signals another kind of dominance relationship, this time a *head-modifier relationship between clauses*. In one variety of such a relationship (example 36), the first construction, or *head*, introduces a key prop marked by bí, while the second clause, or *modifier*, gives secondary information about that prop and is marked by bá. In another variety of such a relationship (examples 37 and 38), the first clause, or *head*, gives *essential characterising information* about a discussion that one of the participants was involved in, and is marked by bí; while the second, or *modifier*, gives secondary information about it, and is marked by bá. This bíba usage is still in keeping with the primary function of bí to indicate what is dominant and bá to indicate what is dominated, because the head is always dominant over the modifier. Thus, the presence of bíba indicates that the second clause, marked by bá, adds only secondary information to further specify that in the first.

- (36) In the introduction to the 'Mamberamo Escape' text, a white ant nest is set as bait to catch a mouse. The narrator first identifies the nest in a general way, then specifies which kind it was:

Kísed tgáwa kwákid- ba.
ant nest white
There was a white ant nest.

BÍBA kúg- kó bo- su- pí- sí tu- pí.
 HM *tree-in there-build-p-CST unfasten-p*
IT WAS THE KIND made in trees that he took down.

The nest is a key prop in the text, as the capture and eating of the mouse leads ultimately to the migration of two groups of ancestors, which is the culmination of the plot. Thus, it is referred to by bí. What follows in the second clause is descriptive information about the nest. The second clause information does not in any way advance the plot; it is secondary information with respect to the first clause, and as such is appropriately preceded by bá. Thus, we get the bíba sequence.

- (37) Similarly, in a text describing one persons' investigation of activities in his village during his absence, the speaker suggests a situation:

Pi- paig- wa. Móses be- tá pi- paig- ké. Pi paig-sá
begin-go down-pres Moses there-from begin-go down-will go down
 wakó bóko ugtá kúgjúa. 'Áje tí- sí óko kobad-pef-se?'
when there stand talk self what-CST here work-REM-ques

BÍBA bóko kúgjúa.
 HM *there speak*

Moses came down. He came down from there, and when we stood there and talked, 'What have you been doing?', THAT KIND we talked there.

This example illustrates the secondary variety of the bíba marked relationship between clauses. The speaker (or initiator of conversation) uses one particular question, 'What have you been doing?', as an indication of the general kind of information they discussed. This question is an essential characterisation of what was discussed; everything that was discussed was like that. Thus the first clause, 'What have you been doing?', is the head, and therefore appropriately marked by bí; whereas the second clause, *THAT KIND we talked there*, merely tells us that the rest of the conversation was like that as well, and is secondary information, and appropriately marked by bá.

- (38) In a typical conversation between the author and local church leaders, the following kind of exchange sequence is common:

Question: Wégkí di Yohánes 3:1-7 kúgjúa.
now 2sg John 3:1-7 speak
Now you should preach on John 3:1-7.

Answer: BÍBA kúgjúa-bi?
 HM *speak-ques*
Is THAT THE SUBJECT we should preach on?

The first clause is a suggestion by the author, while the second is its confirmation by the addressee. The relationship between these two clauses with the bíba between them is the same as in the preceding example. The first clause contains the essential

characterising information and is therefore the head and marked with *bí*. The second just says all the preaching is to be based on John 3:1-7, and is secondary information and so is marked with *bá*.

In summary, then, the *bíba* marking between two clauses relates the information in these clauses in a head-modifier relationship. As such, the second clause adds secondary information to further specify or expand the information in the first.

Note that the second function of the relative clause in Sikaritai, i.e. to divide a dominant group of characters into subgroups (see section 3.2.3), is an extended use of the *bíba*, head-modifier construction. That is, the overall group marked with *bí* acts as *head*, while the subgroups, marked with *bá*, act as *modifier*, supplying secondary information about the head (see examples 24 and 25). Example 23 also fits this category, but in a simpler sense.

4. CONCLUSION

What, then, have we learned about *bí* and *bá* in Sikaritai discourse? The presence of *bí* indicates that the referent it is associated with is dominant and involved in advancing the plot of the story. On the other hand, the presence of *bá* shows that its referents are dominated or not directly involved in advancing the plot. As such, *bí* and *bá* throughout the body of a text indicate the relative dominance of characters, and *bí* after the action concludes refers to the content of the story itself. Accordingly, the combinations of *bí* and *bá* operate as connectors or ladders between the levels of dominance. Thus, *babí* signals a reversal in the dominance status of a character – either from non-dominant to temporarily dominant, or from dominant to temporarily dominated, or an imminent permanent reversal of dominance relationships. On the other hand, *bíba* between two clauses signals that the second clause information expands that in the first by adding secondary information. Since the first clause information is essential to the plot, it is followed by *bí*; while the second is supplementary, and thus is preceded by *bá*.

All in all, *bí*, *bá*, *babí*, and *bíba* serve well to keep the addressee up-to-date on who has what dominance status at a given point and what changes are imminent.

ABBREVIATIONS

CST	Focus of contrast (Chafe 1976)	POD	Point of departure or topic
DOM	Dominant or dominance	pres	Present Tense
HM	Head-modifier relationship between two clauses	ques	Tag question
ints	Intensive aspect	recip	Reciprocal aspect
NDOM	Non-dominant or dominated	rem	Spatially or temporally remote aspect
p	Past Tense	RR	Role reversal

NOTES

¹Sikaritai is a Papuan language, spoken by a tribal group of 500 in the Mamberamo River region of the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya. Speakers live in three main villages, located approximately 150 miles south-west of Sentani, in an area west of the Mamberamo River, approximately 15 miles long and ten miles wide. Sikaritai is identified in previous survey reports as Aikwakai or Ati, and has been classified by Voorhoeve (1980) as a member of the Trans New Guinea Phylum, Tor-Lakes Plain Stock, Central Lakes Plain Family.

The data on which this paper is based were taken from 12 texts (approximately 75 pages), representing primarily narrative discourse, but including expository, descriptive, and conversational discourse as well. The texts were collected in the village of Sikari over a period of two years (1982-1984). The author has been resident and involved in language analysis at Sikari for extended periods since late 1979, under the auspices of RBMU International (Regions Beyond Missionary Union).

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²The phonemes of Sikaritai are: stops b, d, g, t, k, fricatives p, s, g, flap r, semivowels w, y, and affricate j. Of the stops, only d and g occur syllable final, and the unmarked syllable structure is CV. Flap r alternates with l and occurs only as second member of a consonant cluster. Fricative p alternates with h. Stop d alternates with l. Fricative g is a pharyngeal fricative and occurs only as second member of a consonant cluster with stops and fricatives.

Vowels are i, e, ei, a, o, u. e is the open mid front vowel [ɛ]. ei is the close mid front vowel [e].

³Character is a cover term which includes both participants and props.

⁴In a slightly different realm, discourses are usually divided into sections whose contents centre around a particular participant, prop, or proposition, and a particular semantic domain. In other words, within the overall discourse plot, there may be one or more *centres of attention* (Li and Thompson, 1976). It is as if the speaker says, 'Given this character or proposition, this is how things proceeded accordingly.'. Thus, the character or proposition acts as a *point of departure* or the *topic* for the following section. Such a section may be of any size - from an entire discourse, to a section considering one subject within a whole, to even a single clause. The essential feature of a *topic section* is a *spatial, temporal, individual, or situational framework* as set out by Chafe (1976).

Thus, *bí* and *bá* serve to keep track of who or what is dominant or major versus what is non-dominant or minor with respect to the story plot. But the particle *bu* further sets off sections united around a given character and semantic domain. Such a framework does not supercede the roles played by *bí* and *bá*. Rather, *bu* usually operates on a different level, using one character or proposition as a *point of departure* for what follows.

⁵The distinction between *non-dominant* and *dominated* is based on the fact that a participant can be non-dominant without being dominated. Such a participant may not be involved in carrying forward the plot of the story, but as in the case of the mother in the 'Burmese Adultery' text (example 15), simply assists the dominant characters in advancing the plot. Such a participant could not be said to be dominated, in the sense of being *overpowered* – as in the case of the children in the 'Big Scrotum' text (example 16), who are clearly overpowered by the man. Therefore, a *non-dominant* participant is simply uninvolved without being overpowered, while a *dominated* participant may in fact be more involved in a negative sense and is overpowered.

⁶In this instance, one could claim that the boat is overshadowed by the act of going. But NP + *bá* in any case indicates that it is non-dominant.

⁷The relative clause function of subdividing a dominant group of characters is in fact an extended use of the *biba* Head-modifier construction to connect two clauses. See section 3.4.

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TOPICAL AND NON-TOPICAL PARTICIPANTS IN GALELA NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Deidre Shelden

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper is about participant topicality in Galela.¹ This language has an intricate prefixing system by which the addressee knows exactly on whom to place his attention throughout a narrative discourse. In other words, the topicality of participants is signalled by a pronominal prefix system which appears mainly on verbs but is also occasionally found on locational nouns and numbers.

The first section describes the mechanisms used to signal two parameters: first, *topicality*, i.e. on whom the addressee should place his attention, and second, the *syntactic role* of such topical participants. The second section describes mechanisms used to signal the introduction, reidentification, or change of topical participants within narrative portions. The third section describes mechanisms used to signal the introduction of non-topical participants.

1. POINTS OF HIGH TOPIC CONTINUITY

In this paper I use the term *participant* to mean the referent of any argument of a verb, irrespective of whether the referent is singular or plural, animate or inanimate. This is largely a matter of choosing a convenient terminology and of avoiding clumsy terms like 'participant sets' to deal with plural referents.

I define a *major* participant in a narrative as one who interacts with other participants throughout the narrative. Thus if a story has one major participant, that participant will be central to most of the interactions in the story. If a story has two or more major participants, these will interact with each other for most of the story. By contrast, a *minor* participant will interact only very occasionally and then almost always with a major participant. That is to say, minor participants, as a rule, do not interact with each other.

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I also define a *topical* participant as one on whom the narrator wants the addressee to place his attention at that particular point in the story. Thus, as a story progresses, we would expect the topical participant or participants to change from time to time. At a given point in the story, there may be one topical participant or more than one. Usually only major participants can be topical, but at certain crucial points in a story (see Examples 16 and 24) a minor participant can be topical for a short time.

I consider first, stretches of the discourse over which there is continuity of topical participant. In these portions the pronominal verb prefix is crucial for distinguishing two parameters; *participant topicality* and *syntactic role*. Zero pronominal prefix occurs when the participant is non-topical (as shown in section 1.3).

1.1 The syntactic role of the participant

A *topical participant* is always marked by a pronominal prefix on the verb. This prefix also gives the syntactic role of the topical participant for that clause, that is to say, different prefixes are used depending on whether the topical participant is subject or object of the verb.

Table 1 shows the pronominal verb prefixes that mark the syntactic role of the participant as *subject*.²

Table 1: Subject verb prefix paradigm ³		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>first person</i>	t(o)-	exclusive mi- inclusive p(o)-
<i>second person</i>	n(o)-	ni-
<i>third person</i> masculine feminine	w(o)- m(o)-	y(o)-
<i>fourth person</i> ⁴	i-	i-

Table 2 shows the pronominal verb prefixes that mark the syntactic role of a participant as *object*.

Table 2: Object verb prefix paradigm			
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>first person</i>		i-	exclusive mi- inclusive na-
<i>second person</i>		ni-	ni-
<i>third person</i>	masculine feminine	wi- mi-	ya-
<i>fourth person</i>		da-	da-

Illustrations of the use of some of the pronominal verb prefixes follow.

Example 1. Syntactic role of subject.

ngohi T0-temo
I I-say
I say

In Example 1, *ngohi I* is marked as subject of the verb *temo to say* by the subject prefix *to-* *I*.

Example 2. Syntactic role of object.

o-nyawa NI-sano
a-person YOU O-ask
a person asked you

In Example 2, *onyawa a person* is not marked on the verb *sano to ask* although he is the subject of the verb. The prefix *ni-* marks 'you object' as object of the verb, because *you* is the topical participant at this point as defined by the previous discourse context. The discourse context is also needed to determine whether the topical participant 'you object' is singular or plural, since in Table 2 both prefixes are identical.⁵

Example 3. Third person feminine subject.

NGOPA MA-GENA surat ma-gena MO-lefo
CHILD OF-THAT letter of-that SHE-write
that child wrote that letter

In Example 3, the topical participant ngopa magena *that child* is marked as subject of the verb lefo *to write* by the prefix mo- *she*.

Example 4. Fourth person non-human subject

o-kaso I-goli
a-dog 4pS-bite
a dog bites

In Example 4, okaso *dog* is marked as subject of the verb goli *to bite* by the subject prefix i- '4pS' which means fourth person singular subject.⁶

1.2 Marking topical participants

Whose syntactic role is marked on a verb? In any stretch of discourse, *only* the topical participants will be marked by prefixes on the verbs. Each prefix shows the syntactic role of the participant for the verb it appears on. Non-topical participants are not marked by prefixes on the verbs. Thus the possible options for such markings are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Verb prefixes referencing topical participants			
		<i>syntactic role of referents</i>	
		<i>subject referent is topical</i>	<i>object referent is topical</i>
<i>participant topicality</i>	One Topical Participant	<i>subject</i> + Prefix \emptyset	\emptyset <i>object</i> + Prefix
	Two Topical Participants	<i>subject</i> + Prefix	<i>object</i> + Prefix
	Non-topical Participant	\emptyset	\emptyset

1.2.1 One topical participant

When there is only one prefix on the verb, the referent of that prefix is the topical participant.

In Example 5 below, the narrator wants the addressee's attention on the minor participant Aweng who answers a question from the major participant in a short narrative. The subject prefix *wo-* *he* on the verb *temo to say* marks the subject (Aweng) of the clause as the (minor) topical participant at this point of the discourse.

Example 5.

Aweng W0-temo
Aweng HE-say
Aweng says

In Example 6, three verbs describe a string of events.

Example 6.

1. UNA asa W0-tagi ma-dodiao-ka
 HE future HE-go of-friend-at
 he then goes to his friend
2. awi-besi o-kilo motoha WA-aho
 his-iron a-kilogram five HE 4pO-bring
 he brings his own five kilograms of iron
3. la W0-si-dodogu
 next HE-cause-stay
 to deposit (it)

There is one topical participant in this narrative portion. He is introduced by the narrator in clause 1 by the free pronoun *una he* with the co-referential subject prefix *wo-* *he*. In clauses 2 and 3, the topical participant is marked again, but just by a verb prefix. He is marked by the prefix *wa-* on the verb in clause 2 and the prefix *wo-* on the verb in clause 3. The prefix *wa-*, however, has the gloss '*he 4pO*' which means third person masculine singular subject acting on fourth person object.³ Thus for clause 2, the same topical participant is marked, but the marking is part of the portmanteau prefix *wa-* which means *he acting on it (the iron)*. (See H. Shelden 1984).

Examples 7 and 8 are clauses which occur at two different points of a short narrative. The topical participant of each is 'we exclusive' marked by the object prefix *mi-*.

Example 7.

ka-gena de o-Soatobaru ma-nyawa MI-dolomu
at-that then a-Soatobaru of-person US excl-stare
then Soatobaru people there stared at us

Example 8.

ka-dine o-Kiraka de o-nyawa MI-aso
at-land location a-Kira-at then a-person US excl-call
at the western location⁷ named Kira a person called to us

Earlier in the narrative, 'we exclusive' was established as the topical participant and continues to be throughout this story. (Thus, here a co-referential free nominal is unnecessary, see section 2.1.) This topical participant is marked only by the object prefix *mi-* 'us exclusive' on the verb in each clause. The free nominals in the same clause, in fact, are *not* co-referential with the verb prefixes.

Note that the *subjects* of the verbs are referenced with free nominals, *manyawa*, *people*, and *onyawa*, *a person*, in their respective clauses, but are *not* marked on the verb with co-referential subject prefixes. This is because these subject referents are, in fact, *non-topical* in these two clauses and it is only topical participants that are marked on the verb.

1.2.2 Two topical participants interacting

Some verbs in a discourse are marked with both *subject* and *object* prefixes (subject and object not being co-referential). According to the previous discussion then, there must be two topical participants involved in the action described by the verb, one for the *subject* role and one for the *object* role marked by the verbal prefixes.

Example 9.

Aweng WO-MI-sasano
 Aweng HE-HER-ask questions
 Aweng asked her questions

The verb in this example has both subject and object prefixes, so we should expect it to describe an interaction between two topical participants.

In examining the linguistic context preceding Example 9, we find *nyonya foreign married woman* (the referent of prefix *mi-* *her* in the example) was introduced as topical participant at the very beginning of the story.

Then, seven clauses preceding Example 9, Aweng is introduced as a topical participant by the device of the free nominal Aweng and the co-referential subject prefix *wo-* *he* in the clause.

de AWENG WO-temo
 then AWENG HE-say
 then Aweng said

In the intervening clauses, between the introduction of Aweng and the clause of Example 9, sometimes Aweng is topical and takes the (only) prefix marking on the verb, and sometimes *nyonya* is topical and takes the (only) prefix marking on the verb.

However, the verb of Example 9 has both subject and object prefixes. The subject prefix *wo-* *he* refers to the topical participant Aweng, the object prefix *mi-* *she* refers to the topical participant *nyonya*, and the clause describes an *interaction* between these two topical participants.

Example 10.

la nako so wo-liho de T0-WI-si-haga
 next if so he-go home then I-HIM-cause-lie
 then if he comes home, I'll lie to him

In Example 10, two topical participants are marked on the verb *haga to lie*. One topical participant is marked by the subject prefix *to-* *I* and the second topical participant by the object prefix *wi-* *him*. Early in the story of this example, the same two participants have been introduced as major participants (see Example 15). Then, nine clauses before the clause of Example 10, one man goes to the other's house (Example 6), and the event is described by the following clause.

awi-besi o-kilo motoha wa-aho
his-iron a-kilogram five he 4pO-bring
he'll bring his five kilograms of iron

Then in Example 10, the two-topic construction is used to describe a hypothetical interaction between these two topical participants. The man referred to by the subject prefix *to-* *I* decides to lie to the other man, referred to by the object prefix *wi-* *him*.

Further conflict follows which leads to the climactic repentance of the lie. The two-topic construction is also used to mark these points of interaction. This tells the addressee to pay attention to the conflict between these two men throughout this part of the story.

1.3 Marking non-topical participants

A *non-topical* participant is one on whom the narrator does *not* want the addressee to place his attention at the moment. He is a participant who either plays a minor role in the whole narrative, or a major participant who plays a minor role in the current portion of the narrative. Non-topical participants are *not* marked by verb prefixes.

Example 11.

de MO-Ø-sano
then SHE-Ø-ask
then she asked (him)

In Example 11, the narrator does not want the addressee's attention on who is being asked, so the 'askee' is marked with a zero pronominal prefix, 'Ø'. The attention is on the subject *mo-* *she* (the one who is asking).

In fact, by tracing participants through this story, it can be seen that the only person who could have been asked at this point was Aweng. Had the askee Aweng been topical, the verb *sano to ask* would have been prefixed with *wi-* *him* and not with *mo-* *she*.

Example 12.

O-BESI MA-DUHUTU ma-gena asa W0-Ø-si-supu
A-IRON OF-OWNER of-that recently HE-Ø-cause-outside
that iron owner put (him) outside

In Example 12, the non-topical participant is the object of the verb *sisupu to put outside*, i.e. the child whom the iron owner put outside. Since this child is non-topical, there is no object prefix on the verb. However, the subject referent *obesi maduhutu iron owner* is the topical participant and so is marked by the subject prefix *wo-* *he*.

2. POINTS OF LOW TOPIC CONTINUITY

I have up to now been dealing with participant reference in stretches of (narrative) discourse where there is a constant topical participant. These are stretches of high topic continuity. Within such stretches of discourse, the pronominal prefix on a verb marks the topical participant and his syntactic role for the verb.

I pass on now to consider the introduction, reidentification, or change of a topical participant. These functions occur in portions of a narrative where there is low topic continuity. At these points, we find a free nominal which is co-referential with a prefix on the verb in the same clause. This device introduces, reidentifies, or changes a topical participant, as shown in sections 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 respectively. (The case when the nominal is not co-referential with a verb prefix is dealt with in section 3.)

2.1 Introduction of a topical participant

A topical participant is introduced with a free nominal and a co-referential prefix on a verb (Examples 13, 14, and 16) or at times on a number word (Example 15).

Example 13.

ONGO-PEDEKA MO-babalo moi
 A-WOMAN SHE-widow one
there was a woman who was widowed

In Example 13, a major topical participant is introduced with the nominal *ongo-pedeka a woman* and the co-referential subject prefix *mo-* *she* on the verb *babalo to be widowed*.

Example 14.

MA-NGOPA MA-GENA I-MI-ronga ongo-Dina
 OF-CHILD OF-THAT 4PS-HER-name a-Dina
that child is named Dina

In Example 14, taken from the same narrative as Example 13, a second major topical participant is introduced with the nominal *mangopa magena that child* and the co-referential object prefix *mi-* *her* on the verb *ronga to name*. (The prefix *i-* marks indefinite human 'they' who are subject of the verb. Though these participants are outside of the speaker-addressee core communication situation they are marked here on the verb as topical participants.⁶)

Example 15. (see also Example 17)

O-NYAWA YA-sinoto
 A-PERSON THEM-two
the two of them or they are two people

In Example 15, two major topical participants are introduced at the beginning of a narrative with the nominal *onyawa a person* and the co-referential object prefix *ya-* *them* on the number word *sinoto two*. When used to count people, numbers always take the object prefix (and never the subject prefix).

Example 16.

1. sidago o-wange ma-moi AWI-NGOPA MA-GENA asa WO-tagitagi
until a-day of-one HIS-CHILD OF-THAT recently HE-go and go
until one day his child was out walking
2. eko WO-uule ka-gena awi-loloha-ka
or HE-play at-that his-yard-at
or playing in his yard

Likewise a minor participant can be topical. In Example 16, a minor participant of the same narrative is introduced as a topical participant for this stretch of discourse. The nominal *awingopa magena his child* is co-referential with the subject prefix *wo-* *he* on the verbs *tagitagi to go and go* and *uule to play*. The narrator wants attention on this minor participant 'his child' when he is brought into the story to be revengefully kidnapped by the iron owner.

2.2 Reidentification of a topical participant

Although a topical participant has already been introduced, he may need to be *reidentified* at various subsequent points in the discourse. In portions of the discourse where there is less topic continuity, *clarification* is often needed as to exactly which of several participants at that point is topical. So the topical participant is reidentified with a free nominal and a co-referential verb prefix. Other points where a topical participant is reidentified are those where the story passes from the setting to actual events or from one episode to another. At these points, the same mechanism of a free nominal with a co-referential verb prefix is used.

Here I define an *episode* as the sequence of situations and events within a single time setting. Thus, there is a change of episode as the narration passes through a time setting. When it does so, the topical participant may change or stay the same, but even when it does not change, it needs to be reidentified at the beginning of the new episode.

Example 17.⁸

1. ka-naga o-doku moi-ka O-NYAWA YA-sinoto
at-is a-village one-at A-PERSON THEM-two
in a village there are two people
 i-ma-ri-bobapo
 4pS-reflexive-reciprocal-friend
they are friends
2. so o-wange moi-ka de i-wi-moi
so a-day one-at then 4pS-him-one
so, one day one of them
 wo-mau wo-tagitagi o-doku ma-somoa-ka
he-want he-go a-village of-other-at
wants to go to another village
3. wo-mau wo-ma-gogahu
he-want he-reflexive-work for
he wants to look for work

4. mutuwade ma-dongoho UNA WO-mau WO-ma-jobo
therefore of-in time HE HE-want HE-reflexive-leave
therefore in time he wants to leave
5. UNA asa WO-tagı ma-dodiaı-ka
HE future HE-go of-friend-at
he will go to his friends
6. awi-besi o-kilo motoha wa-aho
his-iron a-kilogram five he 4pO-bring
he'll bring his five kilograms of iron
7. la wo-si-đodogu
then he-cause-stay
and then deposit (it)
8. so ONYAWA UNA MAGENA asa WO-liho WO-tagı AWI-tahu-ka
so A-PERSON HE OF-THAT future HE-go home HE-go HIS-house-at
so that same person will go home to his house

In clause 1 of Example 17, the narrator introduces a set of two participants, including the topical participant of this portion of the story, with *onyawa ya-sinoto two people*. The nominal *onyawa a person*, is co-referential with the object prefix *ya- them*. In clause 2, one of these two becomes the topical participant of this portion when he is singled out with *i-wi-moi fourth person him-one or one of them*. But notice that this topical participant is reidentified three more times with a nominal and a co-referential verb prefix (in clauses 4, 5, and 8) for different reasons.

First, in clause 4, *una he* is co-referential with the subject prefix *wo- he* on two verbs *mau to want* and *jobo to leave*. The same topical participant as before is reidentified here with a nominal and co-referential prefixes because at this point the discourse passes from the setting, in clauses 1-3, to the actual events after clause 4, which describes his intended departure. The time margin of clause 4 *madongoho in time* confirms that the story has passed from the setting to the actual events because the word *madongoho* is a kind of deictic time anchorage (Rommetveit 1968). But note that in clause 4 he is only described as *thinking about 'leaving'*.

Second, in clause 5, the nominal *una he* and the co-referential subject prefix *wo- he* on the verb *tagı to go* reidentifies the same topical participant once more at the point where the narration of his actual departure begins.

Third, in clause 8, *onyawa una magena that person* is co-referential with the subject prefix *wo- he* on the verbs *liho to go home* and *tagı to go*. This usage clarifies *who* goes home. It reidentifies the topical participant in clause 8 as the same person who deposited the iron in clause 7 and the same as the topical participant of clauses 4 and 5; thus it clarifies that this referent is not the one who received the iron.

Therefore, the reidentification in clause 8 clarifies a possible confusion of participant identity. On the other hand, the reidentification in clauses 4 and 5 shows that the story has gone from the setting to the actual events.

Example 18.

1. bolo O-NYAWA UNA MA-GENA asa eko AWI-DODIAO MA-GENA
 finished A-PERSON HE OF-THAT future or HIS-FRIEND OF-THAT
 finished, that person, or rather, that friend of his
 asa WO-liho awi-tahu-ka
 future HE-go home his-house-at
 will go home to his house

New episode begins with new time setting.

2. so o-wange ma-moi-ka de O-NYAWA UNA MA-GENA
 so a-day of-one-at then A-PERSON HE OF-THAT
 so one day that person
 eko AWI-DODIAO MA-GENA WO-mau WO-balasi
 or HIS-FRIEND OF-THAT HE-want HE-revenge
 or rather, that friend of his will want revenge

In Example 18, the events of the immediately preceding context are that a man's friend has hidden a piece of iron that has been entrusted to his care and then lied to the iron owner, saying that a mouse has eaten it.

In clause 1, the free nominals *onyawa una magena that person* and *awidodiao magena that friend of his* are co-referential with the subject prefix *wo-* *he* on the verb *liho to go home*. The topical participant so defined is the iron owner of Example 17. The episode closes at the end of clause 1 when he goes home after his friend has lied to him. He needs to be reidentified at the very end of this episode because the other topical participant (i.e. the lying friend) was under attention for most of the earlier part of the episode. But here at clause 1 there is a quick switch of attention to the iron owner to show the latter's reaction. (Notice how the particle *bolo finished* also helps signal the switch of attention.)

In clause 2, a new episode begins with a new time setting *owange mamoi-ka de one day*. As a part of the marking of the new episode, the iron owner is reidentified with the two nominals *onyawa una magena that person* and *awidodiao magena that friend of his* which are both co-referential with the subject prefix *wo-* *he* on the verbs *mau want*, and *balasi revenge*. In this new episode, the iron owner is again the participant under attention. In the previous episode he was the reactor, merely listening to his friend's lies, but in this episode he becomes the initiator, wanting revenge for his friend's lie and eventually achieving it.

2.3 Change of topical participants

Although the major participants of the narrative have already been introduced, exactly who the topical participant is may *change* at different points within a given episode. These changes are signalled by the same device, i.e. a free nominal and a co-referential verb prefix.

Example 19.

1. so de WA-hika
 so then HE 4pO-go there
 so then he goes there
2. de MA-DODIAO MA-GENA asa WO-temo
 then OF-FRIEND OF-THAT future HE-say
 then that friend will say

In Example 19, clause 1, the verb *hika to go there* is marked by the prefix *wa-* which for motion verbs means third person masculine singular subject towards a specific destination.⁹ In clause 2, the topical participant changes to *madodiao magena that friend of (his)* and this change is signalled by the nominal just cited and the co-referential subject prefix *wo-* *he* on the verb *temo to say*.

Example 20.

1. o-besi ma-duhutu-ka ka-gena WI-sari eko WI-sano
 a-iron of-owner-at at-that HE,HIM-look for or HE,HIM-ask
 to look for or ask about him (the child) at the iron owner's place
2. O-BESI MA-DUHUTU MA-GENA eko MA-DODIAO UNA MA-GENA
 A-IRON OF-OWNER OF-THAT or OF-FRIEND HE OF-THAT
 that iron owner or friend

 asa WO-temo
 future HE-say
 will say
3. 'kangunugo ngohi ta-kelelo okawi moi'
 yesterday I I 4pO-see a-eagle one
 'yesterday I saw a lone eagle'

In the context preceding Example 20 a new topical participant has been established as 'the iron thief's child' by the free nominal and co-referential verb prefix device (see Example 16). In clause 1 here therefore, this minor topical participant and the major topical participant 'the child's father' are together signalled by the pronominal prefix *wi-* 'he acting on him'¹⁰ on the verbs *sari to look for* and *sano to ask*. The subject of these verbs is 'the child's father' who is also a topical participant at this point in the story.

In clause 2, the topical participant changes to 'that iron owner or friend' who is identified by the nominal *obesi maduhutu magena* and *madodiao una magena that friend* and the co-referential subject prefix *wo-* *he* on the verb *temo to say*. If the nominal had not been used to identify *who* is subject, we would not know whether it was the iron owner or the child's father who was speaking in clause 3. (In this clause, the prefix *ta-* 'I 4pO' means first person singular acting on fourth person singular.)

3. INTRODUCTION OF NON-TOPICAL PARTICIPANTS

At some points in discourse, the narrator may need to introduce a participant who is *not* topical. This is done by the device of a free nominal which is *not* co-referential with any verb prefix. The free nominal itself introduces the *non-topical* participant while the verb prefix marks another participant which

has been already established as topical in the preceding context. It is clear that the device used here is consistent with the rule that only topical participants are marked by verb prefixes.

Note that the point where a non-topical participant is so introduced is a point of high topic continuity.¹¹

Example 21. (see Example 8)

ka-dine o-Kira-ka de O-NYAWA Ø-mi-aso
at-land location a-Kira-at then A-PERSON Ø-us excl-call
at the western location⁷ called Kira a person called to us

The free nominal *onyawa a person* brings in at this one point the non-topical participant who is subject of the verb *aso to call*. That free nominal is not co-referential with the object prefix *mi-* 'us exclusive' on the verb. (This object prefix *mi-* 'us exclusive', in fact, marks the foreign woman and her companion who were introduced earlier as the topical participants.)

In Example 21, the person who is the non-topical participant merely calls out to the topical participants, (the foreign woman and her companion). In fact, that person never interacts further with the topical participants nor with anyone else; he just appears momentarily and exits.

Example 22.

ka-dahu de O-NYAWA Ø-ni-sano
at-down location then A-PERSON Ø-you O-ask
at a northern location⁷ a person asked you

The free nominal *onyawa a person* introduces the non-topical participant who is the subject of the verb *sano to ask*. That free nominal is not co-referential with the object prefix *ni-* *you* on the verb. This object prefix marks the foreign married woman and her companion, who were introduced earlier as the topical participants.

In Example 22, which is taken from the same story as Example 21, the non-topical participant asks the topical participants where they are going. But this person, again, never interacts further with the major participants nor with anyone else.

Example 23.

ka-gena de O-SOATOBARU MA-NYAWA Ø-mi-dolomu
at-that then A-SOATOBARU OF-PERSON Ø-us excl-stare
at that point Soatobaru people stared at us

In Example 23 which again is taken from the same story as 21 and 22, the free nominal *oSoatobaru manyawa Soatobaru people* introduces these non-topical participants as subjects of the verb *dolomu to stare*. That free nominal is not co-referential with the object prefix *mi-* 'us exclusive' on the verb. This object prefix marks the foreign woman and her companion as the topical participants who are stared at as they enter the store. There is no further interaction between the two groups of participants at this point.

However, it is to be noted that at the very end of the story, the same group of *Soatobaru people* becomes the topical participant in Example 24. They gossip about the foreign woman as she leaves the store and her companion admonishes them to not gossip like that since the foreigner knows their language.

Example 24.

1. ka-gena de YO-bicara YO-sosabarang
at-that then THEY-speak THEY-gossip
then there they spoke gossip
2. de ngohi to-temo
then I I-say
then I said
3. 'upa NI-bicara NI-sosabarang
don't YOU pLS-speak YOU pLS-gossip
'Don't you speak gossip
4. sababu ona ya-nako-ka yo-bahasa Galela'
because they they 4pO-know-complete they-language Galela
because they already know the Galela language'

At this point in the story, the minor participants, the Soatobaru people who were introduced in Example 23 and were non-topical there, are now marked as topical participants with verb prefixes *yo-* 'they' in clause 1 and *ni-* 'you plural subject' in clause 3. And, in fact, they significantly interact with the major participant, the narrator (marked by prefix *to-* 'I' in clause 2) in the four clauses of this example.

4. SUMMARY

A Galela narrative discourse is organised around the topical participants, i.e. the participants on whom the narrator wants the addressee to place his attention.

The system of pronominal verb prefixes marks the participants that are topical at any given point in the narrative. Topical participants are usually major participants, but occasionally a minor participant may become topical at some point in a narrative by having a significant interaction at that point with a major topical participant (see Example 24).

The introduction, reidentification, and change of topical participants is signalled by a free nominal with a co-referential verb prefix. The non-topical participants are identified by a free nominal without any (co-referential) verb prefix.

NOTES

¹The Galela language is a member of the Mainland Family of the North Halmahera Stock in the West Papuan Language Family (Grimes 1984). It is spoken by at least 20,000 Galelans who live on north Halmahera Island around Galela Bay and Lake Galela and on the south side of Morotai Island (due north) in the north Moluccan Islands of Indonesia. The Galelans are fairly acculturated to the national culture of Indonesia, heavily influenced from Java, so very few are monolingual.

Fieldwork to study the Galela language with the Cooperative Program of Pattimura University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics began in October 1983. The data which formed the basis of this analysis was gathered in the village

of Duma, at the interior end of Lake Galela. Since a large quantity of narrative texts was not available at the time, this paper is based on an in-depth analysis of two narrative discourses.

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²The phonemes of Galela are

vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /u/, /o/

voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /tʃ/, /k/

voiced stops /b/, /d/, /ḍ/, /dʒ/, /g/

fricatives /p̪/, /s/, /h/

nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ñ/

lateral /l/

vibrant /r̥/

semivowels /y/, /w/

The phone /ḍ/ is a voiced dental stop, whereas /ḍ/ represents a voiced retroflexed alveolar stop.

The practical orthography used in this paper is based on Indonesian orthography and is the same as the phonemic orthography except that

/ḍ/ is written ḍ

/ḍ/ is written d

/p̪/ is written f

/tʃ/ is written c

/dʒ/ is written j

/ŋ/ is written ng

/ñ/ is written ny

and w and y represent the non-syllabic allophones of the high vowels /u/ and /i/ respectively.

³In this table the vowel /o/ is present in the subject prefixes when an object is not marked. This is why the parentheses have been put round the vowel /o/ in Table 1.

⁴When the vowel /a/ is appended (see note 3) to the fourth person subject prefix i-, the resulting form /ia/ is realised orthographically as ya- (H. and D. Sheldon 1984).

⁵Other prefixes that are also identical: mi- *we/us/her*, and i- *me/it*.

- ⁶The Galela language specifies that a Third Person participant must be both human and definite. Any particle that is outside of the speaker-addressee core communication situation is marked on the verb by a *fourth person* marker if it is a non-human or an indefinite human, see H. Shelden (1984).
- ⁷The Galela use four points of the compass, which however, are described as the up, down, land, and sea points both for directions and for locations. The free translations will reflect our western orientation of compass points: south (for Galela up), north (for down), west (for land), and, east (for sea).
- ⁸The prefix *ma-* marks verbs as reflexive. On some verbs, such as *jobo to leave* of clause 4 of this example, the *ma-* prefix is obligatory. On other verbs, such as *bobapo friend* of clause 1 it is not.
- ⁹Verbs of motion are permitted to take locationals as objects, but are otherwise intransitive. Here, the verb *hika to go somewhere*, prefixed by the *wa-* 'he 4pO' tells us that the destination is explicit and in this case recoverable from the preceding context. If, however, *wo-* *he* had been used on the verb *hika* with no object marking, the destination would have been indefinite, and the whole construction would mean 'so then he goes somewhere'.
- ¹⁰When the subject of a verb is third person singular 'him or her' and the object is third person singular of the same gender as the subject, the combination is realised by the following portmanteau forms: *he acting on him* = /wi/ instead of /wo-wi/ and *she acting on her* = /mi/ instead of /mo-mi/.
- ¹¹No verb prefixes whatever will occur on a verb if no participant is topical at that point in the story.

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ADVERSATIVE RELATIONS IN ISIRAWA NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Hiroko Oguri

1. INTRODUCTION¹

In Isirawa², one of the most puzzling verb prefixes to analyse was pii-. Sometimes Isirawa speakers could give the meanings, for instance *again* or *still* for pii-, but most times they could not. It became evident that pii- was used sometimes to show frustration, sometimes the final successful result after great effort, sometimes contrast, sometimes a drastic reaction, but it was difficult to see how these different functions fitted into a system.

In this paper I propose to describe the functions of the verb prefix pii- as fitting into the overall category of 'adversative relations'.

An 'adversative' relation can be loosely defined as the logical relationship expressed by the English connective 'but'. Halliday and Hasan (1976) have analysed the two principal meanings of this connective to be *contraexpectation* and *contrast*. Lakoff (1971) deals with essentially the same meanings but calls them *denial of expectation* and *semantic opposition*, respectively. Longacre (1976) treats the various meanings of the adversative under the cover terms *frustration* and *contrast*. For frustration he has the submeanings: frustrated coupling, frustrated succession, frustrated overlap, frustrated hypotheses, frustrated contingency, frustrated efficient cause, frustrated final cause, frustrated attribution, frustrated modality. Lowe (to appear) also invokes the two principal meanings *contraexpectation* and *contrast* for the adversative. He defines a contraexpectation situation as one in which the expectation is not realised and thus arrives at the submeanings: contrary to law, contrary to quasi-law, contrary to enablement, contrary to mutual convenience, contrary to high-frequency expectation and contrary to normal evidence-conclusion inference. All the above authors make the point that the larger socio-cultural context is usually necessary for an understanding of what is expected (or presupposed) in the contraexpectation relationship expressed in a specific linguistic example.

Therefore in this paper, I will discuss examples of pii- which signal contraexpectation (section 2.1) and examples of pii- which signal contrast (section 2.2).

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2. ADVERSATIVE RELATIONS EXPRESSED BY PII-

There are two common categories of the adversative: contraexpectation and contrast. Both are marked by pii- in Isirawa.

2.1 Contraexpectation

One of the most common functions of pii- is to express contraexpectation. Contraexpectation can be said to occur when an action takes place or a state of affairs exists which goes either against the specific expectation of an individual in a particular situation or against the general expectation of the culture as a whole. This general type of expectation can be based on physical laws or on social norms.

Contraexpectation can be contrary to the expectation of the topical participant in the discourse or contrary to the expectation of the speaker or of the addressee or of the culture as a whole. The discussion of the uses of pii- in this paper will be divided according to the individual or individuals for whom the event or the state is not expected.

There is a subcategory of contraexpectation which I call frustration. This refers to an aborted attempt by the topical participant to achieve a result. This subcategory is treated in section 2.1.1.1. Notice that frustration is a special case of an event or state contrary to the topical participant's expectation.

2.1.1 Contrary to the expectation of the topical participant in the discourse

When some event or state occurs in the discourse which is not expected by the topical participant, that event or state is introduced with pii- prefixed to the verb describing the event or state. By topical participant, I mean that participant on whom the narrator wants the addressee to place his attention at any point in a narrative.

Example 1.

A female spirit bird tries to kill an old man who had treated her badly, but the old man's youngest son comes to rescue him. In the evening when the spirit bird comes to the entrance of the old man's house to attack him, the son hits her on the head. She falls down outside the house and stays there dripping blood till dawn. In the morning when she leaves, they hear the sound of her leaving. Around eight o'clock the boy opens the door to get out of the house and taking his bow and arrows, checks round the house to see if there are other spirit birds around or not. But, contrary to his expectation, there is no one; only blood. Referring to this unexpected state of affairs, the narrator says,

as-asmiira nii PII-maa- ri
only-blood sbj RP *be*
there was only blood

(The gloss RP (see list of abbreviations page 259) means 'at that time and at that place in the discourse'.)

The following examples 2 and 3 show pii- being used to mark an event or state contrary to the desire of the topical participant, and therefore contrary to his expectation. (Every desire will set up an expectation, no matter how weak.)

Example 2.

In the same story about the female spirit bird, she is going to attack an old man because he had treated her badly. While the old man is hiding in a jungle hut, his companions run away to a mountain. The spirit bird thinks the old man is with them and goes after them, flashing at them with her shiny eyes. In fear and dread of the light from her eyes, the humans flee up the mountain path. They would not have gone up that path by the light of her eyes of their own free will, because they were afraid she might harm them. Therefore, their flight within range of the spirit bird's eyes is contrary to their desire. The text says,

Ceii pev nuera acama so PE(=piite)-weriis-mi.
they his/her/its eye light in CE+3pl go-up PC
They went up (the mountain) by the light of her eyes (unwillingly).

The fact that they went contrary to their desire is here marked by pe- which is a portmanteau of pii- 'contraexpectation' and e- 'third person plural subject'.³

Example 3.

A boy has had a nose-stick taken from him by a woman. With the object of getting the nose-stick back, he comes to the village where she lives. He stays there overnight and, in the morning (although he is afraid and therefore rather unwilling), he goes anyway, catches her and retrieves his nose-stick. The Isirawa text says,

Miriie nonoeii PE- sue-mi.
young-man there CE+sg go PC
The young man went ANYWAY (even though he was unwilling).

The young man went contrary to his desire, that is to say, in spite of a certain unwillingness occasioned by his fear. Thus the verb sue *to go* is marked by pe- which is a portmanteau of pii- 'contraexpectation' and e- 'singular subject'.

2.1.1.1 Frustration

When the topical participant attempts to achieve a result but fails, that participant has been frustrated and his failure is contrary to his desire and thus to his expectation. Such frustration is marked in Isirawa by pii- 'contraexpectation', preceded immediately by aro *in vain*. Thus frustration is a subcategory of the category 'contrary to the expectation of the topical participant'.

Example 4.

Saticana who has eaten a boy, is shot by the boy's father. Saticana wants to fight back his assailants but he cannot find his bow and arrows. In the meantime he is shot with lots of arrows. He wants to stand firm but, contrary to his desire, he cannot do so and has to run away. The narrator says,

ARO PE- niikruowe-mi.
in-vain CE+sg *endure* PC
He tried to endure in vain.

It was Saticana's desire to endure and he attempted to do so but failed. This frustration of his attempt is marked by pii- (here pe-) 'contraexpectation' and aro *in vain*.

Example 5.

In one story a female spirit bird tries to attack an old man who has done bad things to her. The old man is hiding in a house and his companions are running along a path. The spirit bird thinks the old man is also with them so she goes after them. She shines at them with her flashlight-like eyes in order to find the old man but she cannot find him among them. The text says,

ARO PE- viyaraasaana-mi.
in-vain EC+sg *shine* PC
She shone at (them) in vain.

Her attempt to find the old man is frustrated and this frustration is expressed by aro *in vain* and pii- (here pe-) 'contraexpectation'.

Example 6.

After Saticana dies and decays, his parents decide to move into a river to live. They go to the Nipisiaana river and measure its depth, hoping it is big (deep) enough for them to live in. But it is not. The text says,

Nipisiaana ma vase ARO PII-*caa-mus* -mi.
name-of-river this in/at in-vain CE dl *measure* PC
They measured the Nipisiaana river in vain.

The parents took steps to move into a river and live there but that attempt failed because the river turned out not to be deep enough. This failure or frustration is marked by the combination of aro *in vain* and pii- 'contraexpectation'.

2.1.2 Contrary to the expectation of the narrator of the discourse

The prefix pii- can also be used to mark an action or a state which takes place contrary to the narrator's desire and therefore to his expectation. One might gloss this usage of pii- as *but too bad*. Such a usage therefore expresses the narrator's evaluation of an action or state.

Example 7.

The parents of Saticana are looking for a river to stay in. The mother measures the depth of the Nipisiaana river by jumping into it but her body still shows, so there is not enough water. At this point in the story the narrator expresses his disappointment that the river is too shallow for them to stay in.

Antateso PII-*maa-* mii.
visible CE RP *be*
BUT IT IS TOO BAD she was visible.

Thus, *pii-* is used to signal a state that is contrary to the narrator's desire. Here the narrator is expressing empathy with the mother; what is contrary to her desire (and expectation) is also contrary to his. This contraexpectation is marked by *pii-*.

Example 8.

After Saticana has been shot because he has eaten a boy, he goes back home and asks his mother to get him water to drink and sago to eat. While he is eating the sago, he falls down and dies. One of the Isirawa men told me that it was too bad that Saticana died, even though he had eaten the boy. The narrator communicates his sympathy for Saticana by using the *pii-* prefix.

Pe⁴ vao moii PE- frorapa -pi.
that at there CE+sg fall-down PC
BUT IT IS TOO BAD at that time he fell down (and died).

Example 9.

When Saticana is shot, he runs away dripping blood and vomiting. According to the Isirawa belief, these drops of blood and vomit became saticana trees whose resin provides them with light. The narrator says 'If he had run in this direction first, we would have been lucky, there would have been saticana trees on the coast'. Then he says,

To-tore wiina vao PE- saausaana-mi.
only-name-of-river head at CE+sg run PC
BUT TOO BAD he ran only to the upper stream of the Tor river.

Note that in this example *pii-* (here *pe-*) is used to express something contrary not only to the speaker's but also to the addressee's desire for light-producing resin.

2.1.3 Contrary to the expectation of the addressee of the discourse (narrator corrects what he considers could possibly be a false presupposition on the part of the addressee)

When the addressee has a false presupposition, or the narrator thinks the addressee might possibly have a false presupposition, the narrator can correct it. He can forestall such a false presupposition, as it were. In this case *pii-* occurs on the verb, showing that the narrator's statement is not expected by the addressee.

In the following examples (10 and 11) *pii-* can be translated by English *still*.

Example 10.

When Saticana is dying, he asks his mother to give him sago from his own tree, then he asks her to bake it and the mother does. The narrator then speaks directly to the addressees saying,

Ef naafa puaii mariife pes⁵ PE- raavoana.
his sago up-there like-this mkr CE+sg be
His sago territory STILL exists up there.

In so doing, he is correcting a possible false presupposition that the addressee might have, that Saticana's sago territory no longer exists, because usually someone's sago territory disappears after a long time. Since Saticana is a folk hero of such a long time ago, his sago fields might reasonably be expected to have vanished by now.

Example 11.

After Saticana dies and his body decays, his parents decide to move to a river to live, but they cannot find one deep enough for the two of them to live in together. So the father decides to stay in the Nenekaamaï river and the mother in the Sarinie-Praata river. The narrator says, 'The husband went back and stayed in the Nenekaamaï river'. Then he continues,

Are pe vao PE- mii.
now that at CE+sg be
He is STILL there now.

Here again, the narrator is correcting a possible false presupposition that the addressee might have that the father is not there any more, because usually an historical personage does not live till the present day.

Note that in both examples 10 and 11, the pii- marking occurs in a clause containing information that is off the main event line. These clauses, in fact contain interpersonal information from the narrator to the addressee linking the events of the story to the present day state of affairs.

In the following examples, pii- can be translated by English *only* or *just*.

Example 12.

In one story, two boys enter a school far away from their home village. Two years later, their parents withdraw them from the school without the boys being able to read or write, and take them back to the village. The boys then just stay there with their parents and carry on with ordinary village life. The text says,

Peso PII-a- navraau-mi.
 mkr CE 3pl be PC
They JUST stayed (there).

One Isirawa man told me that, if parents bring boys back from a school, the boys sometimes get upset and leave their own village. But these two boys did not; they just stayed with their parents. The narrator is saying, 'In case you think they got upset at their parents and left for another village just as some boys do, I tell you they did not, they just stayed in their own village'. Thus, he is correcting the addressees' remotely possible false presupposition by using the pii-marked clause.

Example 13.

Saticana, having eaten a boy, is shot by the boy's father. He runs away to his home. His mother sees from a great distance what has happened and she goes to pound sago while waiting for him to come back. The text says,

Pe vo PE- vres -ii, fifivrii-eii.
that obj CE+sg pound-sago pres wait in-order-to
She was JUST pounding it (sago) in order to wait for (him).

One Isirawa person said that the mother did not go far away to look for food, etc., but was only pounding sago near the house, because if she had gone far, Saticana would not have found her when he arrived dying. The narrator is saying, 'In case you think she went into the jungle or some place to look for food etc., I tell you she did not. She was just pounding sago near the house'. Thus, the narrator forestalls the remote possibility of the addressees' false presupposition by using the pii-marked clause.

2.1.4 Contrary to the expectation of the whole Isirawa culture

Some events are so unusual that they are contrary to the expectation of everyone in the culture. Such events are also marked by pii-. In example 14, the pii-marked verb reports an event that is done in a very unusual way, in example 15, the pii-marked verb reports an unusual feat of strength, while in example 16, there is an unusual reversal of roles. In these contexts, pii- could be translated by English *surprisingly*.

Example 14.

In one story, a father whose adopted son was eaten by a man, decides to take vengeance. He goes to a garden and makes arrows. Because that night may be the only chance he has to shoot the man, he is in a hurry. He quickly dries out some bamboo for the arrow heads but they would not be dry enough by Isirawa standards. An Isirawa man told me that no one uses new bamboo to make arrow heads; it must be dried out really well first. In the story this abnormal procedure is marked by pii- (here pe-).

Riiraariire PE- tasi -mi.
new-metari-bamboo CE+sg do-something-with-string PC
He SURPRISINGLY tied new metari bamboo with string (as arrow heads).

Example 15.

Saticana, after he has eaten a boy and all sorts of food, falls asleep in the boy's father's house. While sleeping he is shot by the father. He wakes up and decides to destroy the house. In the dark he catches hold of the centre pillar of the house and at last succeeds in pulling it out. Pulling out the centre pillar is such a feat of strength that normal people could never do it, and this abnormality is marked with pii-.

Pupuii PE- torii-mi.
up CE+sg pull PC
SURPRISINGLY he pulled it out.

A free translation of this sentence might be *SURPRISINGLY ENOUGH, he was able to pull it out.*

Example 16.

A boy loses his sister-in-law's nose-stick when it is taken from him by a young woman. He tries to get it back. On his way to the village where the thief lives, he stays one night at a dogs' village and there he takes a dog for company. At last he arrives at the thief's village, goes to her and pulls out the nose-stick which he has lost. The woman and others start making lots of noise, and the strong chief accompanied by other men comes with bow and arrows to fight the boy. When one man tries to shoot the boy, the dog bites

him and rescues the boy. Another man tries to shoot the boy, and again the dog bites him. After all this fighting, the dog wins contrary to everyone's expectation. Dogs do not usually beat armed people. That would be abnormal. The narrator concludes the paragraph,

Maa-maanane PE- maa-mi.
victory (In) CE+sg *be* PC
 SURPRISINGLY *he (the dog) had the victory.*

2.2 Contrast

The other category of the adversative in Isirawa is contrast.⁶ This again is marked by *pii-*. Two types of contrast will be treated in this paper: simple contrast and repeated action as contrast.

2.2.1 Simple contrast

Isirawa speakers consider contrastive, two different actions, done by two different participants or sets of participants at the same time. Also the same or similar actions performed by different participants 1) at different locations, or 2) with different coagents, or 3) on different direct objects, are considered contrastive. Likewise, two similar situations with two different settings and two different outcomes (see example 21) can be considered contrastive. Some examples follow.

Example 17.

An old man, who has caught a rat-like animal, does not want to share it with his daughter but rather to eat it all by himself. So he says to her, 'Child, you build your fire over there with the other men. (On the other hand) I will build mine here at the bend of the river by myself'. In these two clauses, the contrasts are between two participants, the daughter and the father, and between two locations, there and here. There is also contrast between the presence of a coagent and the absence of one, i.e. 'with other men' and 'by myself'. Thus the clauses are contrastive and the contrast is marked by *pii-* (here *pe-*) on the verb of the second clause.

Aya, mii ce-ce vas neviis, takii ca. Ope sisa
mother you only-that at build-fire father with I bend-of-the-river
 mais PE- neviis -ii, afaata.
here CST+sg build-fire pres myself
Child (lit mother), build the fire there with the other men (lit
fathers). ON THE OTHER HAND I will build the fire here at the bend
of the river by myself.

Example 18.

In one story a group of people are travelling together. But one old man was left behind. The narrator says, 'Others were already walking up there. But the old man was still behind them.'. The second clause contrasts the position of the old man with the position of the others. The contrast is marked by *pii-* on the verb of the second clause.

Miiname pueii ri- pu- vinana -ii, miinama maii tetraria
other up begin up-there go/walk pres other this behind

PII-mai- e- maa-mai.

CST *still* sg be P INC

Others were walking up there, ON THE OTHER HAND the other one was still behind (them).

Example 19.

In one story a son suggests to his father that he eat sago pudding. In reply, the father asks, 'What will I eat it with?' The son gives him some wildfowl to go with his sago pudding. Then the father asks, 'What will you (in contrast) eat it with?' In these two questions the contrast is between what the one participant, the father, will eat his sago with and what the other participant, the son, will eat his sago with. These contrasts are marked by pii- on the verb frii *to eat* of the second clause.

Pe e ware we frii -yaro? ... Pe mii ware o
then I what with eat-sago-pudding inter then you what with

PE- frii -faro?
 CST+sg *eat-sago-pudding* fut inter
Then what shall I eat my sago pudding with? ... ON THE OTHER HAND what will you eat your sago pudding with?

Example 20.

In another story some boys go swimming in the ocean. They know that the adults are upset about it, (the adults think it is too dangerous). But they swim a long way from the shore anyway. A village authority decides to discipline them and follows them on the shore. Girls go with him, saying loudly how bad the boys are. The text says,

Ne PII-me- vinana-ii, wakera ma, aviitiira
 we CST RP+plp go pres *village-authority this girl*

soek pe vao PII-maa- asiianayo -ii.
all that at CST RP talk-loudly-while-walking pres
We went (in the ocean), WHILE a village authority and all the girls were talking loudly as they were walking there (on the shore).

In these two clauses there is a contrast between two sets of participants; on the one hand the boys, and on the other the village authority and the girls. There is also a contrast between their two actions, namely going (swimming) and talking with a loud voice while walking. These contrasts are indicated by pii-.

Note that in this example pii- marks the first clause as well as the second clause where we would normally expect it to occur. However the use of pii- in the first clause is sometimes optional, sometimes obligatory. The conditions under which pii- obligatorily occurs in the first clause have not yet been fully analysed.

Example 21.

In this example, the successive clauses are labelled A, B, C, and D. In this story, two sisters get married to one man. The older sister says to him, ^A*When you and my younger sibling go for sago, B I take a walk. C When we two walk, D my younger sibling has to go for sago (by herself).* In the sentence comprising the clauses A and B, what is done by the first set of participants

(*you and my younger sibling*) in clause A is in contrast with what is done by the second participant (*I*) in clause B. Similarly, in the sentence comprising the clauses C and D, what is done by the third set of participants (*you and I*) in clause C is in contrast with what is done by the fourth participant (*my younger sibling*) in clause D. Furthermore, the sentence containing clauses A and B describes a situation which is in contrast to the situation which is described in the following sentence (clause C + clause D). These three contrasts are indicated by four occurrences of *pii-*, one marking the verb of each clause.

^ANaafa iiye mii wiitopiia ca PII-maan- sue-no,
sago for you my-younger-sibling with CST RP + dl go TRC

^Be waa tatarora PII-maa- nii. ^CAniinawa PII-an-sue-ne,
I my walk CST RP walk we-two CST dl go TRC

^Dwiitopiie naafa iiye PII-ari- suen.
my-younger-sibling sago for CST later go
When you and my younger sibling go for sago, I take a walk. When
we two walk, my younger sibling has to go for sago (by herself).

2.2.2 Repeated action as contrast

When an action is repeated in Isirawa the verb expressing the repeated action is marked with *pii-* 'contrast'. The same action when repeated is considered contrastive because it must occur at a *different* time or be performed by a *different* actor from the original action. When *pii-* marks an action which is repeated by the *same* actor at a different time, it can be translated as *again* in English, when it marks an action which is repeated by a *different* actor, it can be translated as *also*. Examples follow:

Example 22.

A boy loses his sister-in-law's nose-stick when it is grabbed by a girl. When his sister-in-law finds that he has lost it, she gets upset. He decides to get it back and goes to the thief's village where her father Siimaatrowe also lives. At first the father takes a bow and arrow and fights with him but the boy is so strong that he evokes Siimaatrowe's admiration and they become friends. Siimaatrowe lets the boy stay overnight and sends him back home because the girl is visiting another village. The boy goes back home again without the nose-stick. Then the sister-in-law asks again about the nose-stick and insists that he find it. So the boy goes back to Siimaatrowe's house again. The text says,

Eware PII-terapav, sao. Ave PII-e- morii. Eware peso
he CST come-back house mother CST sg ask he mkr

PE- terapa -pi, Siimaatrowe sao.
CST+sg come-back PC man's-name house
He came back home AGAIN. The sister-in-law (lit mother) asked him
AGAIN. He went back to Siimaatrowe's house AGAIN.

In this example, there are three repeated actions, each marked by *pii-* 'contrast'. In the order in which they are reported in the narrative, the actions are: his coming back home again; his sister-in-law's asking again; his going back to Siimaatrowe's house again. There is a contrast in time of occurrence between each original action and its subsequent repetition.

Strictly speaking, the first pii-marked verb PII-terapav *sao come back home again* does not refer to the repetition of a previously mentioned action. However, my language helper says that the Isirawa treat this as repeated action because the actor comes back to the state where he had been before. The second and third pii-marked verbs both refer to repetitions of actions already mentioned in the preceding context.

Example 23.

While he is sleeping, Saticana is shot with bows and arrows by the father and the stepfather of the boy whom he has eaten. He wakes up and tries to fight back. He says to them, *I also would like to take arrows*, where the Isirawa text says,

Ama, ao PII-me- ririi.
friend I CST want take
Friends, I ALSO would like to take arrows.

The boy's father and stepfather had taken arrows. Saticana wanted to do the same. The action ririi *take* which he desired to do is marked with pii-'contrast' because its time and actor are different from those of the original 'taking of arrows'.

3. CONCLUSION

Thus, the Isirawa verb prefix pii- marks an adversative relationship between two propositions. The relationship can be either contraexpectation or contrast.

Contraexpectation includes both the case when something happens which one does not expect to happen and the case when something which one expects to happen does not happen at all. In Isirawa, the second type of contraexpectation is marked not only by pii- (which marks the first type) but is also marked with aro *in vain*.

Two propositions which describe the same action done by different actors, and with one other contrastive feature between them (for example, at different locations) are in contrast, as also are two propositions which describe two contrasting actions done by two different actors at the same time. The Isirawa also see a repeated action as contrast, because there is contrast between the time at which the original action and its repetition are performed or between the actors of the original and of the repetition.

ABBREVIATIONS

CE	contraexpectation	lit	literally
CST	contrast	mkr	marker
dl	dual subject	obj	object marker
fut inter	future interrogative	PC	past completive
In	Indonesian loan word	P INC	past incomplete
inter	interrogative	pres	present

RP	reference point, i.e. at that time and at that place in the discourse	sg	singular subject
		TRC	today's recent completive
sbj	subject marker	1pl	first person plural subject
		3pl	third person plural subject

NOTES

¹The data on which this paper is based consist of 130 pages of narrative text collected between 1973 and 1984 with the Cooperative Program of Cenderawasih University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I wish to express my appreciation to Musa Yapun and Filipus Mamawiso from Amsira in the Jayapura district who have been teaching me their language. I also want to thank Dr Ivan Lowe for his consultant help in analysis and writing. I am grateful to Dr Helen Miehle for helping me to express myself more clearly in English.

²Isirawa is a Papuan (non-Austronesian) language spoken by about 2,000 people on the north coast of Irian Jaya in the Jayapura district. Voorhoeve (1975) gives Saberi as another name for Isirawa, and classifies it as a member of the Dani-Kwerba Stock.

Isirawa has 13 consonants and eight vowels. The consonant phonemes of Isirawa are /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/, /s/, /h/, /b/, /č/, /m/, /n/, /r/, /w/, /y/ where /t/, /s/, /n/, /č/ and /r/ are made at the dental point of articulation and /r/ is a flap except after voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/, when it is realised as a trill. /b/ is a voiced bilabial fricative, while /f/ is a voiceless labio-dental fricative. The vowel phonemes are /i/, /ɪ/, /ε/, /ə/, /a/, /u/, /o/, /ɔ/ where /o/ and /ɔ/ are back vowels which are somewhat higher than the corresponding cardinal vowels.

The practical orthography for Isirawa which is used in this paper conforms to the phonemes in the above transcription and also to Indonesian orthography except in the following cases:

/c/ is used to represent /č/ (as in Indonesian)

/v/ represents /b/

/ii/ represents the lax high front vowel /ɪ/

/aa/ represents the central vowel /ə/

/o/ represents the back vowels /ɔ/ and /o/

Isirawa verb suffixes which mark events occurring in past time are portmanteau constructions combining tense (past, recent, today's past, today's recent) and aspect (completive and incompletive). They are:

-mi	past completive	-aai	today's past completive
-mai	past incompletive	-mano	today's past incompletive
-mo	recent completive	-a	today's recent completive
-mapi	recent incompletive	-iito	today's recent incompletive

The tense 'past' marks an event or state realised more than three days ago, the tense 'recent' marks one realised in the time period from three days ago until yesterday. The tense 'today's past' marks one realised in the time period from dawn to around 7 a.m. on the same day as the time of speaking, 'today's recent' marks one realised in the time period after 7 a.m. on the same day up until the point of speaking.

³The vowel of *pii* may disappear when a vowel follows.

pii- + a = *piia* or *pa*

pii- + e = *piie* or *pe*

⁴*Pe* is a deictic which means *that* and is a homophone of *pe*- (prefix *pii*- + singular or third person plural subject *e*).

⁵*Peso* (*pes* in fast speech) is a discourse marker whose tentative gloss is *at that*.

⁶Contrast here is being used in the more diffuse sense mentioned by Longacre (1976:104).

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