I hereby declare that this thesis, in text and in film, is entirely the result of my own research except where otherwise acknowledged in the text.

Darja Hoenigman
The quote used as the title of this thesis is a translation of Awiakay

\[
\text{kol-a} \quad \text{kola} \quad \text{ambiakanan-goy} \quad \text{menda}
\]

\text{hand-INAL.POSS} \quad \text{DUPL} \quad \text{go/grow.OUT-HABIT3SG} \quad \text{talk/language}

‘The talk goes many ways.’

The image of going, growing or spreading out from a key central point, most commonly used in reference to the mountains in Awiakay territory, is a recurring organising principle in Awiakay taxonomy. An analogy is drawn to language: as if Injaiq, the big mountain, was the Awiakay language, and the ranges ‘coming out of it’ were its different registers (Plate 1).

Plate 1: Mountains in Awiakay territory. Drawn by Francis Mandunj and James Akandao, October 2009.
For my mothers, Stanka and Kununda, 
who taught me two different ways of being,

and for all those in my ever-changing here-and-now 
whose inspiration, care and warmth keep me going.
Acknowledgements

My first thoughts are with the Awiakay people, the ‘actors’ in the following chapters, without whose great support and inexhaustible enthusiasm for my work this thesis would never have happened. Over the many years of our acquaintance, friendship and kinship, our many adventures in the bush and in the town, after so much laughter and fun, as well as jealousies, resentments, tears and worries that we have shared, their enthusiasm for my research has never diminished. I thank each and every Awiakay person for accepting me into their community. There isn’t a single family in Kanjimei who at some point wouldn’t share their meal with me, bring me a part of their kill or any other food they had gathered in the forest, take me to the bush, paddle with me on the river, or walk with me to neighbouring villages. Each and every person, from young babies to the oldest members of the community taught me something about their lifeworld. While being grateful to them all, I would like to single out some who went out of their way in care for my wellbeing.

Firstly, I would like to thank my adoptive parents, *atn* Aymakan and *ambi* Kununda. They would always have some sago for me, even if they themselves had to borrow it from others. While Aymakan was tirelessly carving the faces of spirits for me, happy to see joy in my eyes whenever he gave me yet another one, Kununda was continually teaching me how an Awiakay woman should behave. They both took care of me as if I were their youngest child. Although I mostly worked with other people, they were never jealous of me spending my time elsewhere. Kununda passed away two days before my departure from Kanjimei in 2009.

Warm thanks go to my sisters Mesia and Tikinjao, who fed me countless times, saved many a smoked bandicoot for me, and were never jealous over their husbands – my *tambus* Anjongoronoŋ and Manduŋ – bringing me food and working with me. While Anjongoronoŋ would go hunting at night, so that Mesia could bring me food in the morning, Manduŋ would work with me for long hours, often even at nights, helping me with transcriptions and translations, and discussing many sensitive matters with me. By sharing with me many personal secrets and quiet gossip he greatly contributed to my understanding of Awiakay lifeways. I appreciate his modesty and calm character. My
little brother Pupi was just a small boy when I first arrived in Kanjimei, and is still my closest and most faithful friend there. Exploring Awiakay land on foot and in canoe, singing along the creeks by day and spearing the prawns at night we shared numerous adventures, each of them teaching me more about the Awiakay lifeworld than words could say. Pupi would seldom explain things to me – we just lived them together. Manduŋ, Andikay and Akandao took me hunting at night, and I could always rely on my brothers Sailus, Taypay and Tumak whenever I needed anything. Asuk, Wapisay and Kawasmay were always eager to help; the big men and women in the village were always ready to share their knowledge with me – Kangam as an admirable teller of myths, Tomi as a respected elder, and Yakame as a real ‘big woman’.

This list of people’s contributions to my learning about their lifeworld could embrace the whole village, but I will just mention one more person, Imbisay, whose contributions to my language learning were indispensable. Imbisay was the first person I began working with on transcriptions. He was a patient and talented teacher who continues his calling as an Elementary Prep teacher in Kanjimei. He lent me his canoe and outboard motor so many times, always without charge. Without his help with transport I would often not have had a way to come or go from Kanjimei. Imbisay o, andaposa wayparik! ‘Thank, you, Imbisay!’ And to all Awiakay: Mimik manga, non omgusanda!

Our missionary, Piotrek Wasko, came to the village every couple of months. Not only did he always bring parcels and letters that my family and friends had sent to his address, he’d often bring me treats from town, and help us all with transport when we met him in Wewak. I cherish our discussions that went long into the night on the veranda of my house in Kanjimei when his official duties were over.

Whenever I came to Wewak, I enjoyed the hospitality of Paul Kamban’s family in Masandanai camp at Kreer market. It is in a dodgy part of town with frequent drunken fights and flying bottles at night, so staying with Paul’s family felt like being in the eye of the tornado: in the middle of turmoil, yet always safe. The same people who made trouble at night, would help me in many ways by day: with transport, with knowing where to get things that are not available in shops – as well as by being my siki mangi ‘security boys’ – and girls. Knowing where they came from, the other raskols ‘criminals’ would not dare attack us. In particular I would like to thank Patrick Tanget, the local businessman who helped me in many ways, and his wife Maisie, who even lent me money when I was trying to secure a drum of petrol for our travels. Without this
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In Port Moresby I wish to acknowledge Jim Robbins and Georgia Kaipu from the National Research Institute, who would come and meet me at the airport, and sometimes even bring the necessary documents with them so that I would not need to spend any extra time in town.

My research was made possible by an ANU PhD Scholarship and an Endeavour International Postgraduate Research Scholarship, by the Marie Reay Prize in Anthropology in support of PhD fieldwork, and by an Endangered Languages Documentation Programme grant (IGS0162). In this connection I would like to thank Mandana Seyfeddinipur for her ongoing encouragement and enthusiasm about my work.

There are a number of people whom I met during my PhD journey, who have in different ways contributed to the making of this ‘book’ – and who became an important part of my life.

My main supervisor, Alan Rumsey, has been a source of inspiration and a model of intellectual wisdom. He was generous with his time; never tired of carefully reading and commenting on my numerous drafts, always having useful suggestions as to what else to read, and how to see things in a different way. He knew how to lead me out of the swirl when I was spinning within one topic. He even brought in his guitar to make me – illiterate in music – hear and compare different pitches when I started analysing melodies in Awiakay songs. It is only now at the end of the PhD process that I see how carefully he has led me through various stages of initiation into the academic world. I will always have fond memories of his visit to Kanjimei, where people, entertained by his playing a harmonic and the guitar, even composed a song about him. Thank you, Alan, for being my Teacher, and my Friend!

Another source of inspiration was my co-supervisor, Andy Pawley, who has been following my work in Kanjimei since the very beginning. It was his paper on Kalam Pandanus Language (1992) that initially inspired my decision to work with Awiakay mountain talk. I have always loved listening to Andy’s stories of his early fieldwork, watching his pictures from the Kalam land, and marveled at his academic generosity. He was an immensely supportive and encouraging supervisor, never tired of listening, and never short of advice when it was needed. Tenkyu tumas, Andy! I wish to extend my thanks to Medina Pawley. It was a countless of times that she’d invite me to
their house (often along with my wantoks) for a ‘simple meal’, as she put it, which always turned out to be a real feast in warm company.

As my advisor, Nick Evans went beyond the call of duty in supporting my project, even by investing in a projector that I could take to the field. I valued his insightful comments on draft chapters. Above all, I cherish our shared enthusiasm for fieldwork, and greatly appreciate his invitation to join him in a field trip to Bimabdn in Western Province, PNG, in order to film in his fieldsite. Thank you wiyamand! I extend my thanks to Penny Johnson for her selfless support and care, for sharing many interests and expanding my horizons. She brought me many a cup of tea when I was staying in their house and working long nights – and produced a wonderful drawing of betelnut for this thesis.

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Gary Kildea was a source of inspiration in filmmaking. Much of what I know about the craft I learnt from him (I even ‘copied’ his idea of making high shots, as he did when shooting ‘Trobriand Cricket’). He spent countless hours with my material, watching and patiently improving my editing and subtitling. I was surprised to learn in the process how much film-editing and writing have in common. Gary also read drafts of all the chapters and I greatly benefitted from our subsequent discussions that extended beyond the events in question, to the use of language, and the nature of human kind in general. Gary helped me in numerous ways, not enough space here to list them all. Bai mi tok wanem? Tenkyu tumas, Masta G, yu winim aiskrim!

There was a period when Gary argued with those who claimed that a film could never be compared to an ethnography, because it cannot make an argument. His conclusion was that if social sciences and film are not able to converse, they can dance together. This thesis was inspired by the muses of Anthropology, Linguistics and Filmmaking. For the moments when they dance together I thank my supervisory gang who made it all possible.

There are a few more people who, though not officially part of the team, have made invaluable contributions to shaping this thesis.

I would never even have thought of taking the path I did if it weren’t for Borut Telban, my MA supervisor and my first guru in anthropology, who inspired me with his work in PNG and initially encouraged me to visit the ANU. While we are usually in
different parts of the world, only sometimes meeting ‘in the middle of our here and 
now’, Borut continues to follow my work and provide invaluable critical comments. 

*Tenkyu tru, Kapray!*

While I am writing these acknowledgements, Pip Deveson is probably 
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photography, and for many stories we shared about fieldwork.

I know that Volker Gast expects me to add a subsection called 
‘disacknowledgements’ and list his name there, but I will disappoint him and instead 
positively acknowledge his contribution to this thesis. Our many arguments about the 
methods and call of anthropology made me reconsider what we often take for granted 
when talking to our fellow-anthropologists, ‘our own tribe’, or others with whom we 
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In the last two years of my PhD I have been without a scholarship. Not being able to pay rent I have thus depended on the generosity of a number of people for accommodation. In particular I wish to thank all my supervisors who at various stages kindly invited me to stay with them or to look after their houses when they were away. For generously providing me with accommodation I also thank Robert Attenborough, who also helped me in many other ways in the hectic times before going to the field.

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Last but not least, my gratitude goes to my sister Hojka and to my mother
Stanka for their unstinting support and care on the path I’ve chosen to walk.
This thesis focuses on language and modes of performance in Kanjimei village, a small, largely endogamous community in East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. The approximately 300 members of this community speak Awiakay, a Papuan language belonging to the Arafundi group, and call themselves Awiakay. Based on 23 months of fieldwork, and drawing material from video recordings of natural speech situations, the thesis analyses the form and social functions of a range of different linguistic registers and the ways in which each of them reflects – and is itself a part of – socio-cultural continuity and change.

Each of the five main chapters between the Introduction and Conclusion deals with a different linguistic register and its role in Awiakay society. Chapter 2 treats two historically related registers, ‘mountain talk’ and ‘hidden talk’ in which ordinary vocabulary is replaced by secret vocabulary, known only to the Awiakay. Mountain talk is the older genre, used during hunting trips in the mountains, in order to avoid the anger and potential malicious actions of the mountain spirits. The Awiakay have recently transferred this practice of lexical replacement to a different social setting, in which they try to avoid the dangers presented by raskols (Tok Pisin for ‘criminals’) in the provincial capital when they go to town.

Chapter 3 analyses the language of disputes and fighting. It examines both domestic and village-internal fights and demonstrates the importance of language use in traditional conflict resolution.

Chapter 4 examines Catholic charismatic spirit possession, which temporarily legitimises two otherwise condemned social practices: gossip and public criticism. Through video-recorded case study the chapter demonstrates the role of language use and language ideologies in patching the previously torn social fabric.

Chapter 5 deals with laments, or ‘sung-texted melodic weeping’. A person’s weeping for a deceased relative or a dog is at the same time used as an indirect public call for help, or as a subtle airing of grievances about other people’s wrongdoings (with or without a direct connection to the deceased). The melody which accompanies these complaints makes other people sympathise with the person weeping, so their laments are heard and taken seriously by other members of the society rather than condemned as malicious provocations.
The last ethnographic chapter (6) is on *Kaunjambi*, an all-night song/dance cycle of 43 songs, which were, in the Awiakay view, composed by their ancestral spirits. Linguistic, musical and ethnographic analyses of the verbatim transcripts and the video and audio recordings of several performances of this song/dance cycle lead to the argument that *Kaunjambi* is an indigenously-composed auto-ethnography.

The text of the thesis is intertwined with observational ethnographic film. The video clips are an integral part of the thesis; they are recordings of events that are analysed in individual chapters, and are thus intended to be watched while reading.

All chapters are placed within the broader ethnographic literature on Melanesia and linguistic anthropology.
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<td>abilitative</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative</td>
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<td>ADP</td>
<td>adposition</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverb</td>
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<td>AN</td>
<td>anaphoric</td>
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<td>AWK</td>
<td>Awiakayser</td>
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<td>BV</td>
<td>buffer vowel</td>
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<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
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<td>conditional</td>
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<td>conjunction</td>
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<td>demonstrative</td>
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<td>dual</td>
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<td>DUPL</td>
<td>duplication</td>
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<td>EF</td>
<td>external force/cause</td>
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<td>emphatic</td>
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<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
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<td>INTENS</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
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<td>ISI</td>
<td>involuntary state that is internal or invisible</td>
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<td>IVA</td>
<td>involuntary visible/audible experience</td>
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<td>NF</td>
<td>near future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCERT</td>
<td>uncertaintive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transcription conventions

Unless otherwise indicated, the transcription conventions in the excerpts from transcripts throughout the thesis are as follows:

SPEAKERS’ NAMES in capital letters, each in a full line preceding the speaker’s first words

1 line numbers

AwiaKay ITALICS

AwiaKay ‘hidden talk’ ITALICS, BOLD

Tok Pisin ITALICS, UNDERLINED

English BOLD

[background information or other interpolations]

interlinear glosses (English translation)

English translation of AwiaKay ‘hidden talk’

[clarification of translation]

| overlapping speech – the entrance point of another utterance (transcribed below)

| marks the beginning of the utterance which overlaps with the previously started one (its entrance point marked by |
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Chapter 7:

revisit VIDEO 1-1: Kangam [8:57] https://vimeo.com/112989908
TEXT and FILM in this thesis

This thesis is intertwined with film, which means that the text and the videos complement each other. Neither is a mere illustration or analysis of the other, and neither is sufficient unto itself. I would therefore like to ask the reader to view the videos in places where indicated in the text. All of the videos, along with an electronic version of this thesis, are on the USB key provided below. When you mount it on your computer an icon labelled DARJA_FILMS should appear on your desktop.

There are two ways of accessing the videos: (1) If you have access to the Internet, you can click on the Vimeo links embedded in the electronic version of the thesis or paste the URL into the address bar on your web browser. The password for all films is K. Please note that the Vimeo files may take some time to buffer. I would suggest (2) watching the videos directly from the USB key. These files are of higher resolution than the online versions and should be available without delay or halting playback. The video folders are numbered according to their respective thesis chapters.
This thesis is based on 23 months of fieldwork among the Awiakay people who live in Kanjimei village in East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. I spent four months there in 2004 and an additional two months in 2006, as a part of my MA research. The rest was the PhD fieldwork, divided into three trips: thirteen months between November 2008 and December 2009, another month in 2010, and a three-month return fieldtrip in 2012.

During my previous visits to New Guinea as a traveller I had spent some time in Ambonwari village, which made me decide to do fieldwork in this region. After consulting the anthropologist Borut Telban and the linguist Bill Foley, who did their fieldwork in Ambonwari and Yimas, respectively, I decided to go to Kanjimei, a small community upriver from Ambonwari. This village has never had a resident missionary and no research had been done there. Apart from the people of neighbouring areas, there are few from the ‘outside world’ who have ever stayed overnight in the village. After four months of travelling in Papua New Guinea in 1998 and 2001, and a few years of exchanging letters with my friends in Ambonwari, I was already fluent in Tok Pisin, the local lingua franca, when I began fieldwork.

It was a rainy afternoon in June 2004 when I first arrived in Kanjimei. As it was at the time impossible to send a letter to the village, nobody knew I was coming to stay and people were taken by surprise when they saw an Ambonwari canoe bringing *kandukya oma* (white skin) to their village. Rather than welcoming curiosity, which I was used to
from my previous travels in Papua New Guinea, I felt suspicious scrutiny by those who came to the riverbank to check who had arrived in the canoe. I tried to explain that I would like to study their language and culture and write a 'book' about it.

As having a white researcher staying in a village is a sign of prestige in the area, the Awiakay agreed to my request. With my then-husband Rick, who accompanied me for a part of that field trip, we were given a small house in the middle of the village. In spite of people’s clear approval of hosting a researcher, the atmosphere remained unpleasantly tense. I remember at some point hiding my tear-filled eyes from Rick, so as not to show the serious doubts I had about making it through my intended four-month stay in that place. But the winds turned. After a couple of weeks some money was stolen from us, allegedly by some visitors from another village. At that time the whole community stepped together to help and protect us, as they feared that we were going to leave. This was the first time that I witnessed Awiakay employing their own language to exclude from their conversations the ‘outsiders’, in this case the suspects from a neighbouring village who did not understand Awiakay, and in my house we ‘conspired’ together (this time in Tok Pisin) to trick the thieves into returning the money – which turned up on that very night.

That incident became a matter of long discussions and speculation. Everybody wanted to take part in the story and I started to feel that the ice was melting. Malinowski had observed that discussing mutually experienced activities or events with the informants is of particular importance. His point was not only that this can help the ethnographer ‘integrate native behaviour into native significance’ (Malinowski 1935: 86), but that particularly at the beginning of fieldwork, common experiences and subsequent discussions help build a relationship between an ethnographer and their informants.

Soon after this event I was adopted into a family and given the name Kongotmay, the name of the water spirit from a nearby lake called Mungam. It is customary in small kinship-based societies in this part of the Sepik to adopt researchers. As everyone is in one way or another related to everyone else, the resident researcher needs to be given a place in the kinship system, which then rids people of the confusion of how to relate to them. This is how my socialization into the Awiakay world began. The whole community took the newly-established kinship relations very seriously, and began eagerly to teach me about the proper ways of relating to other ‘relatives’. Every time I came to her house, my adoptive mother Konunda gave me some meat, fish or
sago grubs to give to my brothers’ children, saved a smoked bandicoot leg that my
‘brother-in-law’ had brought for me, and pointed out for me every time a relative came
to the house with whom I should share something from her fireplace. My ‘sisters’
Tikinjao and Mesia were teaching their young children to call me *ambi* ‘mother’, my
‘brothers’ acted protectively towards me and after a successful hunt they were always
sharing part of their kill with me; my ‘father’ Aymakan and ‘brothers’ took turns in
guarding my house at night when people from other villages visited Kanjimei. Based on
the reciprocity of exchange our notional relationships started becoming real.

Just before my first departure from Kanjimei four months later, I asked why
people had been so reserved at the beginning. I was told that when, at the time, I called
out the name of an Awiakay man (which I’d learnt from their Ambonwari neighbours
who had suggested that I started working with him on the language), many were
convinced that I was the spirit of his sister, who died as a child, returning to the village.
Combined with questions such as: ‘What does she want? What are her intentions? Who
sent her?’ which, regardless of our attempts to explain our work, commonly bother
Papua New Guineans when a stranger enters their community, this explained people’s
unusually reserved behaviour during my first fortnight in the village.
In early fieldtrips I began to understand the Awiakay lifeworld through people’s answers to my naïve questions in Tok Pisin, through painstaking transcriptions, translations, and subsequent discussions of the recorded materials, through learning their language, travelling along their land, learning about the environment, gathering food, sharing their worries and laughter. While all this continued, in the longer fieldtrip I also learnt through a more painful, sometimes humiliating way, through my own mistakes, often misunderstandings, which had roots in my own cultural preconceptions.

At the beginning I inclined to the view that one should leave the baggage of one’s own culture, one’s own habitus, behind when going to the field. I would now argue that this is hardly ever possible; wrongheaded even, in that it could limit our curiosity. Rather, I believe, one should try to develop a consciousness of just how deeply such roots reach, and use one’s ‘outsideness’ as a balancing tool in an honest attempt to see and understand a lifeworld through the prism of a foreign culture. For, if seeing the world through the eyes of ‘the other’ were the only aspect of this understanding, “it would merely be a duplication and would not entail anything new or enriching” (Bakhtin 1986: 7). Just when writing this introduction, I found a fitting passage in Bakhtin’s response to a question from Novy Mir, a view I can largely agree with:

In the realm of culture, outsideness is a most powerful factor in understanding. It is only in the eyes of another culture that foreign culture reveals itself fully and profoundly … A meaning only reveals its depths once it has encountered and come into contact with another, foreign meaning: they engage in a kind of dialogue which surmounts the closedness and one-sidedness of these particular meanings, these cultures. We raise new questions for a foreign culture, ones that it did not raise for itself; we seek answers to our own questions in it; and the foreign culture responds to us by revealing to us its new aspects and new semantic depths (Bakhtin 1986: 7).

I learnt about sikun, Tok Pisin for ‘reconciliation’ (from English ‘shake hands’), by observing what happened after numerous fights in the village. I recorded some instances of reconciliation events, transcribed what was said in them and learnt the formulaic expressions used on such occasions. I learnt about the sequence of events in reconciliation processes and tried to note whatever was externally observable. However, I only learnt about the essence of this institution after being (unintentionally) part of one such instance myself. In late March 2009 a teacher from town came to the village to teach Grade 3 at the Primary School. As there had been no such ‘high’ grade before, Grade 3 was now attended by nearly everyone between the ages of twelve and twenty. After the first week of tuition, a pregnant girl was told to stay at home, as she was, in
the teacher's words, 'a bad example for others in the classroom.' Given that everyone in
the village, including small children, knew all the details about the affair that led to this
pregnancy, this was nothing new to anyone in the village, and I believed that no harm
could be done if the girl kept attending the school. As I was paying tuition fees, I felt
even more indignant about the whole thing, and thought I had the right to say something
about it. I first talked to the girl and her family, then asked around in the village, and
everyone was of the opinion that it was good that all kids, including this girl, attended
the school. I had a word with the teacher and he said that school regulations did not
allow pregnant pupils in lower grades of the Primary School and that he was not going
to allow the girl to come back to school. I reasoned that the rules must have been
written with a view to children starting school at the usual age – no more than ten or
eleven in Grade 3 – regardless of the fact that in remote places lower grades are often
attended also by older pupils. This did not help. He did not want to accept that a 19-
year-old girl had the right to be pregnant – and be at school; even more so, it seemed, if
the local community agreed with it. All the villagers were grumbling about it; loudly
expressing their views that they wanted all their kids in school, yet nobody dared speak
to the teacher who communicated only with the Councillor, and with two other men. I
therefore took it on myself to be the mediator. The Councillor encouraged me to call a
meeting, and so I made a speech, presenting what I believed were the villagers' views
on why the girl should stay in school. There was no reaction to it, and in the end the
village Councillor Aymay said, "Thank you for your talk, Darja, we all agree with
everything you said, but the teacher should do what he wants." Everybody else kept
quiet. Not a single sign of approval – or disapproval – from anyone, even though they
had been previously loudly supporting this 'education-for-all-Awiakay campaign'. I felt
humiliated. I could not possibly understand why people, who had kept complaining
about the situation and had been encouraging me to make this speech, at a crucial point
pulled out. When I tried to talk to my sister Mesia, who I felt was my closest friend, she
said: "Darja, it doesn't matter what people do – we like you anyway." As genuine and
warm as this sounded, it was not enough – I still could not understand. I suddenly felt
alone among strangers.

I tried to resume the daily routine of my work, but my enthusiasm was
attenuated. Of course the Awiakay also knew that something was wrong. As my house
was built in the centre of the village, everyone could see me sitting on my veranda,
pondering things by myself, rather than eagerly participating in village life as before,
and always bringing conversations with those who came to sit with me back to the same issue. One day my kunam (yZH) Mandun leaned onto the veranda where I was sitting, and said: “Darja, they will make a big kastom (TP) ‘custom’ on you. You must prepare something to give them in return. Your father will explain it to you.” Puzzled as to what this might be about, I went to see my ‘father’ Aymakan. He explained that everyone was worried about me, as it was clear that my spirit was detached from my body, and that they had decided to get it back. Moreover, ‘they’ wanted the reconciliation to involve all my family. “Who are ‘they’?” I asked. It was the School Chairman, Akrumbayn, and his family. But the School Chairman was my cross-cousin, my joking partner, and he wasn’t even in the village at the time of my talk – why would I be angry with him? If I was cross with anyone, it was with the teacher from town, who, I thought, should know better, and not directly with anyone from Kanjimei, although I did not understand their behaviour. But the Awiakay took it that it was the school that caused this trouble and that the school representative had to take it on him and his family to reconcile with me and my family. I was to prepare ‘something good’ to give them for the kastom they were going to perform. What would that be? At that time I did not have anything that I did not need for my work, and my food supplies were getting short. My village parents Aymakan and Kununda agreed that a couple of bags of rice, some tinned fish and a small backpack would do. When I brought it all to their house, where the reconciliation was to take place, Kununda took the tinned fish away and placed them in her bilum, saying that we should not shame them with the gift being too big. Akrumbayn and his extended family arrived in the house and before I knew it he threw a plastic Coke bottle filled with lime in front of my legs and jumped on it, so that the lime dust spurted over me, up to my waist. A brother of mine, and a brother of his held hands, and Akrumbayn and I were told to shake hands whilst crossing theirs. He then hung an old bilum ‘string bag’ on my neck and I gave him my backpack filled with rice bags. While I was handing it to him, my mother hastened to put in the tinned fish that she had previously taken out, saying that they indeed had made a big kastom and that the tinned fish should be added. Akrumbayn leaned on me and started crying, saying that he only gave me a rubbish bilum. Everyone from his family shook hands with me and my family, and we were handed a bunch of betelnuts to break. As we were to bite into the betelnut, I was told that my spirit was back now and I was not to talk about, nor to think of these things any longer. I wanted to argue that I could not just be quiet when

Later, when discussing this reconciliation with some of the people involved, I was told that in the past they would use a gourd rather than a Coke bottle.
something is wrong, and that in fact... But it wasn't the right moment. Everybody was glittering with joy, shaking hands, chewing betel nut together. The reconciliation between the two families (that were never actually even in dispute) was not just a performance for a sulking anthropologist, but a genuine display of goodwill and effort to make amends.

One thing I learned from being an unintended direct participant in this event was about local notions about gift and reciprocity. It is not only ‘outsiders’ who have trouble estimating how much to give – the Awiakay themselves are often uncertain about how much it is appropriate to give – not wanting to give too much (for their own sake, but also not to shame the receiver with an excessive gift), nor too little, as that would show lack of respect and generosity on their part, making them prone to gossip in the village. It might even upset ancestral spirits.

Furthermore, I could see how important it is for the Awiakay that a person’s spirit be attached to the body it belongs to, rather than wandering around in grief or resentment, and thereby leaving the body open to sickness or prone to accidents.²

People are often forced to reconcile, but I could feel that even the imposed bonhomie of everyone present does have a positive effect on the wronged or otherwise involved persons, and even though the wrongs are not forgotten (and they often blow out at the next dispute), after reconciliation one needs to divert one’s mind to other things.

In the following weeks, with my mind more at rest – and while still not understanding everything – I learnt that the Awiakay had been scared that if we continued to pursue what everybody believed was the right thing, the teacher might have decided to leave. Having a Grade 3 teacher in Kanjimei meant that children from some other villages in the area, Awim, Yamandim and Imboin, would come to Kanjimei, and by hosting them, the Awiakay would gain political power in the area. Although everyone did agree that all young Awiakay should be allowed to go to school, and although there were no traditional constraints on a pregnant girl doing so, agreeing with the teacher on such a small matter as one woman’s education seemed but a small sacrifice in comparison with the potential benefits that the school in the village could bring. What is more, this girl’s marital status was not resolved. The boy who was the alleged father of the child claimed that they had not had sex frequently enough for her

² This theme will reappear in the following chapters and will be discussed in more detail in other case studies.
to become pregnant by him. When a person has unresolved problems, which the Awiakay most frequently refer to with a Tok Pisin word hevi, it is most natural for them to stay at home. This applies to both men and women: having any kind of hevi means that one is prone to accidents. As their spirit is not with them, they cannot properly enjoy anything social, so they often avoid going to church, singing, etc. It was, then, not a traditional belief that a pregnant woman ought not do certain things, nor did the Awiakay go along with the teacher’s reasoning that a pregnant girl in class would be a ‘bad example for others’. The reasons behind their unsupportive silence lay elsewhere, in part in their collective desire for political power – and potential development.

Apart from all those minor insights, the most important lesson I learnt from this episode was that understanding people’s behaviour or any social event, and consequently the workings of a society, takes several different perspectives, considerable background knowledge and an accurate interpretation of many details. I thus recognised the value of Geertzian ‘thick description’.

The longer I stayed in the field, the more I internalised Awiakay ways of being – and feeling. I remember first discussing with Borut Telban the importance of always sharing food in Ambonwari, and then reading Edward Schieffelin’s ethnography of the Kaluli, The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers (1976: 71), where he points out that food “doesn’t only mediate social relationships; it comes to stand for them as well. To be hungry therefore, implies more than merely a condition of physical need. It also implies isolation from companionship.” I later discovered how important it is to the Awiakay. One day I found myself sitting disconsolately on my veranda, and coming to realise that this feeling was due to nobody bringing any food to me – and I was not even hungry.

Every night I went to my mosquito net mulling over all the improbable, incomprehensible, manipulative and sometimes violent events of the day, but also the pleasant and funny ones. Noting them down and analysing them in my field diary helped me remain sane, while at the same time I was slowly gathering bits and pieces of information that often only started to make sense much later.

At night under the mosquito net was my only ‘private’ time in Kanjimeii. As soon as I woke up in the morning my house became open to all and sundry, and my various ‘services’ were in high demand. The nearest Health Centre was in Amboin, a day’s canoe paddling away, and, in any case, it was mostly unattended as the personnel

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3 The Awiakay believe that a couple needs to have intercourse several times before a woman becomes pregnant.
preferred to be in town. So my house became a kind of village hospital where I treated everyone in need in the best way I could. This involved patching wounds and giving out basic medicines, as well as treating more serious injuries such as chopped-off fingers and deep axe cuts. Those who came to me with minor ailments were often just coming for a chat, and it was while acting as village ‘nurse’ that I learned about certain people’s perspectives on current events in Kanjimeii.

My main daily work, however, involved recording natural (i.e. unelicited) speech – whatever was going on in the village – and then transcribing and translating it with the help of Awiakay assistants. This was when I sometimes used linguistic elicitation. I was aware that systematic linguistic analysis requires a different corpus of data than the kind aimed at by an anthropologist. However, a basic understanding of Awiakay grammar later became a tool that helped me properly analyse my primary data.

At first I used just a small audio recorder, but soon came to realise how much easier (and more revelatory) the transcription process can be when working from audio-visual material. Transcribing natural speech in situations where there is a lot of overlapping talk is an incredibly slow and tedious job, whereas with the picture component of video recording it is possible to recognise the speakers even at times when they are not in view. In village fights, for example, when everybody is screaming over everybody else, my assistants often figured out whose voice was coming from the back only from being able to see the addressee, who might have even been silent. In an audio recording, this would be impossible. Besides, in a video recording one can see aspects of an event that one has missed at the time. And needless to say, video recording enables us to study gestures and facial expressions, both of which are of crucial importance in studying ways of speaking, as they are often integral to particular speech acts.

Whilst participation and observation have long been widely recognised as indispensable parts of ethnographic inquiry, detailed transcription and translation of the recorded materials have had more recognition in linguistic work. I actually found transcribing and translating to be a ‘deeply ethnographic process’ (Telban 1997: 30), involving many invaluable discussions with informants.4 These often extended way beyond what I could have planned to ask and brought with them as a bonus many insights into the Awiakay lifeworld. The visual component of the recordings made the

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4 For the value of transcription in ethnographic work see also Kulick 1992: 274 and Schieffelin 1990: 31.
discussions with the informants far richer and more detailed than when transcribing from audio recordings alone. Attention was sometimes drawn to a bystander who did not even speak, but whose presence was crucial for understanding the meaning of the words uttered at a particular moment. Watching the social situations being transcribed, the informants were led to evaluate recorded events, offering up interpretations of the conduct and speech within them. Thus I cannot but agree with Margaret Mead, who together with Gregory Bateson helped pioneer the use of video in anthropology, complaining of the ‘criminal neglect’ of film’s potential:

... research project after research project fail to include filming and insist on continuing the hopelessly inadequate note-taking of an earlier age, while the behaviour that film could have caught and preserved for centuries (preserved for the joy of the descendants of those who dance a ritual for the last time and for the illumination of future generations of human scientists) disappears – disappears right in front of everybody’s eyes (Mead 1975: 4-5).

Most of the primary data I collected involves video (and sometimes audio) recordings of naturalistic speech. Recording naturalistic speech in an observational style vs. recording elicited speech in more optimal conditions can be compared to the ‘unprivileged camera style’ vs. ‘privileged style’ (such as Hollywood-type production; cf. Dimmendaal 2010: 155). The latter, admittedly, has a greater dramatic effect than the former, in which the camera takes the point of view of a spectator (who cannot be in several places at the same time), yet the ‘Hollywood approach’ (with ideal conditions of recording), is too distracting to document natural speech situations. I thus went on to explore some of my camera’s more esoteric features such as infrared sensitive ‘night-mode’. The older consumer digital video camera that I used during my longest fieldtrip had this capacity and allowed unobtrusive recording of night-time situations without the need of visible lighting. This enabled me to record situations and events which would have been impossible to study without a video-recording – and also impossible to record using visible lighting – such as spirit possession events, which is the main subject of Chapter 4.

There are additional benefits to using video in the field, and one of them, much favoured among the Awiakay, was the possibility of bringing the materials back to the community for the purpose of some ‘dialogic editing’ (Feld 1990: 240-68). On my most recent field trip, in 2012, I travelled to Kanjimei with 105kg of equipment.
Plate 2: A film evening in Kanjimei in May 2012

Plate 3: Kununda approvingly nodding when watching a video-recording of herself telling a myth about apawia, a ritual plant used as decoration by men when going for raids, and tabooed for women, who would never stop bleeding if they stuck its red leaves behind their grass skirts.
Plate 4: Built in a single day, the filming tower was a result of amazing cooperation among the Awiakay.
Besides the recording gear, which this time included two additional cameras, I brought a large bedsheet for a screen, a projector and a generator, and publicly showed some edited film material from my previous fieldtrips (Plate 2). This was the first time for most of the Awiakay to see themselves on the screen and their reflexive comments on their own speech practices make an important contribution to this thesis. A new Awiakay phrase was immediately coined for the bedsheet-screen; tem tia ‘the skin of the sun’. When I expressed a wish for a strong ladder to climb a high coconut palm, from which to take some high shots, people gladly built me a magnificent filming tower (Plate 5).

Combining ethnographic and linguistic research methods with filmmaking resulted in my being constantly torn between them all: when I was sitting with my informants and transcribing, I felt guilty for not being out there participating in village life. When I was recording I felt I should have been transcribing and translating – this process being so time-consuming I always seemed to be behind. And whenever I was in the bush, or participating in something interesting, there was always the anxiety that maybe I should be filming it.

At the beginning the Awiakay were not familiar with my technical equipment, so I tried to explain it and show them how it worked (Plate 3). They were never bothered about my gear when I was recording them, rather, they were always interested in it and eager to learn about the new stuff I brought with me. I carried the camera with me most of the time, and people soon started to perceive it as the extension of my body. While the still camera was called memek ‘lightning’ because of its flash, the video camera was called tem nokomga, ‘the eye of the sun’.

Although people were always aware if I was recording, they would not speak in a different way because of that. I was encouraged to record even in some situations when I myself might not have decided to.

The Awiakay seemed pleased with the prospect of their names appearing in this thesis. For this reason I decided not to code my informants. They knew that I was going to write about anything and everything, and when someone told me something secret,
which they did not want to become public, they explicitly asked me not to ‘put it into
the book’. The status of ‘secrets’ is also variable, and I learnt that what we might label
as a ‘sensitive issue’ does not always appear that way to the Awiakay. Conversely,
things that we would never even think of as having much significance, can, for various
reasons, be of a secretive nature and although the Awiakay shared them with me for my
own knowledge, we agreed that I would not write about them. Everyone was happy for
me to show all the videos that are part of this thesis anywhere out of PNG. However,
they might have some reservations about my making them available to their immediate
neighbours. The videos which are uploaded on Vimeo are therefore protected with a
password.

Fieldwork among the Awiakay also included accompanying people on their
business trips to Wewak, the provincial capital, where men were selling eaglewood, as
well as extended trips out of the village into the forest. Whole families often leave the
village for several weeks to spend time in their bush camps, hunting and searching in
the mountains for eaglewood, a precious commodity commanding a high price in
Wewak. At first some people were reluctant to let me go along on such trips. The first
time, there was suddenly panic in the village. Improbable reasons were advanced as to
why it was not advisable. Yakame, an elderly respected woman, for example, came to
tell me in distress that the place I wanted to go to was full of deadly snakes hanging
from tree branches and falling into canoes. To my way of thinking, if Awiakay people –
even children – can survive it, so could I, and I stubbornly insisted that I was sure I’d be
safe. Finally they relented, and as it turned out I was confronted with no such horrors.
But I later came to realise that she was actually referring to spirits, who inhabit
Awiakay land, and who may cause harm to an unfamiliar person entering there.
However, if the stranger is accompanied by the owners of the land, it is normally
considered safe. Venturing off on one’s own, though, could invite misadventure.

Despite my having to carefully negotiate entry to these forest domains, little by
little I became familiar with the lay of Awiakay land. I was eventually able to visit
nearly all of the many bush camps and ancestral places. Once, coming down from the
mountain towards Ambiam camp, the boys accompanying me wanted to take the route
through the forest, while I said I would prefer to follow the river. O, Kongot, nangoy
yom. ‘Well, it’s your river, Kongot’, one of them said as if to suggest that it had always
been my land – so why not. And off they went into the bush. This was the very first
time that I had been left alone in the bush. I waded through the river, swam through the
deeper basins, and was thrilled to realise that I knew this place; that I could recognise
the banks, the trees and the stumps. I knew the layout of the deeper parts of the river
and about where to watch for tree roots and whirlpools. What used to be dark forbidding
bush appeared to me now as a friendly, familiar setting. I knew this land. And the
Awiakay, by then, acknowledged that the spirits of the land knew me too.

Plate 6: A scene from one of our many bushtrips: Aymakan playing panpipes and Kununda swinging her
legs to the rhythm, waiting for those of us in a canoe to drift past them.
Chapter One:

Introduction

1.1 THE SETTING

1.1.1 AWIAKAY LAND

Awiakay land (Maps 1.1 and 1.2) covers approximately 300 km² of lowland rainforest and freshwater swamp forest area around the upper Konmei River (locally called Yamam) in the southern flood plain of the Sepik River in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. Its southern part stretches into the northern Fringe Highlands of the New Guinea Central Range, and touches the Maramuni River to the south-east.

Map 1.1: Awiakay land

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1 Some parts of this section are drawn from my unpublished MA thesis (Hoenigman 2007).
Kanjime village, where the Awiakay are settled, is located in the north of this territory. Towards the end of the dry season (kakuk), which lasts from May to September, when the water level in rivers and creeks gets very low, Kanjime is accessible only with difficulty by motor canoe. Due to the fallen trees which block the river and need to be cut in order to pass, the journey between Kanjime and Ambonwari may take six hours, whereas in the wet season (ej tema ‘the time of rain’), or when the Konmei fills with water coming from the rain in the mountains, the same trip takes between two and two-and-a-half hours.

Map 1.2 Awiakay land and surrounding area

On the large-scale map of the area (PNG Topographic Survey map 1:100 000; sheet 7688: Yimas), as well as on some maps available on the internet, Kanjime is spelt as ‘Kansimei’. This spelling can be traced back to the handwritten title of one of the Patrol Reports in which the patrol officer wrote the letter J in KANJIMEI with the top line moved more to the right than normally, so that it is easily mistaken for S. Since then the name of the village has often been spelt Kansimei, or even Kansamai. As it is pronounced /kandʒimei/ both by the inhabitants of the village and by most of the neighbouring language groups, I use the spelling Kanjime.
Map 1.3: Kanjimei village in 2009

Plate 1.3: Google Earth image of Kanjimei 2014
The present settlement stretches along the Konmei, with the houses arranged in two lines running parallel to the bank of the river (Map 1.3 and Plate 1.3). There is an additional cluster of houses in the eastern point, and three houses and an Elementary School classroom across the river. All houses in the village are made of bush materials. They are built on stilts and raised about one-and-a-half to two metres above the ground. The area underneath a house is called yapukamba. It is where people keep firewood, store petrol drums and sometimes dry canoes, occasionally do community work such as sewing thatch shingles for someone’s roof, or simply sit in the shade, chew betel nut, smoke and socialise. Some houses have walls made of sago stems (yambat), while almost half of them have no walls at all, or they are roughly-built with sago leaves or thatch shingles instead (Plate 1.4).

In December 2009 Kanjimei consisted of forty family houses (or ‘living houses’), one ‘single-man’s house’ and my house, which stands in the middle of the village (Map 1.3).

Single-man’s houses are usually built by those teenage boys who do not want to sleep with their parents and younger siblings any longer. These houses are much higher above the ground than ordinary family houses, so as to prevent young children climbing into them. They are smaller than ordinary houses and do not have a hearth, as the boys eat with their parents and sisters. A few other boys (depending on the size of the house) always join the owner.3

In 2009 there were eight haus win (TP) ‘wind houses’ in the village (Plates 1.6 and 1.7). These are open-walled roofed shelters, sometimes called ‘recreational houses’ (Telban and Vávrová 2014: 10), built especially for sitting in shade and socialising. They are the centres of Awiakay daily social life. Much of the village gossip takes place in them, and most of the news from the outside world is told in haus win shelters. Everyone who passes by stops for a moment to see who is sitting there, and sometimes passers-by are called by those sitting in a haus win and asked for betel nut or tobacco. Conversely, one feels a need to give a reason for stopping by a haus win, so anyone who wants to come and join the conversation normally starts by asking for tobacco, betel nut, lime, or at least a bite of pepper betel to chew with. If nobody has any of these, they

3 People feel worried about anyone who would have to sleep alone and when I first came to Kanjimei some women offered to sleep with me. I had to explain that I would like to read and write at night, so my house was often guarded from the outside – either at times when somebody had heard sanguma ‘assault sorcerer’ whistling close to the village, or whenever there were people from other villages visiting Kanjimei. On the nights before I leave the village, some teenagers always insist on sleeping with me. As they fill up the space inside the house, some sleep on the veranda.
quickly send a child to go and fetch it. The three bigger haus win shelters – one at the upper tip and two in the middle of the village – are often called haus boi (TP) ‘men’s house’ although they have never had the primary ritual function of a men’s house. In addition to their everyday social function they are used as venues for all important meetings and public discussions. Women and children are daily present in haus win shelters – only taboo relatives avoid each other –, but during public meetings women never come to the middle.

Since 2004 there has been a large church in the village, which resembles the churches in neighbouring villages and is built on the ground. In addition to the Elementary-prep classroom across the river, another one was built next to the soccer field in March 2009 when Kanjimei was promised a Grade 3 Elementary School teacher.

There are two groves of rubber trees at the edge of the village, which resulted from extension work by a didiman (TP ‘district agricultural officer’) who in the 1970s introduced the growing of rubber. The business soon failed, but the trees remained. The easternmost part of the village is a cleared area used as a soccer field.4

The Awiakay have often moved their settlement and today’s Kanjimei was only established some fifty years ago when people moved to the north in order to protect the borders of their land from the neighbouring Ambonwari and Imanmeri.5 Until the early 1960s people lived in Marinyam, which they call Mayna, about 10km upriver from Kanjimei (see Map 1.4). The former village is nowadays deserted and overgrown with grass and trees. It serves as a bush camp and there are four houses there where people can stay overnight when they are on their way to or from Asangamut, or when they go hunting. Previous settlements of the Awiakay are mentioned in their Myth of Origin (Hoenigman, 2007:242).

4 In East Sepik Province soccer is the most popular introduced sport and is played on Sundays. Sometimes there are intervillage matches, and there is an annual championship on September 16, Independence Day. While the men are busy with soccer, the women play basketball.
5 It should be noted that the first location of Kanjimei was slightly more towards the north-west, down the Konmei, and that the present location was finally chosen after some disputes with the Ambonwari. Moving the location of their settlements seems to be rather typical of all people in the Sepik Hills area (cf. Telban 1998: 15, Toyoda 1998: 4).
Plate 1.4: Karuap's and Moyambe's houses

Plate 1.5: Socialising under a 'single boys' house'
Plate 1.6: Socialising in Aymakan's haus win

Plate 1.7: Tobias's haus win
Awiakay creeks are dotted with bush camps (Map 1.4), which the Awiakay call 

*isom yawa* ‘forest-house’ or, more precisely, *isom yawakopa* ‘a piece of land in the bush with a house’. Some of these are just roughly-built shelters where people stay overnight when they go hunting and processing sago, whereas the more important camps, such as Kokolamgoa, Iñaktay, Omos and Ambiam, are like small hamlets, consisting of up to six sturdy houses. Bush camps are usually built in the vicinity of sago groves.

Around the houses their owners often plant betel nuts, betel pepper, bananas and sugar cane. Bigger bush camps are also used as base camps for people going further into the mountains to harvest eaglewood.\(^6\)

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\(^6\) Eaglewood or TP *garu* is sought after and sold for its fragrant resin. For more details see section 1.1.6.
Plate 1.8: Omos bush camp

Plate 1.9: Engu, Ambiwa and Pupi joking while eating bandicoot in Emgon bush camp
When the water level rises, many Awiakay set off to their bush camps and stay there for weeks. However, they always try to return to the village before the water drops so much that it would impede transport. That is why people usually spend less time in their bush camps in dry season, while most of them leave the village for longer periods in wet season. The Awiakay like spending time in the bush. They say that this is how they get ‘fresh air’, while staying too long in the village could make them sick. What they particularly enjoy in bush camps is freedom from obligations of having to share every bit of their kill. If their wives, sisters and mothers are not around, men become eager cooks.

1.1.2 POPULATION

In December 2009, Kanjimei had 303 inhabitants: 157 of these were male and 146 female. By 2012 the population had grown to 335 (see Table 1.1). However, three girls married Asangamut men and two more families spend most of their time in Asangamut, so effectively in June 2012 Kanjimei had 307 permanent inhabitants. Out-marriage is still rare, and if it happens it is most likely with Asangamut. In the past, one woman was married to Ambonwari, but she died. There are ten immigrants in Kanjimei, all of whom married into the village. Three of them, two males and a female, from Imanmeri and a female from Bungom on the Keram River, permanently live in Kanjimei and only exceptionally visit their native villages. The other eight, all Yuat women, often leave Kanjimei for long periods (usually for one to two months) and go to stay in Asangamut (and one of them to Sipisipi village; both on the Yuat River) together with their husbands and children. So the out-migration during my visit in 2012 might have been temporary.

Table 1.1: Kanjimei population in July 2006, December 2009 and June 2012

|--------------|-----|------|------|------|------|--------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|
Before their ‘first contact’ around 1938, the Awiakay had heard of kandukya oma (‘white body’, i.e. white people) from the Asangamut. They had also heard reports about the shooting and imprisoning of people who would disobey the white men. Kawaki, who was a small child at that time, recalled that everybody assumed that the white people who had come to the village were Germans. They had a translator with them, and told the Awiakay that they should stop killing people. Everyone was scared of them, but as they immediately offered salt to taste, people became curious and did not escape to the bush. These white people also brought rice and tinned fish. Although they were called ‘Germans’ (which suggests that the Awiakay at least indirectly knew of pre 1914 administrators), this seems to be an account of the first Australian patrol that reached the village. In the following years Australians worked on the pacification of the area and appointed a village luluai (TP for Australian-administration-appointed chief to run the village affairs) and his assistant, the tutil (TP). Both functions were survivals of German administration.

During the Japanese invasion of New Guinea, between January 1942 and August 1944, a Japanese troop occupied Marinyam (locally called Mayna). Kawaki remembered that the Japanese soldiers could not speak Tok Pisin. They did not kill the Awiakay, but ‘enslaved’ them: everyone in the village had to work hard to feed them – hunt for cassowaries and pigs and produce sago for them, which Kawaki recalls as very difficult because of their large number. Anyone who disobeyed would be tortured. Kawaki reported that the Japanese stayed in the village for two years.

Marinyam is first mentioned in a patrol report from November 1954, when it was a part of the Yuat Census Division. I was shown the place where the patrol officers had had a post, TP haus kia – a small rest house where they would sometimes stay during their patrols in the area. In the early 1960s, when the Awiakay settled close to the present location of Kanjimei, both Marinyam and Kanjimei were shifted to the Karawari Census Division. While reports for Kanjimei are scarce, one of them mentions that in the past the village of Kanjimei was split into two hamlets (i.e. Marinyam and Kanjimei), but that people agreed to settle in one village site in the near future. The

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5 Some time before the Second World War an Awiakay boy called Angam went to Asangamut to visit his relatives. At that time the village was raided by white men who were forcefully recruiting men along the Yuat for work on plantations around Kavieng. People say that the villagers tried to fight and shoot the intruders, which is why ‘they tied all big men from Asangamut like pigs to the trees and lined them up.’ They took many men with them, including Angam. When he returned, he already knew Tok Pisin.

6 It is impossible to tell how many Japanese soldiers were in Marinyam, but according to Kawaki the villagers had to build three large houses for them.
rarity of reports on Kanjimeoi indicates that patrol officers only infrequently visited the village. The Awiakay do not remember much about that either.

Nowadays people see the contact era as a positive period which put a halt to head-hunting and cannibalism. They say that unlike their ancestors they can freely move around without being constantly afraid of the enemies’ spears. With the exception of the Japanese invasion they see the contact era as the beginning of ‘development’, for which they are still waiting. On the other hand, this was also the time when the Awiakay gave up initiation rites, and their traditional system of marriages, started to fall apart. People constantly complain that today life is no longer orderly and that they are becoming weaklings, whereas their ancestors, who followed kandejak enda ‘the way of the big men’ i.e. ‘customary ways’, were all big, strong and healthy men and women.

1.1.3 SUBSISTENCE

The Awiakay mainly subsist on processing sago, hunting, fishing and gathering, supplementing their diet with limited gardening. Apart from domesticated dogs, which are used to help the Awiakay hunt (and are not eaten, as people often emphasise), the only animals they keep are chickens. Pigs are not reared in the village except for a short term in special circumstances.

When referring to food, the Awiakay distinguish between tay ‘sago’, mengge ‘terrestrial and arboreal game’ (once humans were included into this group), tinuj ‘aquatic game’ and iskanga ‘leaves from a tree’, or any other vegetables.

As sago is the main staple, people often say tay nin ana ‘come and have some sago’ in the sense ‘come and eat’, even if the meal involves no sago (which is indeed quite rare). People normally go and process sago (Metroxylon sp.) once or twice a week, depending on the size of the family. When the river is very high, men float sago trunks down to the village and in the next few days everybody is busy pulverizing sago close to their houses. Men often help women pulverizing the pith, while washing the starch is solely women’s work (Plates 1.10 and 1.11).

9 There is both linguistic and cultural evidence (Hoenigman 2007:102-104) which supports Roscoe’s (2005) hypothesis that the Arafundi people traditionally foraged in the tropical forest, and have only recently begun to supplement their diet of sago, game, insects and plant matter found in the forest with limited gardening.

10 When a sow which has piglets is shot, the offspring are brought to the village and reared, at least for a short time. They are then often sold on to other villages. The same happens with young cassowaries, cuscuses or birds.

11 The Awiakay frequently try to distinguish themselves from their neighbours by emphasising that both men and women pound sago, whereas in Ambonwari this is men’s work, and in the Yuat villages it is
women's domain. According to Telban (pers. comm.) such local distinctions cannot be taken at face value, as processing sago is also family work among Ambonwari).
There are several sago stands in the northern part of the Awiakay land, not more than two hours walk from the village, but stands become increasingly rare as one moves southwards and the elevation of the territory increases.

The most important animal hunted is wild pig. There are several different ways of hunting it, the most frequent being *tay yawa* ‘sago trap’ whereby a pig is lured to an opened sago trunk where it is speared at night by a hunter in a hide built of sago leaves. If the wounded pig escapes, it is followed by dogs and killed when it weakens. Another large and highly desirable, though more rarely obtained game, is cassowary. It can be hunted with dogs and killed using either a bow and arrow or a spear. It often happens that a dog is killed by the fighting cassowary. A cassowary may also be lured into a trap or targeted by a hunter from a canoe while it eats grass on the riverbank. There are two species of cassowary on Awiakay land. The cassowary found in the mountains is smaller, so it is presumably the Dwarf Cassowary (*Casuarius bennetti*). The larger one, found in the lowlands, is the northern cassowary (*Casuarius unappendiculatus*).

The Awiakay also hunt all of the smaller terrestrial and arboreal mammals and marsupials which live in the forest, e.g. cuscuses, wallabies and bandicoots. Among the larger birds hunted are the crowned pigeon and wild fowl, which are either killed with a bow and arrow or trapped. Other birds, as well as flying foxes, are usually hunted with bows and arrows. Larger reptiles such as lizards and snakes, pythons in particular, are also killed for food, but unlike crocodiles, they are not deliberately hunted.

Fishing is both men’s and women’s work, though the methods differ according to gender. People often emphasize that hunting magic was the domain of men, while fishing magic was the preserve of women. The most popular fishing method, however, is one that involves the whole village. It is called *tiŋųŋ tusunpalųŋ* (TP *wasim pis* ‘washing fish’) and is practiced at times when the water level in the river is very low. As it often rains soon after the water in the creeks reaches the lowest point, people say that it is the practice of poisoning fish that invokes rain. A few days before the agreed day for fishing, people go to the forest or the gardens to collect *makayp* (the roots of *Derris sp.*), which contains rotenone, a chemical poisonous to fish. As rotenone is diluted with water, it does not kill the fish, but only stuns them. The drugged fish come to the surface and swim slowly and more erratically and are thus easier to spear (Plates 1.12 and 1.13). When the Konmei creek is ‘washed’, the fish are divided equally between
all of the households. As the catch is usually very large, many fish are smoked on racks built outside the houses (Plates 1.14 and 1.15).

Apart from fish, the creeks provide other sources of protein. Young men go diving for turtles, prawns and shrimps, or try to spear them at night from a canoe. Small shrimps are often found hiding in logs that are lying in the water.

A variety of vegetables growing wild in the forest and insects are gathered for food. Apart from various types of fruit, gathered food is mainly eaten with sago. Sago grubs, called *wao*, are a delicacy, which are either boiled, or mixed with sago and baked. Smoked ones usually come from Yamandim village. Sometimes their pupae are also eaten, but only in the early stages of their development. Another species of grub called *supi nanggalao* (*Dynastinae* sp.), which is slightly bigger and has tougher skin, is sometimes also eaten. This species does not infest sago palms, but other decomposing trees.

Another highly valued type of food (usually given to children) is the eggs of wild fowl, crocodiles and cassowaries. If an egg contains an embryo, this is always removed before the rest of the egg is eaten.

Large grasshoppers are often gathered from coconut palms, cooked on the fire and eaten. However, they are consumed only as a snack as there are never enough of them to feed the whole household. Mushrooms, which are gathered from decaying logs, the leaves of various trees (*e.g.* *Gnetum gnemon*) and different grasses are boiled to garnish sago pudding.

A delicacy which adds variety to the Awiakay’s diet is honey. Honeycomb found in the forest is wrapped in leaves and taken home, where it is squeezed to extract the honey. Sago pancakes are then dipped into it. The honey of two kinds of stingless bees is eaten.

An important tree which grows wild is the breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus altilis*), which the Awiakay call *kamba*. The fruits are collected from the tree (or kicked down), roasted on the fire and split open. The seeds inside are eaten once the hard shell and soft skin surrounding them have been removed. Although they are very satisfying, these seeds are not eaten instead of the main sago meal, but as an additional snack.

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12 By ‘vegetables’ I mean all wild-growing edible plant matter.
13 Embryos, foetuses or very young animals are never consumed. When a pregnant sow is killed the foetuses are always thrown into the river, even if they are basically full term. People say that if they ate them, their bones would become soft, like in these premature animals.
Plates 1.12 and 1.13: Women chewing betelnut in their canoes, waiting with their small children for the fish poison to spread downriver
Plate 1.14: After a big catch platforms for smoking fish have to be built outside.

Plate 1.15: Wandiap and Tantanbuŋ smoking the fish on the rack above their fireplace. When the yield is big and the smoked fish are many they are sometimes carried to Asangamut to sell or give to the relatives.
The yellow and red fruit of various species of pandanus (including *Pandanus conoideus*; TP *marita*; Plate 1.16) are cut into pieces, the seeds are then removed, soaked and boiled in the water before they are eaten either on their own or with a sago pancake. The Awiakay also plant pandanus trees.

Although having been largely hunter-gatherers, the Awiakay seem to have a long history of planting cooking bananas. They are often referred to in Tok Pisin as *kumu bilong tumbuna* 'vegetables of the ancestors'. Betel nut and coconut palms are also planted – the former are not eaten but chewed together with *Piper betle* and lime.

A fast-growing tree which is always found in gardens is papaya. The Awiakay also grow pineapples, which are usually destroyed by pigs, so they often have a limited yield. As the soil in the area is not very fertile, taro and sweet potato are grown with limited success. Plants with edible leaves such as aibika (*Abelmoschus manihot*) and a variety of grasses, *e.g.* lemon grass, grow well and are always found in abundance. Like the leaves of various trees (*e.g.* *Gnetum gnemon*), these are boiled together with fish or meat and eaten with sago pudding.
Recently introduced garden crops include pumpkins, cucumbers, beans and corn. The AwiaKay usually get the necessary seeds in Asangamut. However, none of these crops grow very successfully and therefore they represent a rather insignificant supplement to the basic AwiaKay diet of sago, meat and fish.

A crop which is grown for a purpose other than eating is tobacco, though people say that the soil in Asangamut is much better suited for this purpose (Plate 1.17).

Plate 1.17: Mangula spreading tobacco leaves onto a yakut, a rack on which they will dry

Gardening seems to be becoming increasingly important. It is nowadays considered essential for a young AwiaKay man to prepare his own garden before he gets married. A variety of crops are cultivated, but none in large quantities. The AwiaKay have no specialised gardening tools, but use their bushknives and axes to clear garden land, and poles to dig. Their gardens are never fenced to protect them from wild pigs, despite the fact that these animals apparently destroy most of the pineapples and sweet potatoes that the villagers try to grow.

Throughout the thesis I use the word ‘bushknife’, an Australian English for a large heavy knife suitable for cutting bush, a machete. This word was the basis for Tok Pisin busnaiP.
1.1.4 ELEMENTS OF AWIAKAY SOCIAL ORGANISATION

1.1.4.1 Kinship

The Awiakay system of kinship terminology (Figures 1.1 and 1.2; Table 1.2) is a five-generational one. The third ascending generation is equated with the third descending one: everyone, regardless of sex, is called wandomhatj (great grandparent, ancestor, or great grandchild, descendant). I have used the translations ‘ancestor’ and ‘descendant’ because the same term is also applied to all kin in the fourth, fifth, and more remote generations.\(^{15}\)

In one’s own generation the terms for brother and sister are used for all cousins, no matter whether they are parallel or cross-cousins.\(^{16}\) The principle of bifurcate merging is employed in the first ascending generation: the terms for ego’s parents are the same as the ones for their same sex siblings (F = FB, M = MZ), while different terms are used for MB and FZ. The Awiakay kinship system is thus basically an Iroquois system\(^ {17}\) with some characteristics of the Hawaiian one. It is typical of Iroquois kinship systems that cross-uncles and cross-aunts (mother’s brother and father’s sister) are called by distinct terms, unlike parents’ parallel siblings (mother’s sister and father’s brother), who are called by the same terms as mother and father. However, the Awiakay kinship system also has some features of the Hawaiian system in that it uses the terms ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ for both parallel-cousins and cross-cousins, unlike the Iroquois system, in which cross-cousins are called by distinctive terms.

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\(^{15}\) Although the core of the Awiakay kinship system is five-generational, the ‘periphery’ (3+ ascending / descending) can also be counted as part of the system, although it is extremely simplified.

\(^{16}\) There are, however, some peculiarities here, which I discuss in Hoenigman 2007:167-69.

\(^{17}\) In that respect it is similar to the kinship systems of the Mundugumor and Bun from the Yuat River (cf. McDowell 1975 for Bun and 1991: 168 – 201 for the Mundugumor). It seems likely that certain similarities could also be found in the kinship of the Asangamut, with whom the Awiakay intermarry.
Kin terms (male Ego)

- △ male
- ○ female
- □ marriage
- □ siblings
- ■ EGO
- ♦ young relationship
- ● strict taboo relationship
- + elder brother / sister
- - younger brother / sister
Figure 1.2: Kinship diagram – Female Ego

Kin terms (female Ego)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd, 4th, 5th descending generations</th>
<th>Male Ego</th>
<th>2nd ascending generation</th>
<th>Female Ego</th>
<th>1st descending generation</th>
<th>2nd descending generation</th>
<th>1st descending generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st descending generation</td>
<td></td>
<td>FF, FM, MF, MM</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>MeZ, FeBW / MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MeZH / MyZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd ascending generation</td>
<td></td>
<td>FF, FM, MF, MM</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>MeZ, FeBW / MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MeZH / MyZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd, 4th, 5th descending generations</td>
<td></td>
<td>FF, FM, MF, MM</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>MeZ, FeBW / MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MeZH / MyZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st descending generation</td>
<td></td>
<td>FF, FM, MF, MM</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>MeZ, FeBW / MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MeZH / MyZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd ascending generation</td>
<td></td>
<td>FF, FM, MF, MM</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>MeZ, FeBW / MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MeZH / MyZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd, 4th, 5th descending generations</td>
<td></td>
<td>FF, FM, MF, MM</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>MeZ, FeBW / MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MyZ, FyBW</td>
<td>MeZH / MyZH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2: Awiakay kinship terminology

- Term covering both elder and younger siblings

* term covering both elder and younger siblings ~ and so on
There is no difference between terms of address and terms of reference. Theoretically all terms can be used in both contexts, but in practice only some of them are always used instead of a person’s first name (Table 1.3).

Table 1.3: Reciprocal kin terms in Awiakay

(terms used in direct address replacing addressee’s first name)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Reciprocal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>siblings</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kopoñik* (B)</td>
<td>nambakonjik* (Z)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okayk (eZ, HW, eBW)</td>
<td>kondik (yZ, HW, yBW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ouk (eB)</td>
<td>kenguk (yB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kondik* (female classificatory cross-cousin = yZ)</td>
<td>kondik* (female classificatory cross-cousin = yZ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>parents: children</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atn (F)</td>
<td>tenjik (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atn (F)</td>
<td>nungulas (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am(bi) (M)</td>
<td>tenjik (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am(bi) (M)</td>
<td>nungulas (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo (FZ, MBW)</td>
<td>tenjik (BS, HZS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo (FZ, MBW)</td>
<td>nungulas (BD, HZD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pop (MB, FZH)</td>
<td>enjembek (ZS, ZD, WBS, WBD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>non-adjacent generations</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abu (grandparent)</td>
<td>esek (grandchild)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wandombarj</strong></td>
<td>wandombarj (great-grandparent, ancestor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nambuk (W)</td>
<td>nambuk (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moyak (WF, WM)</td>
<td>kunam (DH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unik (HF)</td>
<td>tenjiknamba (SW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unik (HM)</td>
<td>monik (SW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usik (WB)</td>
<td>kunam* (ZH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okia / konja (WZ)</td>
<td>kunam (ZH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ouakenga (WZH)</td>
<td>ouakenga (WZH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usiknamba (WBW)</td>
<td>mekeyknumba (HZH)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* sometimes used as a term of address instead of the addressee’s first name

Interestingly, Mead (1950: 145) mentioned that ‘the Mundugumor never use [kin] terms in direct address.’
In 2009 there were eight exogamous clans in the village. Some of the clans in Table 1.4 have members in other villages/language groups in the area. For the purpose of clan organisation the Awiakay trace their descent through women.\(^{19}\)

**Table 1.4: Distribution of clans in Kanjimei in December 2009**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>Awiakay name</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HORNBILL 1</td>
<td>kaykwi kanderje / kaykwi poka pungenge</td>
<td>big hornbill / hornbill with a long beak (there are four colours on the bill of this hornbill)</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIG 2</td>
<td>yay poka mangumba</td>
<td>pig with a short nose</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORNBILL 2</td>
<td>kaykwi poka mangumba</td>
<td>hornbill with a short beak (there are three colours on the bill of this hornbill)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIG 1</td>
<td>yay poka pungenge</td>
<td>pig with a long nose</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIG 3</td>
<td>yay kambanjagay</td>
<td>small pig</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORNBILL 3</td>
<td>kaykwi kambanjagay</td>
<td>small hornbill (the bill of this hornbill has only one colour)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAGLE</td>
<td>naym</td>
<td>eagle</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIRD OF PARADISE</td>
<td>kungam</td>
<td>bird of paradise</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASSOWARY</td>
<td>kayma</td>
<td>cassowary</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
<pre><code>                                                                                 | 303     |
</code></pre>

The cassowary clan has currently no members in the village, but I was told there were some in Asangamut, which means that a single marriage with a Cassowary woman will continue the clan in Kanjimei, as her children will inherit her clan. In the past there were also Crocodile, Green Parrot and White Cockatoo clans, but in Kanjimei they are now extinct.\(^{20}\) An Imanmeri man who married into Kanjimei belongs to the Bird of Paradise clan, which is otherwise non-existent in Kanjimei.

The origin of clans can be traced back to mythical times. According to one Awiakay myth, there were only women at the beginning of time and they married dogs. When one woman found a man by seeing his reflection in the water, she kept him for...

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\(^{19}\) Matriliney is not very common in mainland New Guinea. The only societies in the region where descent is traced through women are some Yuat River villages from Asangamut in the south to Bun in the north. All other neighbouring societies are patrilineal.

\(^{20}\) As elsewhere in the region, clans cross the language and village boundaries. All these clans do have members in other villages in the area.
herself, but later this man created other men. He closed them into a *tomba* tree (*Campnosperma brevipetiolata*), which is a symbol for a men’s house, where they were to ‘ripen’ (mature), and be ready for marrying women. Upon their release the first big man divided them into clans.

People stated that there have never been any food taboos related to one’s totem; the village land has never been spatially divided between clans (either in Kanjimei or in their previous settlements, as I was told); that is, members of one clan do not inhabit a distinct part of the village, but are randomly scattered around it. However, the rest of Awiakay land outside the village, sago stands, as well as the related myths and the spirits which inhabit a particular piece of land, are owned by individual clans.

Clans are also in possession of personal names. Although a child belongs to the mother’s clan, both mother and father can bestow their clan’s name on it.

Each totemic clan has its own drum signal, which is beaten on a slit drum to send a message to those who are in the forest. Besides a sound sign, each clan has a visual sign, usually a tree leaf, which is put onto the path in the forest in order to leave a message for a person of a particular clan.

Although belonging to the mother’s clan, a child can enjoy the benefits of both the mother’s and father’s clan. It was explained to me that the proper traditional Awiakay way is one in which the mother’s and father’s clan are respected equally and a child is allowed to use both parents’ land. As we shall see later in Chapter 3, this often leads to disputes. However, it also means that a person is expected to help both their father’s and mother’s side when help is needed in building a house, etc. My informants often disapprovingly mentioned that the Asangamut and other people from the Biwat (Yuat) neglected the father’s clan:

> *Ei, kastam nogut! Rabisi klen bilong papa. Iss!* (TP)

‘Hey, bad practice! Downgrading father’s clan – *iss* [expression of contempt]!’

I was told that the present Awiakay custom of giving more prominence to mother’s clan was adopted from Asangamut due to an increasing number of ‘love-marriages’ (TP *laik marit*), in which the only rule that is followed is clan exogamy. In the past, both parents’ clans were equally important, as marital partners were found in a different way: every person had a special ‘partner’ of the same sex, called *kamayn*.

---

21 Unlike the neighbouring Ambonwari, which is divided between five clans (see Telban 1998: 68 – 70).
22 This was also observed by McDowell during her fieldwork in Bun (McDowell 1975: 77).
23 The institution of *kamayn* is discussed in Hoenigman 2007:189-91; cf. McDowell 1976.
who was assigned by the big men, and two kamayn would exchange their children for marriage.

1.1.4.3 Marriage

Traditional Awiakay marriage, in which two exchange partners (kamayn) exchange their children, is based on sister exchange, *opi opi tan*.

*opi-opi* 

exchange

*tan* 

brother-sister exchange pair

‘marriage exchange of a brother-sister pair’

![Figure 1.3: Brother-sister exchange](image)

Ideally a man marries a woman whose brother is married to or will marry that man’s sister (Fig. 1.3). Both brothers or sisters may be classificatory ones, so there is never a shortage of potential ‘exchange women’ in case one family is short of an eligible daughter, or if she is reluctant to marry her brother’s wife’s brother (BWB). The two brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are supposed to take care of one another and become an ideal working group. At the same time, the two husbands should treat their wives with respect. They know their sister is married to their wife’s brother, who can retaliate by mistreating his own wife – their sister’s husband’s sister (ZH).24

According to a myth, exchange marriage was directed by the first big man. Although the institution of kamayn has been abandoned, sister exchange is still the preferred type of marriage. Bride’s parents often refuse bride-price and are not willing to consent to their daughter’s marriage unless it is reciprocated by an exchange marriage. However, it may happen that a man who wants to get married does not have a sister eligible for exchange – his real sisters may be either already married or just children. In this case his extended family may agree to give him one of his classificatory

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sisters for exchange. However, the more distant the sister, the less willing she and her parents will be to participate in the exchange. Girls are never forced to marry someone they do not want. Different kinds of agreements can be reached in such cases. One possibility is that the bride’s family agrees to accept a girl who will not marry one of their sons, but will be exchanged for one of their sons’ brides. In this way she literally replaces their daughter who is getting married. Another possibility is to accept bride-price, nowadays always consisting of money. An average bride-price is 500 Kina – much lower than in the Highlands. As soon as an agreement about the exchange or bride-price is reached, the couple is allowed to get married. However, the actual payment is usually delayed: it may take years, even decades for a bride-price to be paid off. In a case of exchange agreement, the sister who would be exchanged for her brother’s wife may fall in love with someone else and change her mind before she is to enter her brother’s wife’s family. Such instances make some families indebted to others for generations, sometimes becoming the basis of long-lasting resentment, which surfaces whenever there is a dispute between the clans involved.

Further disputes result from children using their mother’s land before the exchange or bride-price for her is settled. People continually complain that love marriages are the reason for so many fights and quarrels in the village. One often hears that everything was more orderly before, when these things were regulated by the big men. The custom has changed nowadays. As soon as the families agree on either exchange or bride-price, they exchange clusters of betel nuts and the couple may sleep together under one mosquito net and go to bushcamps by themselves.

Usually residence after marriage is initially uxorilocal in that the man goes to live in his wife’s parents’ house. However, soon after marriage a man builds a new house. If his wife’s parents are aged and their house shabby, they will move in with their daughter and her husband unless they have a grown-up son who will build a new house for them. When a man grows up it is expected that he (and his brothers) will build a new house for his elderly parents.

Polygyny was practiced in the past, but only the big men would have more than one wife at the same time. With the arrival of Christianity, polygyny decreased. There are no polygynous marriages in Kanjimei at present. Sororate is sometimes practiced, meaning that after a woman’s death her husband marries her sister. There was one such case in the village until the end of 2009 when the wife died, and the village genealogies (up to two generations ago) show that there were a few more cases in the past.
In case of divorce, children are divided between the two partners. If the couple only have one child at the time they decide to separate, the partner who leaves must also leave the child and no longer have any contact with it, even though they see one another nearly every day in a small village. Children who stay with the father are adopted into his clan and have to give up mother’s clan and return its names, while those who remain with the mother have to return the names which were bestowed upon them by their father or his clan members. Children of the divorced parents may only use the land of the parent who remained their guardian.\(^\text{25}\) Parents’ divorce is further complicated when their children are grown up, as they would lose rights over one parent’s land which they may have already been using.

1.1.4.4. Leadership

Like elsewhere in the Sepik, the Awiakay followed a big-men type of social structure. Only an initiated married man who was a strong warrior, good hunter and a skilled orator had a chance to be called *kandej* ‘big man’. Important decisions in the community were normally reached together with other big men. Nowadays even younger men who contribute to the community in various ways, such as ones who have outboard motors and thus gain prestige by lending them to others to travel to town, the village teacher, and, importantly, Christian leaders, are men with power and respect, often referred to as ‘big men’. In Kanjimei bigmanship and Christianity are therefore complementary, while they seem to be in problematic relation in Urapmin (cf. Robbins 2004a).

1.1.5 SORCERY

The Awiakay distinguish two types of sorcery: (1) *tumbi* ‘poison’ and (2) *emay* ‘assault sorcery’.

*Tumbi alukunja* ‘a sorcerer’ or literally ‘poison man’ is a person who uses spells to cause sickness and death in other people. *Tumbi*, which the Awiakay translate with TP *poison*, is not exactly the same as the English ‘poison’, i.e. a deadly substance drunk or eaten by the victim. The lethal effect is achieved by bespelling the victim through an object that has been in touch with them and thus carries some of their essence. The ‘poison man’ can use any kind of waste from a person they want to make sick, e.g. a person’s faeces, urine, hair, a piece of clothing which contains that person’s

\(^{25}\) Two case studies can be found in Hoenigman 2007: 46-47.)
sweat, a cigarette ember, betel nut skin or even spit from a chewed betel nut. Even a person’s footprint in mud can be collected. The sorcerer will chew ginger, utter magical spells and ‘spit on’ (bеспell) the victim’s items that he or she has collected to make this person sick. A poisoned person will vomit, have severe diarrhoea, or become sick in some other way. Although the Awiakay say that sorcery is a thing of the past (TP *samtink bilong bipo*) and there is none in their village, they are always careful about their waste. They take care to cover their betel nut spit with dust and they say that it is safest to throw one’s hair, etc. into the river, where a potential sorcerer could not find it.

*Emay*, corresponding to Tok Pisin term *sanguma*, is a specific form of ‘assault sorcery’. Like *tumbi*, it can refer both to sorcery itself or to the one who performs it. By chanting a particular spell, chewing ginger and spitting on their own body with it, a man or a woman who is familiar with this ritual can invoke the spirits who will give him or her superhuman powers. They will use these powers in order to attack and kill another person. If one has a dispute with someone, this person may resent it so much that they go and find an *emay* from another village, and ask them to kill that person. Sometimes one does not even know where the resentment came from, so even an apparently innocent person can be attacked. However, a fear of sorcery drives people to try to settle resentments so that they do not escalate into murderous episodes.

An *emay* can change into certain animals or into an unrecognizable person. They can travel long distances in a moment in order to come close to the intended victim. *Emay* attack a person when he or she is alone in the bush, or even in the house if the person is alone. During the attack the *emay* turns back into a human, cuts open their victim’s abdomen, removes all the bowels, fills the abdomen with leaves, sews up the wound so that nobody can see it and tells the person when they will die (*cf.* Stewart and Strathern 2004: 124). This person then returns to the village, but is no longer the same, as their *mima manga* ‘the seat of reason, thoughts and emotions’, has been removed during the malicious operation. They have no thoughts of their own; they can only speak through the power of the *emay* and they die on the day which was foretold.

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26 *Piper betel* which a person has bitten off and dropped is believed to have a special power, and is thus never used by a sorcerer.

27 Although Tok Pisin term *sanguma* is used all over Papua New Guinea, the notion of *sanguma* varies greatly and corresponds to local beliefs. Awiakay *emay* is thus best translated as ‘assault sorcery’ and ‘assault sorcerer’, denoting the practices one has to learn, rather than ‘witch’, which is applied to the inherent qualities of a person (usually a woman; see Stewart and Strathern 2004: 125) and thus fits with the Highlands notions of *sanguma*.

28 For more on Awiakay notion of *emay* (TP *sanguma*) see Hoenigman 2007: 77-80.
It is believed that an *emay* can be shot with a bow before it attacks, but it is very risky, as it may catch a spear and shoot back. When an *emay* is killed, there will be a lot of blood and feaces, and then the body usually disappears, as it goes back to its home village, turns back into a man and dies.

People often report feeling the presence of an *emay* by getting goose bumps, hearing unusual wind-like sounds, or even an *emay*'s whistling, which sounds like ‘Come, come! Come, come!’ inviting people to the forest where they would be attacked. Dogs can also feel when an *emay* is close. Their hackles will rise in fear and they will run away. When one sees a large group of wild pigs, they are almost certainly not real pigs, but *emay*. In that case one should run for their life back to the village. Sometimes there is panic in the village, when someone runs back from the bush where they have allegedly heard an *emay*'s whistle.

When the Awiakay speak of *emay* they always speak quietly, almost whispering, and they avoid naming the villages where they believe this kind of sorcery is present. They unanimously claim that there is none in Kanjimei. Two Awiakay men are believed to have been killed by assault sorcery since the time they settled in Kanjimei.

When somebody becomes sick, the first question the big men ask is whether the sickness was caused by *tumbi* or *emay*. While sorcery is always seen as a threat and considered a potential cause of each death, few deaths are actually ascribed to it. Rather, people blame their death on their own transgressions or the transgressions of their close relatives, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

1.1.6 SPIRITS AND CHRISTIANITY

The Awiakay world is inhabited by people, animals, plants and spirits. For the Awiakay spirits are not a matter of belief – they coexist with them. The spirits were created in the mythical past: they came out of the rock of creation together with humans. There are different kinds of spirits in the Awiakay environment: (1) *tasia* ‘water spirits’; (2) *manjime* ‘spirits dwelling in fig trees’; and (3) *endembay* ‘mountain spirits’. In Tok

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29 As people knew that I was going to put everything I write down into the computer when I return back home, I was frequently asked whether my computer can tell who a *sanguma* is when I put people’s names into it.

30 Note a difference from other parts of Papua New Guinea where all deaths are commonly attributed to sorcery or witchcraft (cf. Knauf 1985; Brison 1992; Stewart and Strathern 2004; Eves and Forsyth, forthcoming).

31 A limestone hill in the Meakambut area, which is, according to the Awiakay Myth of Origin, the place of origin of humans and spirits (cf. Hoenigman 2007: 236-38).
Pisin they are referred to collectively as masalai 'bush spirits'. Besides these there are also spirits of the dead – tangia 'spirit of a dead person; ancestral spirit'. The word tangia is polysemous and it also means 'shadow' or 'reflection'. People say that spirits of the dead are sometimes seen as shadows, sometimes as real people. They can be particularly harmful soon after the person has died and people are very afraid of them. They often appear in the bush when a person is there alone or with a child. One can sense their presence when one hears a branch breaking or a similar unusual sound.

Bush spirits can appear in the form of human beings or in the form of animals. They can be male or female, they have their own families and live in a particular area. They belong to the land and their names are owned by those who own that particular piece of land. They know the owners of the land and would not do any harm to them as long as they talk to them, regularly clear bush paths, avoid fig trees and inform them of their actions; if a person intends to hunt, pull down a tree or just gather food, the spirits should be informed.

However, spirits may cause an illness or even kill an unknown person who enters their territory unless the owner of the land (or their family member) informs them that there is a stranger with them. Young children should also be gradually introduced to the paths their parents use, so that the spirits get used to them. When Yakaim, a five-year-old girl was to be adopted by another family in exchange for her brother's Asuk's wife Yaqgunda, her parents opposed the exchange saying that the child did not know the paths in that family's bush and that their spirits did not know her either.

People say that spirits are very sensitive to smell, particularly to human bodily fluids. They are very likely to smell and attack a couple who have sex in the bush, or give sickness to a person who urinates on their land. For the same reason several prohibitions apply to a woman who has given birth. If one wants to hide from spirits, one should rub the body, particularly armpits and forehead with clay to cover the smell of perspiration.

Spirits sometimes want to marry people, but people are afraid of them. There is a myth about Yapan, a woman who had been abducted by a water spirit and had to marry him. When she came back to her family to tell them that her spirit husband was sending his sister as an exchange to marry her brother, her father beat her up with a

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32 My village name Kongotmay is a name of a female water spirit from Mungam lake, which belongs to Tomi from Hornbill 2 clan. His wife Yakame endowed me with this name. The father of Kongotmay (the spirit) is called Aymakan, just like my village 'father'. Some people even said that the name was chosen for me on the basis of physical resemblance with the spirit, as Kongotmay is reported to have long fair hair, but not everyone agreed with this explanation.
cassowary bone, and as the family refused the proposed exchange, she died. Yapan is believed to be the only Awiakay person to have married a spirit.

Nowadays people can pray to God to help them avoid spirits’ rage, while in the past they had to offer them food. Although people are generally afraid of them, spirits cannot be labelled as either good or bad\textsuperscript{33} – in most cases their actions depend on humans’ behaviour towards them. If one behaves properly and offers them sago, they will help one find a pig or a cassowary, while water spirits will help one catch fish or even a crocodile. Ancestral spirits too are willing to help their descendants. However, getting in touch with spirits to gain their special powers is nowadays considered wrong, as Christianity connected all spirits with the Devil.

1.1.6.1 Christianity
A few years after their contact with the ‘Germans’, the Awiakay were visited by a Catholic missionary from Alungunum mission station on the Yuat. As they had seen white men before, people were not afraid of him, but according to their stories his visit to Marinyam coincided with a landslide, so the Awiakay were convinced that the Christian God about whom he was talking, was powerful. Unlike some other Sepik societies, where the first missionaries forced people to take the secret objects from their men’s houses, and display and use them in front of women and children,\textsuperscript{34} the Awiakay did not have such an experience. There has never been a resident missionary either in Marinyam or in Kanjimei. However, previous Catholic missionaries who occasionally visited the village put a lot of effort into unrooting traditional beliefs. Apart from labelling everything connected with spirits, and particularly initiation rites as ‘evil’ and ‘connected with the devil’, they threatened people with God’s anger if they continued to perform their traditional rites, or sing ritual songs. All this caused a gradual decline in traditional customs. However, not everyone trusted the Christian God and people feared the revenge of spirits, so they did not abandon old practices right away. Some tried to avoid the changes in the community by spending more time in their bush camps and it took much longer for them to gradually adapt to Christianity. Several Awiakay say that many big men and women died because they had not accepted God, but held on to old customs. When Marinyam was finally abandoned and people established permanent

\textsuperscript{33} Unlike in Ambonwari, where female spirits of the dead and male spirits of the bush are ‘good’, while male spirits of the dead and female bush spirits are ‘bad’ (more in Telban 1998: 164-5; see also Table 7 on p. 165).

settlement in Kanjimei, the Awiakay gave up initiation rites. Around 1974 Bishop Leo[^35] visited Kanjimei, gave Christian names to the people, and baptized them.

Most of the customary practices connected with spirits continued to coexist with nominal Christianity until the beginning of the charismatic movement in the 1990s[^36]. Geoffrey Yukun, the man who brought this movement to the village, is often referred to as the one who brought Christianity to Kanjimei, as it was in the light of this movement that people started with Sunday services and eventually built a church in 2004. Yukun’s testimony, which gives an account of the beginnings of the charismatic movement and explains how it managed to replace people’s customary practices, can be found in Appendix B.

Unlike in Ambonwari, where there seems to be some opposition between the Catholics (TP *bun lotu*) and charismatics (Telban, pers. comm.), people in Kanjimei are much more unified: everybody claims to be a Catholic, and everybody resorts to charismatic activities in times of sickness. Besides, the Catholic prayer leaders and the charismatic leaders are the same people.

When I first came to the village in 2004, the charismatic movement, which was at that time very strong in Ambonwari and Imanmeri, seemed not to have had much impact in Kanjimei. However, the church was being built. In 2006 more or less regular Sunday services with a charismatic influence were held in the church, but there were no prayer meetings and no general euphoria like in Ambonwari. After three almost successive deaths in the village at the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009, there was a very intensive period of charismatic activities, but after a month people started worrying about other things and their lives got back to normal. Prayer meetings were reduced to less than one meeting per week with very few people present. When people have unsettled problems with others, e.g. when they haven’t yet compensated another after a dispute, they do not come to church – nor to prayer meetings.

In 2006 the Amboin parish, which consists of 16 villages ([Map 4.1][^37])[^37] got a new priest, a Polish missionary Piotrek Wąsko, who visits villages on a two-monthly basis. He neither encouraged nor tried to suppress charismatic activities and is of the opinion

[^35]: Bishop Leo’ (Leo Clement Andrew Arkfeld) was the Bishop of Wewak between 1966 and 1975.
[^36]: The charismatic movement, which started at the beginning of the 20th century and entered the Catholic and Protestant Churches in the 1960s and spread all over the world, emphasizes the importance – and presence – of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. These are manifested in prayer meetings during which people fall into trance, have visions, speak in tongues, and receive other gifts of the Holy Spirit.
[^37]: These are the villages of the Konmei and Arafundi river, as well as part of the Karawari: Kanjimei, Imanmeri, Ambonwari, Konmei, Manjamai, Kundiman 1, Kundiman 2, Yimas 1, Yimas 2, Wamblamas, Yamandim, Awim and Imboin.
that equating bush spirits with the devil was a practice of old missionaries that is no longer appropriate. However, the sole presence of the two forms of Christianity (the standard and charismatic one) makes people redefine and change their practices and beliefs. This is illuminated in the following passage in which Kangam is thinking about the changes which came into the village with Christianity. In the past people used to do hard physical work to appease the spirits who sent sickness to them for all kinds of reasons. The spirits were also invoked in hunting magic, and the Awiakay are unanimous that bespelling dogs made them very successful hunters. The big men would chew sago, ginger, aromatic bark and would also spit the dog, as well as bows and arrows.

“This was the power of spirits,” Kangam remembers. “It was before. We survived because spirits took care of us. They had immense power. That is why we believed them. The spirits used to help us. We were not in God’s hands then. I don’t know – did He see us? He created the spirits. They are in God’s own image. I am not sure – did God create bush spirits too? God must have taken care of us before too. He knew that we were praying to bush spirits. He must have supported them. [...] We invoked bush spirits at times of sickness and during storms. Everybody knew that the power of spirits would help us. That is why we held on to them for ages. We were poor, but the spirits helped us survive in the bush.”

With the uptake of Charismatic movement in the mid-1990s, the Awiakay abandoned the spirits. At approximately the same time they discovered that their land was rich in eaglewood (section 1.1.6), which at that time became a precious commodity. People believe that the trade that developed at that time was God’s reward for embracing the Catholic charismatic movement. Kangam explained:

“The spirits did not bring any change into our lives. We worked hard for nothing. These spirits would give us meat. Some of them helped in other ways too, but as for money, this is power of God only. Our God from above.”

Apart from healing, protecting people from danger and helping them hunt, God did what bush spirits failed to do: he managed to persuade people that he can satisfy their secular needs. An anticipation of a better life in this world has completely outshone the Christian promise of a better afterlife. People have never denied the existence of bush spirits, but they criticise them for their inability to bring development to the village. Spirits are local, whereas God acts globally. In Awiakay belief, he can bring the prosperity of white people. But the fact that spirits are local is not taken to mean that they can be neglected. Although they may be ignored in the village, the deeper into the bush and the further from the village one gets, the more respectful one becomes when on their territory.

As Telban (2006: 131) puts it, people in Ambonwari do not deny the existence of spirits, but their relationships with them. See also Telban (2008).
The Awiakay made their first money in the times of Australian administration by selling sago, eggs of the brush turkey, and tobacco. They earned one, two and sometimes up to five kina, but these small amounts did not bring any significant change to village life. Their attempts to earn money continued with occasional timber selling, apart from that they would also sell sago and betel nuts (this was also the time when they increased planting betel nut palms) as well as dugout canoes. A large canoe would sell for 50 Kina. By earning this money people could afford to buy the first commodities from town: salt, bush knives, cooking pots, kerosene lamps, as well as some clothes. The timber business declined when a didiman (TP) ‘agricultural officer’ encouraged people to plant rubber trees and sell rubber. However, it turned out that this was not a very profitable business either, as people would not get much more than a few kina for a huge bag. They sold rubber a few times (even in 2012 some people were tapping it), but according to the Awiakay the business never flourished as it did in the neighbouring Ambonwari or Imanmeri. Two groves of rubber trees in Kanjimei (see Map 1.3) remind us of the business that ‘didn’t even buy a motor for the village.’

The next new enterprises were planting coffee, vanilla, and more recently cacao, but none of them turned out to be profitable. People complain that all this was because Kanjimei is ‘the last place in the bush where development has not reached yet’. It is true, however, that they were always drawn into a new line of business when it was just too late for it, when all other places had been there already and the prices had decreased.

The Awiakay were more fortunate with eaglewood. Eaglewood (*Gyrinops ledermannii*) or TP *garu*, from Indonesian *gaharu*, is known for its fragrant resin, which Awiakay call *is-kamia* (literally ‘tree-meat’/‘wooden meat’). It is produced as a combination of the tree’s response to an injury and an attack of a particular mould, and is thus found only in a small percentage of eaglewood trees. This black resinous wood is highly sought after by traders because of its commercial value, and is sold to Middle Eastern countries and Japan ‘for religious, medical, ceremonial and domestic activities by Asian Buddhists and Moslems’ (Gunn et al. 2004:1). Before the year 2000 the

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39 Papua New Guinea is believed to have the world’s last remaining stock of mature eaglewood trees in the wild. From India to Indonesia the market for *garu* is much greater than supply. That is why foreign traders have been coming to remote areas in the Sepik region. In the Karawari area eaglewood is only found on Awiakay, Imboin and Awim land. Export statistics from the PNG Forest Authority show that 9,778kg (almost 10 tonnes) of *garu* were shipped legally from PNG in 2001. Although the harvesting of eaglewood trees for *garu* began only a few years ago, there are serious concerns that indiscriminate cutting will rapidly deplete the natural *Gyrinops* resources, as it has occurred in other countries.
Awiakay put no value on eaglewood. They called it nam-isa ‘women’s wood’ and avoided using it as firewood when on hunting trips in the mountain, as its fragrance would drive away the animals. However, they sometimes put it on the fire to drive away mosquitoes.

When I arrived in Kanjimei in June 2004, the village was almost empty, as nearly everyone was in the bush harvesting eaglewood. Since 2001 when the eaglewood business started in Kanjimei, the villagers have bought six outboard motors and make more frequent shopping trips to Wewak. For the money they earn with eaglewood they buy rice, tinned fish, two-minute noodles, soap, lamps and kerosene, petrol, mosquito nets, cooking pots, spoons, knives, bush knives, tools, hooks, fishing nets, clothes, and also radios.

Eaglewood saplings became a precious gift for important visitors who come to the village, particularly after the news spread in the area that some scientists have come to Yimas to make an eaglewood plantation, as they will give shoots to young trees and that one tree will yield 2,000 Kina worth of resin.40

An excursion to harvest eaglewood may take from four days to several weeks spent in remote bush camps and on the mountain (Plate 1.18). In the wet season, when the water in the river is high, many people leave the village for several weeks. Women and children normally stay in bush camps and process sago, while the men try to kill a pig so that they can then carry meat to the mountain. They stay there as long as their sago lasts. In the mountain they sleep in rock shelters or build temporary shelters for themselves (Plate 1.19). Women who stayed in bush camps with small children sometimes reported seeing spirits or dreaming about the dead, whereupon they tried to find their husbands and come immediately come back to the village, as the spirits might hurt them.

As people have never spent much time in the mountains, this is an unknown territory for them where it is easy to get injured or lost. Although they resort to prayer, mountains are places of spirits and people are scared there.

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40 This may be based on the attempts of the Rainforest Project Foundation and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization to conduct research and training programs for rural villagers to produce cultivated eaglewood. Experiments in Vietnam have proved that with eaglewood inducement techniques the resin is formed considerably faster (in about six months).
Plate 1.18: *Upim yowa* rock shelter

Plate 1.19: Building a temporary shelter from where to take daily *garu* harvesting trips to the mountain.
Back in the bush camp and later in the village, people have to scrape the wood off the resinous part of eaglewood (in VIDEO 1-1, which you will be invited to view later in the chapter, you will see Moyambe scraping garu in his house). Anyone from children to old people participates in that.

The scraped eaglewood is kept in small plastic bags which people assign to different members of their families. Although an individual may have ten bags of eaglewood, they will all be named differently, so that it seems that the vendor has only earned a little money, as the other bags appear to belong to someone else. If a buyer comes to the village, people normally send their children to sell the wood. However, after some incidents of robbery and an alleged murder of an Indonesian eaglewood buyer on the Sepik in 2003, very few buyers would risk their safety, and it is now more common that villagers go to Wewak to sell eaglewood. This also gives them an opportunity to buy the goods they want.

The most frequent goers to town are young men. Preparations take at least a couple of days. Those who go, borrow shoes, clothes and string nets, and also prepare betel nuts and betel pepper for exchange on the river. There are always problems with getting enough petrol for a trip, as people seldom bring a drum to the village for selling. They therefore often paddle to Ambonwari, buy a few gallons of petrol there, and a few more on the Sepik, where the price is lower.

In 2009 there were two eaglewood buyers in Wewak. Recently even the garu business has been in decline, and people are looking for other money-making endeavours.

A steady, though not very frequent business for the Awiakay is selling betelnut. Until recently, they carried heavy Chemica bags (about 30kg) full of betelnut to Asangamut, which is six hours walk from Kanjimei and in rainy times includes swimming through swamps (Plates 1.21 and 1.22). For one bag full of betelnut they are paid 30 Kina, while such a bag is sold for more than 200 Kina (even up to K250, or, on special occasions, K500) when it reaches its destination in the Highlands (Sharp 2012: 181).

41 When I heard from the Awiakay in mid-2014 they said that the buyers who stayed in Wewak had left, and they had no way of selling their garu. Later they reported that they had managed to find another buyer.

42 In one of their phonecalls from town in 2014 the Awiakay reported to have done their first run of selling betelnut in Bogia, Madang Province, from where the trade continues into the Highlands. They were initiated into this risky and highly competitive business by people from Asangamut. For details on betelnut trade in Papua New Guinea see Timothy Sharp’s PhD thesis Following Buai (Sharp 2012).
Plate 1.20: Selling goru to Indonesian buyer Klemen in Wewak in February 2010

Plate 1.21: Preparing bags of betelnut for selling. One bag weighs about 30kg. Fully packed with betelnut they feel as hard as stone on the backs of those who carry them.
While they used to be enemies with all other neighbouring villages, ever since the times of warfare the Awiakay have been allies with Asangamut. They call Asangamut *kandey* ‘the big one’ in the sense of ‘big brother’, as the village has a much bigger population. Most of the out-marriages are with people from Asangamut, and the Awiakay travel there quite frequently to buy some things that are obtainable in the bigger village, but also to hear news from town, as the Asangamut travel there much more often.

While the Awiakay sometimes meet people from other Arafundi villages, mostly Imboin and Yamandim, in their remote bush camps, they have no regular contact with them. They are more in touch with the Imanmeri, with whom they are occasionally in dispute about land. Members of those three families in which one of the spouses is from Imanmeri occasionally go and visit their relatives.

Ambonwari people sometimes come to Kanjimei in search of tobacco or betelnut, and in 2009 youngsters from Kanjimei sometimes went to Ambonwari for dances, but there is no close connection – nor are there any major disputes between the two villages.
Face of a Spirit, by Vitus Imbisay

1.2 THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

Puŋgim, the creator spirit, opened the door. He opened the door so that people could come into being. But Man was created without a tongue. He was like a log. When all the people had come out, Puŋgim closed the door. He called them all together. He carved their tongues and navels. He made their tongues so that they spoke different languages. Now we Awiakay all speak the same language, as he carved our tongues with the same part of a piece of bamboo. He carved tongues with the thin end of the bamboo, with the stump, with the middle part and with the leaves. That is why our language is a bit similar to the language of the Meakambut, Imboin, Awim, Yamandim, Imanmeri and Asangamut. That is why we speak our own language. He did not carve all our tongues with the same bamboo, so there are several languages. [...] We, Awiakay, speak Awiakay menda (Awiakay tongue). [...]
1.2.1 AWIAKAY AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

Awiakay is a Papuan language, belonging to the small Arafund family. It is spoken by about 300 people living in Kanjimei village in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. Before I arrived in Kanjimei in 2004, no research had been done in the village and linguists were unaware of the existence of the Awiakay language. Wurm and Hattori’s Atlas of Languages of the Pacific (1981-83) shows the location of Kanjimei as an uninhabited area (though close to Alfendio, i.e. Arafund language). Even in the 2004 SIL East Sepik Province Language Map, the northern border of Arafund does not reach Kanjimei (see Map 1.5).

Map 1.5: Linguistic picture of East Sepik Province (source: Wurm & Hattori 1981-83)

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43 Papuan is a catch-all term for the various non-Austronesian language families of Melanesia.
In Laycock's (1973) survey of the languages of the Sepik region, Kanjimeii village is not mentioned at all. When I first arrived there it was believed that the language spoken in the village was either Miyak (a Yuat River language) or the language of Imanmeri village (an Arafundi language), both of which are neighbouring languages of Awiaakay. The first documentation of Awiaakay is in my unpublished MA thesis ‘Language and Myth in Kanjimeii, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea’ (Hoenigman 2007).
Intrigued by the unclear linguistic picture in the area I set off for a couple of expeditions on the Arafundi river in which I recorded basic wordlists for the different lects spoken in the villages of Imanmeri, Wamblamas, Yamindim, Awim, Imboin (including Karimba), and the nomadic Meakambut (Map 1.7; for more details see Hoenigman 2007: 135-144; 261-272).

In Foley (1986) originally, the Arafundi languages were described as a single language with a high degree of dialect variation. However, my investigation of lexical similarities and mutual intelligibility indicate a degree of diversity that points to a distinction between at least four different languages. This four-way division of Arafundi is now followed by Foley (forthcoming) in his lengthy discussion of the languages of the Sepik region, where he describes the Arafundi languages as part of the Upper Yuat family. This family is thought to comprise two subgroups: (a) the three Piawi languages (Pinai, Hagahai and Harway); and (b) the Arafundi languages (see Figure 1.4; Map 1.7).

Figure 1.4: Upper Yuat family (Hoenigman and Evans 2013)
1.2.2 THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN KANJIMEI

All Awiakay adults are bilingual in Awiakay and Tok Pisin. Within the community the use of Tok Pisin is confined mainly to situations where it functions as a language of authority, as an attribute of both persons and institutions. One domain in which Tok Pisin is used almost exclusively is Christian services and prayers. Code-switching between Tok Pisin and Awiakay occurs in public speeches, quarrels and other situations where speakers of any gender or age want to take an authoritative position in the
communicative act. While all children are fluent in Awiakay, they acquire Tok Pisin at a very early age (when they are 4 or 5). At home they are addressed primarily in Awiakay, while Tok Pisin is used for scolding. Tok Pisin is also often used by the elementary-prep school teacher in the tok ples skul ‘vernacular school’. Although instruction has been irregular ever since the founding of the local school in 2005, one generation of ‘children’ (the pupils were aged between seven and twenty) has been taught basic literacy skills in Awiakay and Tok Pisin. Due to lack of paper and reading materials these skills are seldom practised in out-of-school contexts. As a lingua franca, Tok Pisin is associated with the outside world and with the new objects and concepts that those who travel to the town bring back to the village. However, the Awiakay people have not connected the ways of urban Papua New Guineans and development – everything they long for – with Tok Pisin to such an extent that they would consciously or subconsciously increase its use in their everyday speech, in the pattern documented by Kulick (1992a) for Gapun, a small village also in the East Sepik Province, where some decades ago people shifted away from addressing their children in their own language. Instead, the Awiakay continue to use their mother tongue as their everyday language, but they readily borrow new terms from Tok Pisin and often adjust them to Awiakay morphology, which will be a topic in Chapter 2. English also has a peripheral presence in the Awiakay sociolinguistic scene, at least as a focus of broad awareness and idealization. Many Awiakay say as a matter of course that people in Australia (which is a synonym for the Western world) and educated Papua New Guineans (often called kandukya ‘white men’, as they live in a state of prosperity like all white people are believed to) speak English. Young people sometimes express a wish to learn English, saying that they would then be able to travel to Australia. However, this possibility seems so remote that nobody gives it much consideration. Six adult men who went to school in Amboin or Angoram (one of them finished grade twelve, the others grade six or lower) learned English, but they never use it, and even they perceive it as a

44 During the time of my fieldwork elementary education in Papua New Guinea officially consisted of an Elementary Preparatory Grade called ‘Elementary-prep’, Elementary Grade 1 and Elementary Grade 2. These three years of education were referred to in Tok Pisin as tok ples skul ‘vernacular school’ and were meant to prepare a child for entry into primary school at Grade 3, which was supposed to serve as a bridge from vernacular education to English.

45 Kulick (1992a) reports for Gapun that people were shifting away from their traditional language, Tayap, to Tok Pisin. Although Gapun and Kanjimei seem very similar – small, rural, rather isolated, self-contained and almost endogamous communities – the sociolinguistic setting in Kanjimei is very different from that in Gapun. Children in Kanjimei actively use Awiakay in their everyday speech. Note, however, that in 2009 Kulick was surprised to find passive-active teenage speakers of Tayap (pers. comm. 15 Aug. 2011).
foreign code. The languages of people’s immediate environment are therefore Awiakay and Tok Pisin.

1.2.3 TALKING ABOUT TALK

Sitting in their hauswin shelters and socialising, the Awiakay often talk about their language. They are well aware of the importance of Tok Pisin – and English, which seems so much further away from their lives – and value oratorical skills highly. Even in the past, one of the primary conditions for a village leader was being able to use language effectively.

I would now like you to watch a short film. It was recorded in the house of Moyambe. I had come there to film him scraping eaglewood – preparing it for market. Just by chance, a village elder, Kaŋgam, came by for a visit. This random event turned out to be fortuitous for my project when Kaŋgam began to hold forth on the general state of affairs in the village, especially about the current decline in language skills among the younger generation. Note that when using ‘Tok Pisin’, he sometimes refers to the language per se, and sometimes to ‘speaking skills’. This shift is reflected in the subtitles. You can access the film either by clicking the Vimeo link below, or open it in folder 01_INTRO on the USB flash drive.

Please watch

VIDEO 1-1: Kaŋgam [8.57]  https://vimeo.com/112989908 PASSWORD: K

With his children playing around in the house, Moyambe is scraping garu when Kaŋgam arrives. They start a conversation in which Moyambe initially complains about the uselessness of the kids today. Kaŋgam ascribes it to their inability to use the language properly and starts analysing the oratorical skills of the generation of men who are on their way to becoming influential in the village. He says that the big men study them all the time, without letting them know. He compares his mind to a computer, saying that at his age, the big men become observers of life. He continues by telling that what holds the place together is people who respect others and whose house is always open to everyone to come and take anything they need. He thus states the most
important value in Awiakay society: generosity towards everyone in the community. He continues by expressing his views on what can bring development to the village: making gardens and planting cash crops such as cacao and betel nut – yet none of the physical efforts will bear fruit without oratorical skills. These are necessary in negotiations with the government, in particular for claiming the community’s rights to health services and education. He complains about the village leaders and some younger men who prefer to act like ‘big-shots’, showing off as if they were people from town, while forgetting that it is only the speaking skills that can bring them true development.

He concludes by lamenting the fact that the big men who used to be great orators are finished now. They lack energy to keep going, so their talk no longer carries power. “I’ve reached my zero,” he says of himself, “I’m just a zero now.”

Plate 1.23: Kangam
1.3 THEORETICAL FRAME

This thesis focuses on language registers and their uses as an aspect of social life. By doing so it joins debate on the nature of social transformation, and the relation between continuity and change. We find that verbal and gestural parallelisms convey implicit cultural categories – ones that are not objectified by being named. By way of the participant role framework we learn how certain social categories and pre-given types of behaviour are reproduced and transformed in the new dispensation.

In the following sections I introduce the key theoretical constructs: register/genre, participation and parallelism.

1.3.1 REGISTER OR GENRE?

There is considerable overlap between the notions of register and genre, and consequently some confusion in the use of the two terms. Referring to forms of talk, speech styles or, in general, different ways of using language in different social situations, register and genre often appear to be synonyms used by different writers.

The concept of genre has played an important role in linguistic anthropology since at least the time of Boas who organised his text collections according to what they were about, paying attention also to the local categories. In his *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* (1986), Mikhail Bakhtin makes a distinction between literary and everyday language and emphasises that genres exist in both, and should be studied as types of utterances, rather than only in rhetorics and literature: “Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own relatively stable types of these utterances. These we may call speech genres” (1986: 60).

The study of genres was boosted by work in the ethnography of speaking tradition, which emerged in the early 1960s, as well as by performance-centred approaches to verbal art (Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs). The term genre came into popular use through the writings of Dell Hymes, whose approach to studying language emphasises the importance of the context in which words are used.46

The term register was coined by the linguist Thomas Bertram Reid in 1956, who writes that “a given individual [...] will on different occasions speak (or write)

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46 Dell Hymes developed a model of interaction of language and social setting, the so-called S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G model, to categorize speech situations. SPEAKING is an acronym, containing variables of discourse: setting, participants, ends, act sequence (i.e. form and content of text), key, instrumentalities, norms, and genre (cf. Halliday 1994: 22). With the help of these eight components, speakers may characterize the context of an interaction, and thus make correct use of language.
differently according to what may roughly be described as different social situations: he will use a number of different registers” (Reid: 1956: 32). It was given more attention in the 1960s and 1970s by Michael Halliday and some of his fellow-linguists (Ruqaiya Hasan, Randolph Quirk, etc.), who focused on the way language is used in particular situations.

There are two fundamentally different approaches to the categorization of registers, each focusing on a different side of the same coin: one is based on text, the other on context. Though it is generally agreed that a register is a variety of language that is linked to the kind of the social situation in which it is used, the approach developed by Douglas Biber (1995), which mainly employs corpus-based analysis, focuses on the grammatical characteristics of different text types. The other approach, developed by Halliday, promotes the view that there is a close relationship between language and context of situation and identifies registers based on field, tenor and mode (Halliday and Hasan 1976). While the context-based approach has been criticized for being too open and allowing too great a number of possible registers (Crystal 1976: 61), the text-based approach, which indeed provides more clear-cut boundaries of registers, is impoverished by gravely neglecting the importance of context.

This thesis will show that both text and context are of crucial importance for understanding the meaning and functions of linguistic registers.

As my approach to studying different ways of speaking in Awiakay society is one that closely connects language use with social relations in the community, I adopt the term ‘register’ and its definition as developed by Asif Agha (2004; 2007). In the following section I will briefly address some theoretical issues concerning the notion ‘linguistic register’, which are relevant to the remaining chapters.

1.3.2 LINGUISTIC REGISTER

In Agha’s words, a register is “a linguistic repertoire [emphasis in the original] that is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices” (Agha 2004: 24). It is therefore a way of speaking, a form of talk, typical of a certain class of social activities or events, and practiced by certain people who participate in these activities.

From the point of view of structure, registers differ in the type of repertoire involved. The repertoire may comprise not only linguistic signs,\(^4^7\) e.g. the choice of

\(^4^7\) I say ‘may comprise’ here because written registers need not involve non-linguistic signs.
words, syntax, prosody, but also paralinguistic ones. Agha notes that “[t]he semiotic range of spoken registers is typically linked to the kinds of displays that are possible in face-to-face interaction” (2004: 40), so the paralinguistic signs can be bodily comportment, gestures, facial displays, but also melodies that accompany the uttered text, etc. From the point of view of function, different registers are associated with different kinds of social practices (e.g. saying prayers, fighting, lamenting, joking with a joking partner).

A register exists as a bounded object only to a degree set by a socio-cultural process which Agha calls ‘enregisterment’ (2004: 37; 2007). This is a process by which a distinct form of speech becomes (to a greater or lesser extent) differentiable from the rest of the language for a given population of speakers. In order to understand the social existence of a register we need to become familiar with the way the speakers describe or otherwise organise the function of their speech in particular contexts, e.g. use register names, talk about them, link them to other forms of talk, reflect on them, and so on. Even in cases when speakers do not employ a particular label for a register, they share some practical consciousness about the linguistic practice. In framing these forms of talk among the Awiakay, which I had initially tried to define by myself as an outsider, I have now largely followed Awiakay classification and terminology. Metalinguistic labels which describe differences in speech forms (e.g. *kay momba* ‘different talk’; *waŋaym momba* ‘obscured talk’; *nam endinga* ‘women’s songs’; *isasipla* ‘joking’; *pukupuku kanapla* ‘grief-crying’…) link registers to ‘enactable pragmatic effects’ (Agha 2007: 145). For example, the metalinguistic label *isasipla* ‘joking’ links this register to a special relationship the speaker has with the interlocutor; *pukupuku kanapla* ‘lamenting’ points to the conduct of a social activity; and the word *nam* ‘woman’ (e.g. in ‘women’s songs’) projects an image of the person speaking. Agha notes that “by linking speech repertoires to typifications of actor, relationship and conduct, they hint at the existence of cultural models of speech” (2004: 23).

Like other cultural models, registers are historical formations. They are not fixed in time, but exhibit change in form and value over time. Like languages, registers may grow and decline, expand or contract, change or become stabilised (Agha 2007: 168). The decline of one register and birth of another is illuminated in Chapter 2, which is a case study of how one register of the past, ‘mountain talk’, has changed its form and function to become ‘hidden talk’.
1.3.2.1 Linguistic registers and their users

Speakers of any language become sensitive to the distinctions of linguistic register through the process of linguistic and cultural socialisation, which continues throughout their lives. The competence thus gained is an indispensable resource of social interaction (Agha 2007: 145). However, an individual is not necessarily familiar with all registers associated with a given language and people’s proficiency in various registers may vary as well. In a small society like Awiakay, most people (except for very young children) can recognise all registers, but they may not all be eligible to participate in them. One can, for example, identify registers used by others, without being able to engage in them as a speaker – perhaps because it is not socially appropriate for them to do so. For instance, not everyone in Kanjimei can be a charismatic healer, nor is everyone allowed to participate in every fight. Women do not sing in the all-night song/dance cycle *Kaunjambi* even if they know the songs; and while everyone understands obscene joking, one can only practice it with one’s joking partner, etc. Conversely, the register range of a person may influence the range of social activities in which that person is entitled to participate. A charismatic prayer leader, for example, needs to be familiar with the particular register used in charismatic activities. This kind of talk is recognised, but not mastered by all people in the village. Agha notes that “[d]ifferences of register competence are thus often linked to asymmetries of power, […] position within hierarchies, and the like.” (Agha 2007: 146).

1.3.3 PARTICIPATION

A concept used by linguistic anthropologists that will figure centrally in this thesis is that of ‘Participation’. Two of the main exponents of this concept, Charles and Marjorie Harness Goodwin, define it succinctly as “actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk” (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004: 222). While participation in this sense is a universal aspect of human interaction, the framework that has been developed for analyzing it allows us to pinpoint aspects of participation that are specifically Awiakay and/or specific to the various speech registers treated in the thesis. It also helps us to understand the complexity of social

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48 Agha points out that this is particularly true “in complex societies where no fluent speaker of the language fully commands more than a few of its registers” (2007: 146).

Talk is not just a dyadic exchange between a speaker and a hearer, but commonly involves several other participants who are to a greater or lesser extent involved in the discourse event. In order to try to account for some of that complexity Dell Hymes (1972: 58-60) distinguished Speaker from Addressor and Hearer (Receiver, Audience) from Addressee, and later stated that “the common dyadic model of speaker-hearer specifies sometimes too many, sometimes too few, sometimes the wrong participants” (1974: 54). Subsequent analysts of participation have recognised that there are many forms of talk in which a Speaker would have to be mapped onto several persons who take on different aspects of the role.

Perhaps the most influential of those analysts was Erving Goffman (1981), who decomposed the traditional categories of Speaker and Hearer into smaller elements. He first divided participants into ratified participants, i.e. ones who have a role of a speaker, addressee or intended audience, and unratified participants, e.g unratified hearers such as bystanders, overhearers and eavesdroppers. Goffman’s model became the departure point for Levinson (1988) who subdivided the global folk categories into 17 participant roles, which Irvine labels as ‘candidates for linguistic or sociolinguistic universals’ (Irvine 1996: 133). Several other authors, such as Clark and Carlson (1982), Schegloff (1987), and Clark (1996), have tried to address the need to decompose the global roles of Speaker and Hearer in their own ways. While the distinctions made by all these authors are valid and generally useful, in this thesis I will mostly use the categories posited by Goffman (1981), Levinson (1988), and Clark (1996), as they best fit participant roles that are most relevant in the analysis of Awiakay linguistic registers. Participant roles will be further addressed in the chapters that follow.

1.3.4 PARALLELISM

Roman Jakobson and James Fox, each of whom dedicated several decades to the study of parallelism, regard it as a fundamental device of poetic language that can be found in both oral and written poetry all over the world (Jakobson 1960; Fox 1977, 2014). In mid-19th century the poet Gerard Manley Hopkins wrote that “[t]he artificial part of poetry [...] reduces itself to the principle of parallelism” (1959: 267). Jakobson reinforced this statement by saying that “on every level of language the essence of poetic artifice consists of recurrent returns” (1966: 399).
Parallelistic traditions can indeed be found all over the world (Fox 2014). While the use of this poetic feature in New Guinea song genres will be discussed in Chapter 6, it is important to note here that parallelism, though most abundant in poetic and ritual texts, also appears in everyday conversations; in quarrels, joking, public speeches, etc., and this will figure in several chapters. Before moving to the discussion of the general importance of parallelism in Awiapay, I will briefly introduce this linguistic feature and explain the terms I will be using throughout the thesis.

In linguistic or textual (as distinct from musical or gestural) parallelism, one or more linguistic elements within a line (words, morphemes, phonemes, syntactic constructions) are repeated in another line, while one or more other elements (A₁, A₂, ...) is/are replaced with other, non-repeating element(s) (B₁, B₂...). If the line is repeated again, element B₁ is replaced with C₁, and so on. Hence Rumsey’s definition of parallelism as “the ordered interplay of repetition and variation” (Rumsey 2007: 261). A simple example involving only one variable element is:

\[
\begin{align*}
d & e f g h A \\
d & e f g h B \\
d & e f g h C
\end{align*}
\]

A, B and C stand out from the repeated elements in each line. They stand out both as being different from one another, and as having a special relationship to one another by virtue of their identical placement within the line – a relationship that Jakobson (1966: 400), after Lowth (1778: xi) called equivalence. Elements that are in this relationship to each other carry more prominence, attract more attention than the rest of the text. We can call them variables in a parallel set, the ‘equivalent’ or juxtaposed elements. There is always some association between them, which means that they are perceived to be closely connected, although not being the same (like, for example, ‘salt’ and ‘pepper’). The associations between the variables in a parallel set reflect cultural conceptualizations, which are shared by members of a given community. The example below is from an Awiapay all-night song cycle Kaunjambi, song 7.6-7. The repeated words in this case are mendus pokoy, and the non-repeated ones wi // komboja.

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49 Some of the traditions that have been extensively studied are those of Hebrew poetry in the Old Testament (studied by German scholars and the American scholar Robert Lowth in the 18th century), the 19th century Hungarian and Finnish folklorists’ collections of Mansi oral poetry, and the songs and chants collected by Parry and Lord of Yugoslav bards in the 1930s (Lord 2000). Parallelism has also been known from Central America (especially Popul Vuh; cf. Tedlock 1985), as well as from China, the Middle East and South-East Asia. For a more detailed overview of the expand and study of parallelism see Fox 2014.

50 A full transcript of this song cycle, which is discussed in Chapter 6, can be found in Appendix J.
The repetition establishes a frame in which the non-repeated word (variable) in each line is “put into comparison” (Fabb 1997: 140), juxtaposed, or, as Rumsey (2007: 261) puts it, “placed in a salient relationship to a non-repeated word [or words] at an equivalent position in the other line[s]”. In the example above, the variables are marked by shading, whereas the repeated words are unmarked. The two lines in which parallelism occurs can be referred to as a parallel couplet, and the two variables, ‘quicklime’ // ‘shell’, as parallel terms (Lowth 1778: x), or (in this case) a parallel pair.

While the association between these two words may not strike us as an obvious one, it comes very naturally for the Awiakay people who regularly produce quicklime for chewing with betel nuts by burning the freshwater mussel shells *Microdontia andontaeformis*, which they collect from the river. Chewing betel nut with lime is a very popular social activity, lending one’s lime container to another is a sign of trust, and chewing lime with ginger used to play an important role in various rituals, etc. While this is a fairly simple example, as we shall see in later chapters, many such associations between variables in parallel sets can help us to penetrate deeper into Awiakay lifeworld and learn more about their cultural conceptualizations.

Parallelisms in many parallelistic traditions around the world are often limited to couplets, and several scholars have pointed to the binary principles in the languages and societies that feature this kind of parallelism (Jakobson 1966; Fox 1988, 2014; Fabb 1997; Telban 2008, 2014 etc.). However, I would like to point out that parallelism is not an inherently binary relation. In Awiakay – both in poetic language and in everyday Awiakay discourse – parallel couplets occur in less than 30% of all parallelisms, while the others are larger parallel sets, from parallel triplets to parallel octuplets. The example below is a triplet of lines 3-5 in song 12 in *Kaunjambi*.

\[12.3 \text{ tison aka yonondi} \]
\[\text{mosquitoes didn’t bite me} \]
Parallelism is an immediately noticeable feature of several different Awiakay registers. Although much more transparent in poetic and ritual texts (which will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6), it also regularly occurs in ‘ordinary’ everyday conversations, such as in quarrels (Chapter 3), public speeches, etc. Studying such instances of parallelism in the same way as in ritual texts (Silverstein 2004: 627-8) leads us to recognise cultural conceptualisations as they transpire in everyday speech.

In his paper “Cultural” Concepts and the Language-Culture Nexus, Michael Silverstein sketches “linguistic anthropology’s methods for discovering truly cultural conceptualizations” (Silverstein 2004: 621). He points out that “discursive interaction brings sociocultural concepts into here-and-now contexts of use [by way of] emergent patterning of semiotic forms” (ibid.). As we know how to study these in the image of the poetics of ritual, he suggests that all interaction – even everyday, ordinary conversation – “be analysed as the “ritual” event through which its various participants are allocated ascriptions of adherence to or at least role-alignment with the cultural beliefs that underlie and thereby provide the stuff of sociality” (2004: 627).

The use of certain words or expressions at particular positions within what Silverstein calls the ‘interactional text’ in a conversation is not only to enable conversation, but serves to convey what he calls ‘cultural concepts’ pertaining to the experienced or imagined universe (lifeworld) of a certain group and thus points to the user as a member of the group. The group presumably shares “specific conceptual schemata, such as taxonomies, partonomies, paradigms, seriation, etc.” (Silverstein 2004: 633), as well as the intertextual and interdiscursive qualities of words in a “whole economy of verbal usage in social life” (ibid.). It is this “culturally specific ‘competence’ or knowledge that renders the context of performance accessible to” an ‘insider’ of this group (2004: 626).

This model of speech behaviour can be applied to analyse certain aspects of Awiakay linguistic registers, in particular to the use of parallelism, which I introduced above. In Chapters 3 and 6 I will demonstrate the complexity of this phenomenon and show its significance for our understanding of cultural concepts both in ordinary Awiakay discourse and in poetic language.
1.4 THESIS OUTLINE

Based on video recordings of events that took place during various stages of my fieldwork in Kanjimei between 2004 and 2012, the following chapters discuss the form and function of different linguistic registers and their role in Awiakay social life. Each of the registers reflects, and is itself a part of socio-cultural continuity and change.

Chapter 2 treats two historically related registers, 'mountain talk' and 'hidden talk'. In both ordinary vocabulary is replaced by secret vocabulary, known only to the Awiakay. Mountain talk is the older register, which was formerly used during the hunting trips in the mountains in order to avoid the anger and potential malicious actions of the mountain spirits who themselves instructed people in using avoidance talk. The Awiakay have recently transferred this practice of lexical replacement to a different social setting, in which they try to avoid the dangers presented by raskols (Tok Pisin for 'criminals') in the provincial capital when they go to town. The chapter is intertwined with video segments from a journey to town, the verbatim transcripts forming the basis for analysis.

Chapter 3 analyses the language of disputes and fighting, based on the video recordings of several fights and transcripts of the talk used in them. It examines both domestic and village-internal fights and demonstrates the importance of language use in traditional conflict resolution.

Chapter 4 examines Catholic charismatic spirit possession, which in a particular social context legitimises two otherwise condemned social practices: gossip and public criticism. Through a video-recorded case study the chapter demonstrates the role of language use and language ideologies in repairing the previously torn social fabric.

Chapter 5 deals with the language and function of laments, or 'sung-texted melodic weeping'. It is, again, intertwined with segments of video footage which illustrate different types of laments of this kind, and features a short edited film about lamenting for a deceased boy Yan. A person's weeping for a deceased relative or a dog is at the same time used as an indirect public call for help, or as a subtle airing of grievances about other people's wrongdoings – with or without a direct connection to the deceased. The specific melody which accompanies these complaints has qualities that make other people sympathise with the person weeping, so their laments are heard and taken seriously by other members of the society rather than condemned as malicious provocations.
Chapter 6, the last ethnographic chapter, is on *Kaunjambi*, an all-night song/dance cycle of 43 songs, which the Awikay believe were composed by their ancestral spirits. Linguistic, musical and ethnographic analyses of the verbatim transcripts and the video and audio recordings of several performances of this song/dance cycle lead to the argument that Kaunjambi is an indigenously-composed auto-ethnography.

Chapter 7 summarises the features of registers discussed in the previous chapters and argues that it is the functional diversity of these registers that adds to the vitality of the Awikay language.

All chapters are placed within the broader ethnographic literature on Melanesia and linguistic anthropology.

The text of the thesis is interwoven with observational ethnographic film. The subtitled video clips are an integral part of the thesis, carefully chosen from a much larger corpus of material, and are thus intended to be watched while reading.

A basic sketch of the Awikay grammar is added in Appendix A to help the reader understand certain linguistic features discussed in the thesis.

Appendix B is an account of the arrival of Catholic charismatic movement in Kanjimei, the event that has had an important impact on Awikay lifeworld.

Appendix C is a glossary of Awikay ‘hidden talk’. The other appendices are full verbatim transcripts of the video recordings used in the main chapters of this thesis. They are all translated into English, and all come with some additional explanatory notes that were originally intended for myself, but have been deliberately left in, as they may alert the attentive reader to interesting questions.

Appendix J provides a transcript of the all-night song/dance cycle *Kaunjambi*, following an account of the transcription and translation of a song-cycle which includes long passages of unintelligible ‘spirit language’.
Chapter Two:

From Mountain Talk to Hidden Talk: Continuity and Change in Awiakay Registers

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Formerly, when the Awiakay left their village or bush camps to travel to the mountains, they used a different linguistic register, ‘mountain talk’, in which several lexical items are replaced by their avoidance terms. In this way people believed they could prevent mountain spirits from sending sickness or dense fog in which they would get lost on their journeys.

I heard a little about the existence of this talk at the end of my second field trip in Kanjime in 2006. I collected a few terms, but because of the imminent departure I could not pursue the topic. I later planned to conduct my PhD research solely on this topic, but was advised by my prospective supervisors that it would be good to frame the research more widely. In the course of this chapter we will see why this was a good idea.

Over the last decade people’s trips to the mountain have become more frequent due to the eaglewood business. Christianity has caused a decline in the use of ‘mountain talk’. Nevertheless a linguistic register similar in its form and function has sprung up in a different setting; kay menda, ‘different talk’, or what people sometimes call ‘hidden talk’, is used when the Awiakay go to the town to sell eaglewood and buy goods.

This chapter will look at both of those registers: ‘mountain talk’ and ‘hidden talk’. Both are referred to as kay menda ‘different language’ or kay momba ‘different talk’ by the Awiakay. I will explore the ways in which ‘hidden talk’ can be viewed as a continuation of ‘mountain talk’.

It is not uncommon for languages of the New Guinea Highlands to have special linguistic registers characterised by lexical substitutions and used in particular social contexts. In Kewa, for example, the use of a special speech variety is associated with notions of high mountains being inhabited by wild dogs and spirits from whom one

An earlier version of this chapter has been published as a journal paper (Hoenigman 2012a).
must protect oneself. Similarly, Huli use a special vocabulary when travelling through country inhabited by demons (Franklin 1972). Other ‘hidden languages’ are used in ritually restricted contexts: while hunting (Telefol trapping rats; ibid.), or on pandanus harvesting expeditions when cooking and eating cassowary (Pawley 1992), etc. However, some of these registers have declined (Franklin & Stefaniw 1992).

While several authors have looked into lexical substitution registers, none that I know of has attempted to trace the diachronic changes. This chapter will show how the use of a register is adapted to new socio-economic circumstances. The example of ‘hidden talk’ provides us with the rare opportunity of analysing this process while it unfolds.

2.2 TOK PISIN LOANWORDS IN AWIAKAY

In order to understand what is happening in one of the registers that will be analysed in this chapter, we have tell a bit more about the relationship between Awiakay and Tok Pisin, which was introduced in 1.2.2. Words from Tok Pisin – particularly ones denoting items and concepts which have entered the village from the outside – do enter Awiakay and are used in everyday speech. Many of them are nativised, that is, adapted to the rules of Awiakay phonology and morphology. Moreover, Tok Pisin verbs which are borrowed into Awiakay acquire a special suffix, -bapo-, which is attached to the borrowing and precedes the normal Awiakay verb ending (cf. Appendix A: 3.5.1). For example, Tok Pisin verb ‘buy’ gets adapted by adding the ‘Awiakayser’ -bapo-, as well as Awiakay tense, number and person endings.

\[
\text{baim} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{baim-bapo-pali-k}
\]

\[\text{(TP) buy} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{(TP) buy-AWK-PRS-1SG}\]

As we shall see, Awiakay words have also been coined for many of these borrowings, but are only used in specific situations.

2.3 AWIAKAY ‘MOUNTAIN TALK’

The Awiakay employ four basic terms to describe their landscape: andaj ‘swamp’, mip ‘flood plain’, palakay ‘flat ground’, and pondoj, which denotes land of significantly higher elevation than its surroundings and can be translated as ‘mountain’. The areas that Awiakay consider mountainous land begin above ~70m above sea level, with the highest mountain on Awiakay land, Injañ, being 1,200m above sea level.
As discussed in section 1.1.7, the commercial eaglewood trade started in the Awiahay region just before 2000. Before that, the Awiahay went to the mountains mainly in search of *kanun* *isa* ‘blackpalm’, which they used for making bows, or for short hunting trips. Such trips were restricted to some mountains only, as others were perceived to be heavily populated by both *endembaj* ‘mountain spirits’ and *tangia* ‘spirits of the dead’, the latter being particularly malevolent.

The mountain spirits, *endembaj*, who inhabit all mountains on Awiahay territory, are notorious for tricking people into getting lost. When in the mountains, the Awiahay frequently call out to one another when they have wandered away from the group. This is when *endembaj* tend to send the fog and imitate people’s calls to confuse them, so that they become lost. Being in a territory which one does not know, and moreover, being there alone, is particularly dangerous. Apart from afflicting lone wanderers with sickness, *endembaj*, who can fly around in the mountains, are believed to come at night and consume the *munga* ‘the essence and taste’ of the food that people have brought with them. While the food is still there in the morning, its taste has gone and the Awiahay know that they must leave the mountain, as that food will not satisfy them any longer. People say that *endembaj* can sometimes be heard whistling at night,
their sounds resembling the wind blowing.

To avoid the dangers inflicted on them by the mountain spirits, people used to employ a different linguistic register on their trips to the mountains. It is a form of Awiakay in which certain lexical items are replaced by avoidance terms. I refer to it as ‘mountain talk’.

There is a myth about a man who became lost in the mountains and met a female mountain spirit. This spirit hid him and taught him the avoidance terms for animals, plants and foods which people should use while in the mountains. Some of these lexical prohibitions and their replacements are mentioned in the myth. Today Awiakay people remember no more than some twenty avoidance terms.

Table 2.1: Avoidance terms in mountain Awiakay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary Awiakay</th>
<th>Mountain Awiakay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aisia ‘eel’</td>
<td>no term should be used at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avgagwag ‘flying fox’</td>
<td>apuria ‘type of bee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamdok ‘cloud’</td>
<td>kandukya ‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawin ‘mountain bird – spirit of a dead man’</td>
<td>tiñe pawiakay ‘red bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayma ‘cassowary’</td>
<td>tumanjingoy ‘the hairy one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OR kondamin panba ‘two legs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kongonoŋ ‘a tall type of ginger (Alpinia sp.)’ (= name of a mountain spirit)</td>
<td>is karga ‘tree leaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>momok (tawa) ‘spine of a type of cane which the Awiakay use in circular roof building’ (= name of a mountain spirit)</td>
<td>injam kanja ‘cane tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munguma ‘termites’ nest’</td>
<td>nam tapuka ‘old woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tao ‘sago spines’</td>
<td>andangangogy kolokot ‘something belonging to swamp’ OR no term should be used at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tay ‘sago’</td>
<td>kandukya kolokotay ‘white food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbun ‘slit drum’ OR ‘garamut tree (Vitex confossus)’ from which slit drums are made</td>
<td>no term should be used at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoki ‘tobacco’</td>
<td>emwi kolokolay ‘the smoking thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yambuka ‘leaves of a type of ginger’ (= name of a mountain spirit)</td>
<td>is karga ‘tree leaf’ OR no term should be used at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name of any fish found in the upper parts of Awiakay creeks</td>
<td>no term should be used at all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By using this linguistic register, the Awiakay would satisfy the demands of mountain spirits and prevent them from carrying out malevolent acts, such as sending sickness or dense fog in which they would get lost.

Over the last decade, people’s trips to the mountains have become more frequent due to the commercial eaglewood trade, as described in Chapter 1. This wood grows mainly at altitudes between 70 and 850m. On Awiakay land this is the region south of Kanjimeie, where the land starts rising into the mountains (Map 2.1).

Map 2.1: Distribution of eaglewood in Awiakay land

As people were spending more time in the mountains, one might expect that ‘mountain talk’ would thrive (at least I did). However, as discussed in 1.1.6, the Catholic charismatic movement, which the Awiakay accepted in 1995, demanded of people that they renounce their traditions and break their relationships with the spirits, (see also Telban 2008a, b, 2009) – and therefore with their land. Sickness (and even death)
caused by not thoroughly implementing the expected practices would now no longer be inflicted by the spirits for *not* following their demands, but rather by God for following them. In order to protect themselves from God’s anger, people were now forced to abandon the very practices which used to protect them from spirits, which has meant a gradual decline in the use of ‘mountain talk’.

Plate 2.2: Wandering off alone on the mountain is considered dangerous: one becomes vulnerable to the attacks of the mountain spirits.
Plates 2.3 and 2.4: The fog descending on Mt Injiaŋ
Plate 2.5: Mandu, Andikay and Sailus looking towards the Konje ridge

Plate 2.6: Andikay, Pupi and Simon searching for eaglewood at Umbim
While ‘mountain talk’ has declined, a new linguistic register rather similar in its form and function has sprung up in a different setting. Kay menda ‘different language’, or what I will refer to as ‘hidden talk’ is used when the Awiakay go to the town to sell the eaglewood which they have harvested, and to buy goods.

Wewak is the provincial capital and has in recent years become frequently visited by people from remote areas who come to sell eaglewood and small quantities of gold. In the early years of the eaglewood trade Indonesian buyers would themselves travel around the province to buy the aromatic wood. However, this became dangerous, as it was known that they were carrying huge amounts of money, and they were often robbed (reportedly two of them were even killed in early 2004 in an attack on the Sepik River). When the initial boom in the eaglewood trade declined, these foreign buyers did not earn enough to be willing to take the risks and so they gave up their field trips. On the other hand, people whose land is rich in eaglewood earned enough to buy outboard motors and started travelling to Wewak themselves, to sell their eaglewood and also to buy goods which can only be obtained in town. This increase in visitors with money who are not used to town has coincided with an increase in crime. It is not uncommon for visitors to town to be robbed of all their possessions.

Being aware of these dangers, the Awiakay people try to be extremely cautious when in Wewak, and have (among other things, such as carrying cassowary bone daggers) started practising ‘hidden talk’. Hidden talk is a register of lexical substitution, in which all Tok Pisin borrowings, which are used in everyday Awiakay in the village – and may therefore be understood by outsiders – are replaced by newly-coined Awiakay terms. Coining new words for newly introduced items and concepts is a common practice in many languages of New Guinea. But what makes this phenomenon different from similar processes in other languages is the special function that the Awiakay attribute to these newly-coined expressions in their vernacular (namely concealing the meaning of commonly used Tok Pisin borrowings), and the special social setting in which this is done (not in the village, but when going to the town). In other words, it is important to note that Tok Pisin terms – particularly ones denoting items and concepts which have entered the village from the outside – do enter everyday Awiakay as it is used in the village. Even though many of these borrowings have been nativised by

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2 Out of six outboard motors in Kanjimei four were bought with people’s earnings from selling eaglewood.
adapting them to the rules of Awiakay phonology and morphology, they are nonetheless
the parts of the Awiakay language (which is not spoken by people from other villages
and even less so by anyone in the town) that could be understood by other people.
Awiakay words have therefore been coined for many of these loans, but they are
primarily used in situations requiring *kay menda*, while Tok Pisin terms continue to be
used in Kanjimei.\(^3\)

To illustrate how *kay menda* works, consider how people refer to a 44-gallon
drum. In Tok Pisin this is *fotifo*. A traditional item with the most similar function to a
drum was a bucket made from a large bamboo, used for carrying water. In Awiakay it is
called *yomoy*, and people adopted this term to replace *fotifo*. At home (on their land),
the Awiakay would continually use *fotifo*, but leaving their land, particularly when
going to town, they would call it *yomoy* when speaking Awiakay to each other.

So far I have collected about 120 Awiakay creations used in *kay menda* in place
of Tok Pisin terms (Glossary in Appendix C). We can divide these terms into five groups
according to the way in which they were created:

1 – terms which denote objects with similar functions
   - wallet: (TP) hanpaus → *kundambi* ‘coconut fibre for storing tobacco’

2 – terms which denote objects similar in form (they look similar)
   - petrol: (TP) petrol → *yom* ‘water’ [liquid]
   - balloon: (TP) balun → *mumba* ‘bladder’
   - gold: (TP) gol → *kinim* ‘sand’

3 – descriptive terms
   - store: (TP) stoa → *kolokot yawa* ‘things house’
   - bra: (TP) susu kalabus → *isik ulakaplakay* ‘(something that) covers breasts’

4 – lexical calques
   - toilet: (TP) haus pekpek → *eney yawa* ‘shit house’

5 – absurdly incongruous terms (a word denoting something that people find disgusting
   is used for something they find delicious on the basis of physical resemblance)
   - noodles: (TP) nudols → *kundam enga* ‘earthworm shit’
   - chocolate cream: (TP) soklit krim → *eney mola* ‘diarrhoea/rotting shit’
   - tinned (mushroom) sauce: (TP) (?) → *mengwak* ‘vomit’

\(^3\) In certain situations, when the Awiakay people want to conceal their talk from visitors from other
villages, they will resort to *kay menda* even at home in Kanjimei, but typically this register is used
whenever they go to town.
Although coining new words for newly introduced items and concepts is a common practice in many languages of New Guinea, what makes this phenomenon different from similar processes in other languages is the special function that the Awiakay have attributed to using these newly-coined expressions in their vernacular (i.e. concealing the meaning of commonly used Tok Pisin borrowings) and the special social setting in which this is done (i.e. not in the village, but when going to the town).

Some of the examples of how kay menda is used can be drawn from a video-recorded eaglewood-selling trip to Wewak in September 2009. Before you view the excerpts, here is some background.

In spite of a fortnight without any rain in the mountains, the Kangrimei passage was still navigable, which saved Desmon Asuk, Dicson Tumak, Sailus Kaim, Justin Pupi and me a whole afternoon’s journey down the Karawari River (Map 2.2). Apart from shortening the long journey, using this shortcut also means that the Awiakay can save about five gallons of petrol (and a bit more on the way back when going upriver), trade for food with the people from Karawari-speaking Kaiwaria and Masandanai villages along the channel and overnight in one of their camps. Kangrimei was very low though, so we had to turn off the motor so as not to hit the branches and tree trunks lying at the bottom. While paddling, Asuk, who is more experienced in travelling to town, started a conversation in which he repeated for the younger boys and me how we should behave when we come to Wewak.4

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4 In the transcript lexical substitutes are bolded. In translation, original Awiakay meanings are bolded, while their ‘hidden’, kay menda meanings follow in square brackets, e.g. iskamia (lexical substitute) is translated tree meat [eaglewood]. As elsewhere in the thesis, Tok Pisin expressions are italicized and underlined. In the transcripts the translations are more faithful to the original Awiakay text, while they had to be slightly modified (shortened) for subtitling purposes. The transcripts come first so that the reader can become familiar with the meaning of avoidance terms before watching the films. In the subtitles lexical substitutes are in yellow. In order to illustrate how kay menda works, I have glossed all Awiakay terms using their original Awiakay meanings, rather than their kay menda meanings, e.g. I have glossed ikakapan as ‘carving’ (ordinary Awiakay) instead of ‘writing’ (kay menda).
Transcript of VIDEO 2-1: On the Kangrimei

Asuk: Noi omgusanda an kak pekenoy endunj opiangombemgoy olukunja tanjan aka pangumbem iskamia salimbapongapekenjbo.
When you meet somebody in the town, don’t tell them that we came down to sell tree meat [eaglewood].
Aunda yamengga peken. Tanjan pangombem.
We just came down for a trip. Tell them that.
Ya non kele kon kakana: “Aka aunda, aunda yamengga pekua.”
And they will say: “True, they just came for a trip.”

Sailus: Yo. Ay opepaluj.
Yes. We know [what to do].

Asuk: Tanjan ponua.
That’s what they’ll think.
Ya elak kele emepanda ulakapep pakayamenoj angumgoj kolokot kele.
That’s how we will be able to hide what it is we are carrying.

Sailus: Emepanda tok.
That’s good.

Asuk: Mawia tok kele.
It’s great.

Sailus: Mawia.
Great.

Asuk: Konjotmay an anda aka yawajgunay elaj an. An aka yawajgunay.
Konjotmay [Darja] will not tell them either. She won’t tell.

Pupi: An opepon.
She knows.

Darja: Niij ... niij anda opepalik.
I ... I know.

Asuk: M-m. Anda opepon. Aka yawajgunay.
M-hm [agrees]. She knows. She won’t tell.

Darja: Andoposa opepalik.
I know that very well.

Asuk: Elak tok angumgoj kunja kolokota elakay paypmajga epalunjgoy tok.
This is the only thing we get stones [money] for.

Darja: Yo.
Yes.

Asuk: Akanja olukunjaj mokongunjam epop emayn, emay kunjjan.
Bad people can mug us. Sorcerers [rascals] or sorcerer children [pickpockets].

Darja: Emay wakon. Kumbi akanja Wewak.
There are many sorcerers [rascals] there. Wewak is a bad place.

Asuk: Elaj andunj ... Elaj andunj konj aka kakapaluj.
That stuff [of ours]... let’s not talk about it at all.
Aŋ anda tui mambipep, pakambalinjña, s-salimbapopalinjña, ya konj wambopaluj.
We’ll just hide it, bring it there, sell it and come back upriver.

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The Awiakay are afraid of being held up by rascals, so eaglewood selling trips are always permeated with secrecy. No one ever discusses their business with people whom they meet on the river or in the camps where they overnight, let alone with anyone in the town. Wewak is perceived to be a dangerous place, yet one where the Awiakay can get all the goods they desire. Young boys already learn that by listening to the conversations of the more experienced men in the village, but in this conversation Asuk repeats it in order to make sure that it is clear to all of us. As I had travelled to town to sell eaglewood with other men before, all the boys knew that I had learned how important it was to keep our business secret (line 11). In line 16 Asuk explains that selling eaglewood is the only way in which they can get money. This, however, attracts robbers and pickpockets, for whom he uses *kay menda* terms, *emay*, (TP *sanguma*) ‘(assault-) sorcerer’, and *emay kunganja*, ‘(assault-) sorcerer children’ in the meaning of ‘pickpockets’ (line 18). As the five of us are alone in the canoe in the Kangrimei, and there is no danger of anyone else overhearing our conversation, he chooses to use *kay menda* terms for rascals mainly because he wants to instruct us in the use of ‘hidden talk’. In addition, calling names of dangerous entities is often avoided, which is another reason for using *kay menda* terms for rascals when not in the village.\(^5\)

As it started getting dark we decided to spend the night at Kambatiman, a Masandanai camp in the middle of the Kangrimei passage, about halfway to Angoram (see Map 2.2). We were not alone there – a family from a nearby Kaiwaria village stayed in another shelter. That is why Tumak and I used *kay menda* to replace Tok Pisin terms which could reveal Tumak’s plans in town.

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\(^5\) Even in the village people would often avoid using a word for e.g. a harmful spirit. Instead of saying *nugum* ‘gigantic python’ when describing a picture where a speaker believed this creature was threatening a man depicted in the drawing, he would say *kalak ambam* ‘this what’ or *kolokolay* ‘this thing’.
Darja:  *Tumak, o!*

Hey, Tumak.

Amha... amba im... amba momba ikakapan?

What... what are you do... what are you *carving* [writing]?

Tumak:  *Amba ...? Ey!*

What ...? Oh [looks up in surprise]!

*Paypmanda ... paypmanda George sakay mamgoy bal emba tike mimbia ikakapalik.*

Stones [money] ... stones ... I am *carving* [writing] the name of the stones [amount of money] George’s [wife] gave me to *take* [buy] a ball.


Yes. M-hm. Many people gave stones [money] to you. Yes.

Tumak:  *Ponde bal epep pakinakoy Tanday sakay.*

Tomorrow I will *take* [buy] a ball for Tanday [George’s son] and take it back upriver [to the village].

Now please watch

![VIDEO 2-2: In Kambatiman camp](https://vimeo.com/114479418) PASSWORD: K

When asked what he was doing, Tumak was taken by surprise when he saw me with a video camera. As he was aware of the presence of people from another village (a Kaiwaria woman was sitting in a nearby wind house and approached when we started speaking), and possibly reminded by myself using a ‘hidden’ term for writing, he knew that he had to replace the expressions like ‘money’ and ‘buy’, with their *kay menda* terms. However, we could hear him hesitating, carefully thinking how to formulate his sentences.

Arriving in Angoram in the early afternoon of the following day and storing the canoe with the Imanmeri people, we managed to find an early ‘backload’ truck that was going to take us to Wewak. The major part of the journey was over and although the ride along the dirt road to Wewak is a rough one, the men who were in charge of the canoe could now take some rest. There were only a couple of other people sitting on the truck and waiting with us, and the leisurely conversation that took place did not involve anything that would demand secrecy, but the closer to Wewak the Awiakay get, the
more urge they feel to speak among themselves in a way that other people do not understand.  

Transcript of VIDEO 2-3: To Angoram

Asuk:  
Mawia tok.  
Great.  

Sailus:  
Pekepiam, pekepiam, ya ambug.  
We came downriver and we are going now.  
Kumap mandaŋ kolon. Tom...  
We’re in the coconut shell. Later...  

Asuk:  
[_interrupts]  
Aka kumap manda. Yomgoŋ manda!  
Not coconut shell. Turtle shell [car/truck]!  

Sailus:  
Turtle shell. We’re in a turtle shell [car/truck]. We’re going. [we’re on our way.]

Asuk:  
Ambopalug ya...  
Yep, we’re going. [we’re on our way.]

Tumak:  
Ambembapopalug ya, taunug.  
Now we are going to town.

Asuk:  
Yomgoŋ mandaŋ koloŋp onga kolopalug ya.  
We’re sitting together in our turtle shell [car/truck] now.  
Unja tok kele Wapiak yomonay.  
Now [tonight] we will sleep in Wewak.  
Mawia.  
Great.

Now please watch

VIDEO 2-3: To Angoram [0:59] https://vimeo.com/114479420  PASSWORD: K

Individuals first become acquainted with kay menda in the village, but only put it into practice when travelling to town. Every trip to the town is therefore a training for the boys who are not yet fully competent in this register. They are taught kay menda by the more experienced men. These also correct the boys when they make mistakes. FILM 2-3 shows how Asuk corrects Sailus, who calls car ‘coconut shell’ instead of ‘turtle shell’.

6 After one of the internal village fights Pupi’s brother Namay said: “Gulpeta igim bmj aka amhalmj Taimuij aninangoy tok piikuninay.” ‘We never get together at good times. When we go to the town, we think of each other.’ [In the village we tend to quarrel and fight. But when we go to the town we stick together as one and take care of each other.]
When they are in Wewak, the Awiakay normally overnight with people in Masandanai camp at Kria (Krcer market), a settlement of the Karawari-speaking communities. Although they are on friendly terms with Karawari people (albeit not their *wantoks*), they find it very important to conceal their business and plans from them. The boy we see sitting and writing in film 2-4 after we arrive in Wewak is a Masandanai boy who goes to school in town, the others are Awiakay, discussing their plans for the following day.

Transcript of VIDEO 2-4: In Masandanai camp, Wewak

Asuk: *Noy amba kolokota mae enamin nan?*  
What will you *take* [buy].

Sailus: *Niij aninakoy ... amba ... enganinak ...*  
I will go ... what... go and *take* [buy] ...

Asuk: *Pisikanda, pisikanda kakaym.*  
Quickly [come on] tell me.

Sailus: *Ya, amba onga enganinak?*  
Yes, what is it I’m *taking* [buying]?  
*Amba endeplakay.*  
What ... they strain [stuff] with it.

Pupi: *Tay munga ...*  
Sago starch ...

Sailus: *Tay munga endeplakay.*  
They strain sago starch [with it].

Tumak: *Streina.*  
A strainer.

Asuk: *Aka pukupan.*  
You don’t remember.

Sailus: *Iss! Elak an aka koñim. Numinman!*  
*Iss*, don’t call its name. You fucker!

Tumak: *[laughs]*

Asuk: *Aunda enday aka tapuka yañinak.*  
No other way of telling him.  
*Kak.*  
Tell us.

Sailus: *Kak mom agalon ...*  
Nothing more to tell ...

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7 *Wantok* is a widely-used Tok Pisin term, from English ‘one-talk’, *i.e.* ‘one who speaks the same language’ and is thus supposed to help fellow-*wantoks* whenever they need it. In the context of town, the term gets a broader meaning, and one’s *wantoks* do not necessarily speak the same language, but are, for example, at least from the same river. Note that when abroad, all Papua New Guineans refer to each other as *wantoks.*
Asuk: [Nhj ponde anakoy + coughing in the background]. Kamboy kondamin enakoy, eya kunjakanta, tayan enak.
[Tomorrow I will go] and take [buy] two stone axes [axes] and a bushknife.

Sailus: Amba tok yom eyambongoy.
And what else, she [Darja] will take [buy] water [petrol].
Ya tok wakondwyn okokoaninay.
We’ll all go with her.

Asuk: Elak tok. Wakondwyn anay.
That’s it. We’ll all go [together].

Tumak: Yom epep embepenay...
We’ll go and take [buy] the water [petrol] ...

Asuk: Yom omgusanda eyambopep, kany embepenay.
We will all go to get the water [petrol] and bring it here.

Tumak: ... kany embepenay.
... we’ll put it here.

Sailus: Mae anamgoy ambay anayke tasia yaway. Amba pondanayke ...
First she’ll go to her what... spirit house. To take out ... what?

Asuk: Paypmaŋga eyanambop.
She will go and take stones [money].

Sailus: Paypmanda enayke ...
When she takes the stones [money] from ...

Asuk: ... paypmaŋga yawa ...
... the house of stones [bank] ...

Sailus: ... anamgoy kolokot enayke, pakapukundinay mae.
... and takes [buys] her things, we’ll load them [onto the truck].

Now please watch

PASSWORD: K

Asuk asks Sailus what he is going to buy, and Sailus hesitates with his answer, not knowing what to call ‘the thing for straining sago flour’ in kay menda. He avoids using the Tok Pisin term by calling it ‘what for straining’ (line 5) , ‘what’ standing for ‘that thing’ (cf fn. 3). Both Pupi and Sailus are searching for the right term (lines 6 and 7) when Tumak gives up and calls a Tok Pisin word streina ‘strainer’ (line 8) at the same time when Asuk says that they cannot remember. Tumak is instantly reprimanded

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by Sailus who calls him ‘fucker’ (literally ‘horny man’; line 10), which makes them all laugh, but Asuk defends him by saying that there was no other way of telling this (line 12), as he himself, as the most competent speaker of *kay menda* and the leader of this trip to Wewak, cannot think of a suitable avoidance term. The conversation continues with Asuk telling the others what he will buy the next day and how they are all going to go with him to buy petrol and bring it to Masandanai camp. Sailus is stuck again when he wants to say that he first needs to go to the bank to take out my money. By calling the bank a ‘spirit house’ (line 23) he is confused again, and uses *amba* ‘what’ even when he wants to refer to money. Asuk helps him out by reminding him of both terms, *paypmangga* ‘stones’ for money and *paypmanga yawa* ‘stone-house’ for bank (lines 24 and 26). Sailus corrects himself by using an alternative term for money, *paypmanda*, saying, “when I take out my money and buy all the goods, we will load it all onto a truck (for Angoram).”

In situations like this *kay menda* becomes a kind of mind game, which all participants enjoy, even though its primary purpose is said to be to make the Awiakay feel safer while in town.

The next day we went shopping. As Asuk wanted to put some of the money he earned with eaglewood in the bank, he and Pupi went to do this business, while Sailus, Tumak and I went to the shops. A partial transcript of our conversation is shown below.

**Transcript of VIDEO 2-5: In a shop, Wewak 1 [2:52]**

Tumak: *Wakon, Skuluj pakayamenakpokoy bag kalakiay enapok.*  
So many. If I could take [buy] this bag I could carry it to school.

Sailus: *Aka anda. Skuluj pakayamenakpokoy bag kalakiay enapok.*  
True. If I could take [buy] this bag I could carry it to school.

Tumak: *Aka kolokot. Paypmanda tonaypeke wakon aka kiay enapok.*  
What a thing! If I had lots of stones [money], I would take [buy] many.

Here. [Something for] wandering around in swamps [gum boots]. For swamps.  
*Andänggu yaka yamblakay ...*  
[Something for] wandering around in swamps [gum boots] ...

Tumak: *Bag, o!*  
Oh, bag!  
*Mawiakay kalak.*  
This is a great one.
Sailus: *Emay kalak yambongoy, poka pukulakana pokoy anda kaykay wakakanaype.*
If this sorcerer [rascal] keeps tailing us, I will bash his face till he screams.

Sailus: *Amba pia kandikakay?*
Is this a piece of something?

Tumak: *Kolokot muijayambla.*
[See], they are wandering around and looking at things.

*Sailus: Amgam? Wakon.*
How much? A lot.

Sailus: *Pokonui pasiplakay.*
Something to clean your face with [towel].

*Sailus: Tom kele elokiy oponanak.*
I’ll look at that later.

Tumak: *Ainge ya.*
Let’s go.

Sailus: *Ainge.*
Let’s go.

Tumak
*Emay nanday okokaim yambon.*
A sorcerer [rascal] is following you.

(to me):
*Emay nanday okokaim yambon, yo kon yambon.*
A sorcerer [rascal] is following you, he’s walking just there.

*Sailus: Aka ... aka mokinay. Tawa pokombackanak.*
He won’t ... he won’t touch you. I’ll break his bones.

Now please watch

**VIDEO 2-5: In a shop, Wewak 1** [2:52] https://vimeo.com/114507163  PASSWORD: K

While wandering around the store and looking at articles such as gum boots – which Sailus does not know what to call in *kay menda*, and therefore uses a descriptive term ‘something for wandering around in swamps’ (lines 1 and 2) – Sailus got a feeling that the men behind him were not just eye-shopping. In line 8 he boasts how he will bash the rascal’s face, which is at the same time a warning for Tumak and me to be
careful. Finding a small towel he wonders what it is, while Tumak’s attention is with the alleged pickpockets. He then answers Sailus, attempting to remember an avoidance term for towel, but in the end uses the Tok Pisin word *tawel*. Later he corrects himself, using a descriptive term, ‘something to clean your face with’ (line 13). If people do not know or do not remember an already established *kay menda* term, they often try to create one on the spot, and in such cases they frequently resort to description. However, Tumak is alert and anxious because of the suspected rascals and he suggests that we leave. He calmly warns me that a (potential) rascal is following me and suggests that he goes ahead (line 20). Being nervous himself, Sailus boasts again, assuring me that he can protect me if somebody wanted to rob me (line 21). Having experienced some troubles themselves, and hearing stories about people being attacked and robbed, the Awiakay are always tense when in town. Many of them, particularly young boys, release this uneasiness by boasting how mean they will turn if anyone dares attack them. While this can be a meaningless, even jocular, everyday practice in the village (though also employed during fights), it becomes a means of reassuring one another when in town.

We were just about to leave the store when Asuk and Pupi, who had finished their business and were already looking for us, came in. As a group of five we were a less attractive target for the robbers or pickpockets, so we stayed there to take a look at tapes with popular music, torches and knives. Tumak and I were looking for a lamp for his *pap* ‘maternal uncle’ (and my ‘father’) Aymakan.

**Transcript of VIDEO 2-6: In a shop, Wewak 2:**

shop assistant: *Bilong disla bateri save stap insait. Narapela kain em i stap long hapsait long narapela glas.*

These ones have batteries inside. The other ones are over there.

*Yu minim wanemplakain?*

What kind do you want?

Tumak: *Narapela. Glas tasol em i go daun olsem... Disla em nogat?*

Another kind where the lamp folds down. You don’t have them?

Darja: *Em olsem bikpela lait liklik. Em nogat?*

With the slightly bigger lamp. You don’t have it?

shop assistant: *Nogat.*

No.
Tumak: *Kay yawan wakanjiy aninay kolokot kaykoy salimbapoplaka.*
We’ll look for it in another house [store], they sell different ones [there].
*Elay tok ton kak agalon.*
Here they don’t have it.
*Aunda wakanjiy.*
We’ll keep looking.

Darja: *Kay kolokot yawa.*
Another house of things [store].

Tumak: *Mm. Kay kolokot yawa.*
M-hm [agrees]. Another house of things [store].
*Kalak kay kon tola.*
There are different things here.

Darja: *Paypmanga kandege?*
Big stones [is it expensive]?

Tumak: *Paypmanga wamojan.*
The stones have gone upriver [the price has gone up].

Darja: *A, wamojan?*
Ah? Gone upriver [gone up]?

Tumak: *Wamojan.*
Gone upriver [gone up].

Darja: *Yo.*
Yes.

This is 39.90 Kina. Crap. It’s gone upriver [the price has gone up].

Darja: *Kondamin isapasa?*
By two sticks [By 20 Kina]?

Tumak: *Kondamin isapasa ...*
By two sticks [By 20 Kina]...
*Kay... kay yawan wakanjiy aninay.*
Another... we’ll go and search for it in another house [store].
*OK, kay ya... Angoram wakanjinay.*
OK, we’ll go and search for it in another house... in Angoram.

Now please watch


It turns out that the shop does not have the kind of lamps that Aymakan asked for, so Tumak suggests that we search in another store, for which he uses a shortened version of *kay menda* term, *yawa* ‘house’, instead of *kolokot yawa* ‘house of things’ (line 7). People tend to shorten words in ordinary Awiakay all the time, and this practice
is sometimes applied to *kay menda* as well.

Tumak then looks at other lamps and torches they sell in this store and says that the prices have gone up since he was last in the town a few months ago. For the price going up he uses the verb *wam-*, which originally means ‘go/come up’ in the sense ‘in the upriver direction’ or ‘up to the house’ (but not ‘up to the mountain’). As Aymakan expected that the lamp he wanted would cost around K20, I ask whether the price had doubled, and Tumak confirms that it went up by ‘two sticks’, one tree stick equalling K10. This term comes from the colonial days in PNG when the first money was introduced to the Awikay and they devised their own naming system for the coins and notes.

Most registers are not “sociologically homogeneous formations” (Agha 2004: 38), which means that not everyone is equally competent in them, and Awikay ‘hidden talk’ is no exception. While every Awikay person can speak at least a little bit of *kay menda*, the most competent speakers are the men who travel most frequently to town. However, we could see that even in this group the level of fluency varies and depends on several factors, not excluding an individual speaker’s skills such as cunning, which is an essential part of ‘hidden talk’.

At the moment *kay menda* is still in the making and we can witness its on-going development. Women, who normally stay in the village, do not have many chances of using *kay menda* in practice; however, many of them take an active part in creating it. With a huge influx of material goods from Indonesia, shops in town are full of items previously unknown to the Awikay, which means that they borrow terms for them from Tok Pisin. When such an item is brought to the village, its form and function is eagerly studied and discussed, and sooner or later somebody comes up with an Awikay term for it. It takes some time before the speakers adopt such a term or create a new one, which they find more appropriate. The usage of a number of terms varies, and one can either (a) use the same avoidance term for several different Tok Pisin expressions, e.g. (TP) *kemera* ‘camera’, (TP) *skrin* ‘television screen’, (TP) *gras* ‘mirror’ are all referred to as *memek* ‘lightning’ in *kay menda*, or (b) use different *kay menda* expressions for the same thing, e.g., *map kulamba yomba* ‘water from ground hole’ or *payp kulamba yomba* ‘water from stone shelter’ for ‘shower’. The latter usually happens when a term has not been adopted by all speakers.

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8 Having the ability to skilfully deceive other people is highly valued by the Awikay.
2.5 CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN AWIAKAY LINGUISTIC REGISTERS

I would argue that *kay menda* as it is spoken today in town is not a completely new register, but a continuation of the *kay menda* which used to be spoken in the mountains. There appear to be many functional and social, as well as some structural/linguistic similarities in their use. There is, however, no overlap in vocabulary, as ‘mountain talk’ used to ‘hide’ the meaning of Awiakay terms denoting people’s immediate environment, while ‘hidden talk’ creates avoidance terms for Tok Pisin borrowings denoting recently introduced items and concepts.

Both varieties of *kay menda* employ descriptive terms for their substitutes, for example, ‘cassowary’ becomes *tumanjinge*, ‘the hairy one’ in mountain talk, while ‘store’ becomes *kolokot yawa* ‘things-house’ in hidden talk (see Table 2.2). Both varieties are also used when people venture into the ‘unknown’ territory, far away from the village or camps in order to get something they need. The mountains, which are not empty, but are – just like the rest of Awiakay land – inhabited by spirits, are a place where men go hunting, get black palm for their bows and nowadays harvest eaglewood, while the town, with all the unfamiliar people they meet, is the place where the Awiakay sell their eaglewood and buy the goods they need. In both settings they may encounter dangerous entities – *endemba* ‘mountain spirits’ in the one case, rascals and pickpockets in the other – which may damage them or their possessions. In both cases the dangers can be prevented by using *kay menda*. It is just that due to the changed relationship with spirits ‘mountain talk’ is nowadays replaced by praying, while in the town prayer is only supplementary to ‘hidden talk’.

In both contexts it is men who venture to these faraway places and use *kay menda* there, while women, even if they accompany their husbands or brothers, stay behind – either in bush camps, waiting for the men to return from the mountain, or in Angoram, waiting for the men to return from Wewak. In both cases women and teenagers are nevertheless familiar with the register. While ‘mountain talk’ is seen as a gift a spirit gave to the people to protect themselves, it must originally have been a fairly conscious creation, in which people chose to modify certain elements of ordinary Awiakay in order to arrive at a different code (cf. Pawley 1992: 315 on Kalam ‘pandanus language’). ‘Hidden talk’, however, is being continually and actively created by all Awiakay.
Table 2.2: Parallels between the two varieties of *kay menda*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parallels between the two varieties of <em>kay menda</em></th>
<th>‘MOUNTAIN TALK’</th>
<th>‘HIDDEN TALK’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(nowadays obsolete)</td>
<td>(register in the making)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used in unfamiliar territory; far from the village or camps</td>
<td>mountains (inhabited by spirits)</td>
<td>Wewak, all stops on the way there where the Awiakay encounter unfamiliar people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people go there to get something they need</td>
<td><em>kanug isa</em> (wood for bows), hunting (nowadays harvesting eaglewood)</td>
<td>selling eaglewood, buying goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dangerous entities</td>
<td><em>endembag</em> ‘mountain spirits’</td>
<td><em>emay</em>, ‘assault sorcerer’ = rascals, pickpockets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possible dangers</td>
<td>sickness caused by spirits, getting lost, death</td>
<td>robbery, theft, physical injury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prevention of dangers</td>
<td>possible by implementing the expected practices, i.e. using <em>kay menda</em>, nowadays praying</td>
<td>possible by using <em>kay menda</em> and praying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>persons who engage in relevant social practices (going to mountains/town) and are proficient in this register</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others familiar with the register</td>
<td>women, teenagers</td>
<td>women, teenagers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>created by</td>
<td>‘mountain spirit’ taught people how to protect themselves</td>
<td>all Awiakay; in the making</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During my latest fieldtrip in 2012, I asked the Awiakay to reflect on the relation between ‘mountain talk’ and ‘hidden talk’. The younger generation seemed to be a bit confused, but then Andikay, a man in his early thirties, pointed out that the ‘mountain talk’ was different from ‘hidden talk’: “The big men knew it – we don’t. Our ancestors got the ‘mountain talk’ from *endembay*, whereas we made the ‘hidden talk’ ourselves. The spirits taught us how to do it, we adapted [the practice] (TP *mipela i tanim tanim*), and made this new talk ourselves.”

The Awiakay often appropriate knowledge, experiences or ideas and adapt them to new circumstances. In the case of the mountain talk register, although it was getting out of use and was becoming somewhat remote to them, they recognised its value and re-adapted it to their current needs.

In some socio-linguistic contexts the introduction of new commercial trades leads to increased exposure to and use of regional languages and a decline of local languages. However, in this instance it has also created circumstances in which the local language has developed a new dimension. The eaglewood trade seems to have re-strengthened people’s relationship with their land, which had otherwise been weakened.
Table 2.3: Continuity and change in the varieties of kay menda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTINUITY</th>
<th>CHANGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The same practice</td>
<td>Social setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• lexical substitution</td>
<td>mountains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar function</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• hiding the meaning in order to protect themselves from being harmed</td>
<td>town</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By interpreting their environment through the same cosmology, with their actions being strongly influenced by the Catholic charismatic movement (Telban 2008b), and by the rules and changes it brought, the Awiakay have transferred the same practice (namely a lexical substitution register) with a similar function (hiding the meaning in order to protect themselves from being harmed) from their mountains to a different social setting of town.

Plate 2.7: Drawing Awiakay mountains and creeks
Chapter Three:

The language of disputes and fighting

Fighting is good. It straightens one's thoughts.
(Abel Arap, 4 May 2009)

Manduŋ and I are sitting in my house and transcribing my recent recordings when we hear loud words of abuse coming from a distance. "Hah!? Pakan oupon?" 'Hey, who's swearing?' Everyone immediately perks up their ears. A moment later, a group of children rushes past the house, overtaken by young men who charge by towards the scene. Not long into my fieldwork it became clear that both domestic and intra-village disputes form an important part of Awiakay repertoire of linguistic registers.¹

In the Awiakay context, it is important to distinguish three types of disputes: domestic quarrels, internal village disputes and disputes that people have with another village in the area. In this chapter I analyse the first two types, which occur within the village. Based on video recordings and verbatim transcripts of a number of domestic and intra-village fights, as well as subsequent discussions with all involved parties, I examine two related registers: oupla 'domestic fights' and kandej momba 'the language of public fighting'. I bring together ethnographic data with a linguistic analysis of verbatim transcripts of one domestic and two intra-village disputes and fights (among many) which took place in Kanjimei in 2009. Close analysis of the linguistic and paralinguistic behaviour of fighting helps us understand how 'big talk' influences social action, which has the power of (re-)establishing social relations.

¹ During the thirteen-month fieldwork in Kanjimei I witnessed nine public fights, of which two are fully video-recorded and transcribed, another three are partly recorded and I have notes of the others, many of them taking place at night. I also witnessed several domestic fights, one of which is recorded, while details of others are noted in my field diary. Interestingly, after a year of fieldwork it showed that public fights always took place within three or four days around the full moon, when the nights are brighter.
Some months after being verbally abused by his wife in a domestic quarrel, an Awiakay man died. One of the rumours that circulated about his death was that it was caused by his having been so badly shamed. This part of the chapter looks into the ways the Awiakay people use their language to shame one another and aims to explain why they are afraid of being (a)shamed.

The Awiakay use the same verb root, munjoko-, to express what translates into English as both 'feeling shame/being ashamed' and 'feeling fear/being afraid'. However, there is a constructional difference that shows that these two concepts are nonetheless distinguished: The concept of 'being ashamed' is often expressed by combining the verb 'be afraid' with the noun 'body',

\[
\text{om-uk munjoko-p-on} \\
\text{body-INAL.POSSLSG feel.fear/shame-PRS-3SG}
\]

'my body is afraid' i.e. 'I'm ashamed'

in contrast to the concept of 'being afraid', which does not require 'body'.

\[
munjoko-pali-k \\
\text{feel.fear-PRS-1SG}
\]

'I'm afraid'

In English there is a subtle difference between 'feeling shame' which results from having been shamed (by someone or something), and thus emphasises the effect of an external agent or cause, and 'feeling ashamed', which emphasises one's own feelings that might have been caused by other people finding out about one's transgressions. For the Awiakay, as we shall see, the consequences can be the same, and both are expressed by 'my body is afraid'.

In his article *Why is Shame on the Skin?* Andrew Strathern (1975) discusses the concept of *pipil* 'shame' among the Melpa in Mount Hagen area of the Western Highlands of PNG. The Melpa distinguish between the shame which is on their skin because other people can see them doing something wrong or private (1975: 349), and the more profound shame that 'goes deeper inside' (1975: 350), just like anger and frustration (cf. Strathern, M. 1968). Although the Awiakay never say that their shame can be seen on the skin, they sometimes use another expression, koymbongum
pokondimbon ‘I got gooseflesh’ when they want to emphasise that they were terribly ashamed (cf. Telban 2004: 11).

Rather than discussing shame per se, this part of the chapter focuses on the use of language in the act of shaming and its (expected) consequences. Moreover, I will show how the effects that abusive public shaming can have are potentially so great that people fear for their own future health, possibly motivating the derivation of ‘being ashamed’ from ‘being afraid’.

3.1.1 DOMESTIC QUARRELS AMONG THE AWIKAY

Among the Awiakay, domestic quarrels most often blow up because of a partner’s alleged infidelity, laziness or nagging. Awiakay women expect their husbands to go and process sago with them. It is a long and arduous process to obtain edible starch from a palm and couples who get along often do it together. But on days after they have been hunting at night men are unwilling to join their wives, who then often nag them for not wanting to help. Men, on the other hand, complain if their wives don’t take good care of their children. The mother is supposed to comfort her children at all times, particularly the youngest child. If a child cries a lot, this is taken as a sign that the mother does not take good care of him/her.

The partner who feels shamed (irrespective of gender) – be it by this kind of accusations or by the suspected infidelity of his or her spouse – will often not argue back in defence, but will take a bushknife and hit the spouse with the blunt edge of the blade or with the handle. This is often done quietly in a house and unless one of the partners is enraged and chases the other one all over village with an axe, other people might not even know that they have fought until they see their wounds.

Awiakay domestic quarrels are typically long series of monologues, consisting of one person’s complaints, augmented by provocative remarks and insults, which go on and on, depending on the other person’s (usually the spouse’s) patience. To an outsider

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2 Different aspects of shame in various societies all over Papua New Guinea have been, among others, discussed in Telban (2004), Chowning (1989), Epstein (1984), Fajans (1983), Hogbin (1947); Valentine (1963). Several parallels with Awiakay perception of shame and ways of shaming can be found in E. Schieffelin (1983) and B. Schieffelin (1990), who write about this institution among the Kaluli of the Great Papuan Plateau of Papua New Guinea.

3 Although it comes as a consequence of being angry, or as a part of a dispute, shaming is intentional and can be studied as an institution.

4 While several parallels can be drawn between domestic quarrels in Kanjime and those in Gapun, a small village in another part of East Sepik Province, Kulick observes that the public outbursts of anger in Gapun consist of a number of overlapping monologues in which ‘[t]he person being shouted at […] can assert herself by denying the accusations being hurled at her […]’ (Kulick 1993: 515).
Awiakay fights may seem physically much less violent than in certain other places in Papua New Guinea, where people have access to alcohol and marijuana (Wardlow 2006; Jolly et al. 2012). In Awiakay understanding, however, consequences of domestic fights may be lethal.

Ascribing the same possible consequences to both verbal and non-verbal physicality of fights, the Awiakay verb *pikiliki*-‘to abuse’ can be used for both physical and verbal abuse. One can, for example, say

*ambamba pikiliki-ndi-mb-an-im tahan?*

‘why abuse-1SG.OBJ-PRS-2SG.SBJ-Q like.this’

Other people do not normally intervene in domestic fights unless they think that they have become dangerous, for example when one spouse really wants to kill the other, as is sometimes the case when the cause of a fight is presumed adultery. Although Awiakay women tend to have longer abusive monologues in domestic fights, men are equally skilled in shaming others, particularly in intra-village fights. These episodes of abuse are shorter, as the dynamics of public fights are different from domestic ones. Public fights always engage more people and include several episodes of physical fighting.

In discussing *kroses*, verbal outbursts of anger among Gapun people, Kulick notes that they are considered to be stereotypically feminine expressive modes (Kulick 1992: 283, 287; 1993), while men, if they need to express their anger, do so by means of oratory. No such gender distinction between kinds of shaming discourse is made by the Awiakay who use a neutral expression for a person who keeps being angry for what others perceive as no real reason.

*aunda ou-p-on*

‘He/she is being angry without a reason.’

This expression, referring to a person who is constantly nagging, roughly corresponds to Tok Pisin *meri/man bilong kros* ‘a woman/man [full of] of anger’. I now turn to an episode of shaming in a domestic quarrel and discuss its implications for those involved.
Mamanj, a woman in her late thirties with five children, kept going on at her 40-something husband Wayk for being lazy, as he didn’t ‘feel like’ going to process sago with her. Omuk tongasi ‘my body is slack’ is what people say when they feel tired, bored, or uninterested. After listening to her continual nagging for some time, Wayk lost his patience, took his bushknife and went for Mamanj. As they wrestled he hit her on the head with the handle and slashed her skirt. Her anger augmented by Wayk’s physical response, Mamanj took a step further: she started loudly abusing him in order to attract an audience and shame him publicly. And – as always – loud words of abuse brought everyone together underneath the house of the quarrelling couple.

Before continuing, please watch the video, which is a two-and-a-half minute excerpt of about an hour-long recording of this domestic quarrel.

Now please watch

![Video thumbnail]

**VIDEO 3-1: Mamanj shaming Wayk [2:36]** [https://vimeo.com/114474156](https://vimeo.com/114474156)

**PASSWORD:** K

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**Verbatim transcript of VIDEO 3-1: Mamanj shaming Wayk**

MAMANJ:

1. *Niy ambla kolopalike, niy ambla kolopalike, niy ambla kolopalike.* I’m all alone, I’m all alone, I’m all alone.

2. *Niy aka anamgoy senismeri (x3) tolak.* I’m not his exchange woman. (x3)

3. *Niy aka anamgoy senismeri, mm!* I’m not his exchange woman [angry gesture]!

4. *Tema tema an tanan pokondimbon.* He often hits me like this.

5. *Tungumgoy kopoñikmun Yakalimap sakay aka kumbokopla tongon.* My brothers don’t stuff Yakalimap’s hole.

---

5 Although she kept repeating that blood was flowing down her face she was not in fact bleeding.

6 While the Awiakay themselves all rush under the house of a quarrelling couple to listen to them, comment on their fight and be entertained by the ‘bad language’ they use, they do not enter the house to watch the fight (unless they are the woman’s brothers who come to protect her). I therefore decided that the camera should also stay outside, even though the protagonists of the fight did not mind being recorded. The reader thus gets as much access to the fight as any passer-by, and the documentation does not go beyond what the Awiakay perceive as socially acceptable.
Anamgoy nambokonjia tungumgon kaw yaka kumbkopla.
My brothers don’t stuff his sister’s hole.
Tungumgon kopoñikmun anamgoy nambokonjia aka ekua koy pokondimbon.
My brothers didn’t marry his sister so that he would beat me like this.
An Tay inya wansait inya kombokondimbon popon anamgoy kaw kombkopla tongoy kopoñikmun.
He thinks it’s all right to stuff my hole ‘one-sidedly’ [without exchange], while my brothers aren’t screwing his sister.
Anamgoy nambokonjia tongoy kopoñikmun kaw aka warikepla anamgoy nambokonjia mamgoy injua.
My brothers aren’t probing his sister’s cunt with hands.
Aka aunda!
Not at all!
Nan kakape tongoy kopoñikmun nangoy nambokonjia mamgoy injua kaw warikiplam?
Tell me, are my brothers probing your sister’s cunt?
Agalon! Agalon!
No! No!
Tongoy kopoñikmun anamgoy nambokonjia maya kaw aka mokowasingakapon.
My brothers aren’t prising apart his sister’s arse cheeks.
Niñ tanjan kakapalik.
That’s what I’m saying.
Agalon! Agalon! Agalon! Agalon!
No! No! No! No!
Niñ wansait tolikoy aka openidimbon Waykan.
Wayk doesn’t know [he ignores the fact] that I’m one-sided.
Yara-yara mulakapalike tongoy kopoñikmun anamgoy nambokonjia mamgoy injua kaw aka yukupla.
All this time I’ve been looking and my brothers haven’t gone near his sister’s cunt.
Injua kaw aka mokopla anamgoy nambokonjia mamgoy.
They aren’t groping his sister’s cunt.
Anamgoy nambokonjia kay aka ekepla.
They haven’t married his sister.
Injua kaw aka mokopla.
They aren’t groping her cunt.
Aka ekepla! Aka ekepla!
They haven’t married [her]! They haven’t married [her]!
Anamgoy nambokonjia kay aka wasingakapla anamgoy nambokonjia injua.
Others aren’t probing his sister’s cunt.
Tongoy kopoñikmun.
My brothers.
A MAN [from the open-air house]:
Akanja momba man aka kakaim.
Don’t be so foul-mouthed!
MAMAN:
Wansait kolopalike. (x2)
I’m one-sided. (x2)
Tongoy kopoñikmun anamgoy nambakonjia aka wasingakapla.
My brothers aren’t probing his sister’s cunt.
A WOMAN [in front of the house]:

_Darjan nangoy mom epon._
Darja’s recording your talk.

**MAMAN:**

30 _An eyam._
Let her record it.

_Niijaakaunda kakapalik._
I’m telling the truth.

A WOMAN [in front of the house]:

_Inja menda yusimbapopan._
[You should] use good language now.

_Yu spirit nogul, a?_ Are you an evil spirit, or what?

**MAMAN:**

Tungumgoy omuktia kunjamanda nombondimbon Waykan ambaindimbongoŋ niŋ koŋ kakapalik omuk tiamba.
My body hurts so much as Wayk fucks me, that’s why I’m talking this way.

35 _Tongoy siketmba kakangainjakakay mom elak [...]_ 
And I started talking about my skirt [...] 
_Aunda taŋa undimbla Waykan enŋaŋ siket tungumgoy pumangupongay._ 
So they scolded me when Wayk slashed my skirt with a bushknife.

_Andamba pikilikindimbon popalik?_ 
Why is he doing these bad things to me, I’m thinking.

_Aunda kolopalike._ 
I’m all alone.

_Anamgoy kay aka ependa-ependa-pimbla tongoy koponikmun._ 
It’s not like my brothers were fingering his sister.

**Ekepanim?** Do you hear?

_Ay, kakape!_ Hey, tell me!

_Kay yukuyamblam tongon koponikmun nangoy?_ Are my brothers fucking your [sister]?

_Kay pakayamblam nangoy?_ Are they carrying your sister around?

_Mm? Kakape! Nangoy kay pakayamblam?_ M?! Tell me! Are others carrying your sister around?

45 _Kay yukuyamblam? Kakape!_ Are others fucking [her] around? Tell me!

_Kanjandan pakayamblam, mm?_ Where are they taking her, hah?

_Kanjandan yukuyamblam?_ Where are they fucking her?

_Kanjandan yukuyamblam, kanjandan pakayamblam?_ Where are they fucking her, where are they taking her?

_Anamgoy nambokonjia kay yukuyamblangay tongoy koponikmun?_ Are my brothers fucking all over the bush with his sister?
Mapa apoy nangoy nambokonja yukuplakay mapa apoy opeyañandi mapa.
Where's that place where they fuck your sister, where's that place? Let's go and see!

Mapa ape? Mapa ape?
Where's that place? (x2)

Enda ape? (x2)
Where's that path? (x2)

Punga ape, mm?
Where's that patch of flattened grass, hah?

Punga kanjandan ton?
Where is that patch of flattened grass?

Mapa ape?
Where's that place?

Anamgoy nambokonja kay yukiyamblam? Kay yukiyamblam?
Are others fucking his sister? Are they fucking her?

Tongoy koponikmun?
My brothers?

Nangoy nambokonjin kay yukiyamblam tongoy koponikmun, kay yukiyamblam tongoy koponikmun?
Are my brothers fucking your sister, are my brothers fucking all over the bush with her?

Aka yukiyamba. Agalon!
They aren’t fucking her. No!

Yao kulamban kalaj kay aka yukiyamba. Agalon! Agalon!
They aren’t fucking her in the house. No! No!

MAMAN’S DAUGHTER:

Tay niij ambalik.
I’m going to pound sago.

MAMAN:

Walonya! Tay walonya!
Go pound! Go pound sago!

Waykan kum kondamin kondamin nombop yonga makambop.
Wayk will eat two [plates of] sago and then two more, so his cock will grow big.

Nan ambay taya waloyambam Waykan yonga makambopim?
Why would you pound sago to make Wayk’s cock grow?

Nan Wayk sakay tay waloyamban?
Are you going to pound sago for Wayk?

Nan nokomkummun aka opendimban Waykan enaj pokondimbongoy.
You didn’t see with your own eyes when Wayk beat me with a bushknife.

Walinya kele.
So go and pound [sago].

Waykan yonga makambop.
Wayk’s cock will grow big.

Niij ambla tolik
I’m all alone.

Niij ambla pam tolik.
I’m totally alone.

Agalon! Agalon!
No! No!

Niij ambla pam tolik!
I’m totally alone!
Wayk remained quietly sitting in the house while Mamanj’s abuse continued for more than an hour. Her repertoire of expressions of abuse was much wider than what we see in this short, comparatively innocent excerpt. In other passages, she accuses Wayk of sodomy, vividly describing his socially unacceptable sexual conduct towards her, and pointing up the lack of reciprocity in the situation by repeating how none of her brothers were doing the same to his sister, who, as Mamanj presented it, was able to walk around care-free, never having to be afraid of a ‘cock-hole’ – as Mamanj referred to a man.

Mamanj made her anger public, thus attracting witnesses to, and support for, her humiliation of Wayk. Edward Schieffelin notes that among the Kaluli ‘[t]he most dramatic situations of public shaming occur after a dispute over a wrong done to someone in which the aggrieved gains the advantage and berates the culprit with an angry, self-righteous oration’ (E. Schieffelin, 1983:190). Mamanj’s drawing in of an audience is on the one hand an affirmation of the importance of others in a small society, but also an unusual exposure of intimacy. In studying shame among the Baining of New Britain, Fajans observed that ‘[w]hen aspects of the private sphere are extruded into the public domain or conversely when those of the public are intruded into the
private sphere [...] shame is expressed. Shame is a disorder of the margins’ (Fajans 1983: 174).

What was a comfort for Mamaq was at the same time shame for Wayk. However, by doing something as provocative as shaming her husband, Mamaq first had to show that it was legitimate for her to do so, which she did by continually repeating that she was ‘all alone’ (lines 1, 38, 69, 70, 72). In the next section I will briefly discuss what ‘being alone’ means to the Awiakay and explain why that would justify her otherwise unacceptable behaviour towards her husband.

3.1.3 Aunda kolopon ‘BEING ALONE’

As mentioned at various places in previous chapters, for the Awiakay, being alone is not normal. But there are some exceptions. A man who goes hunting can be alone (though accompanied by dogs); he can be alone when washing in the river (though often accompanied by other men if not by his wife and children), and people (men in particular) manage to sneak out of the village to go to the toilet by themselves (cf. Telban 2004: 18-21). Women, on the other hand, are nearly always accompanied by their small children (sometimes even to the toilet if there is no one around to look after the child when the mother wants to go to the bush), husbands, same-sex in-laws, or in the case of unmarried women by their siblings and same-sex peers. But being alone in the house, sleeping alone, or worse, eating alone, is rather unacceptable, and casts a bad light on the community, which in such cases has failed to provide company for the person. People feel sorry for the person who is alone and hasten to organise company for them. A person who is alone is in greater danger of an attack by evil spirits, as well as being potentially dangerous him- or herself, as by being alone he or she could be secretly practicing sorcery. One is also considered to be ‘alone’ when one’s relationship with another person is broken. Speaking of, for example, two brothers who are in dispute and whose families do not exchange food, the Awiakay say

\[\text{kondamin ambla-ambla kolo-p-la} \]

‘The two of them are alone-alone.’

I deliberately translate Awiakay \textit{ambla-ambla} as ‘alone-alone’ rather than finding a more idiomatic English expression, in order to emphasize that such a situation is perceived as ‘doubly wrong’: each of the two partners in estrangement is willingly putting himself and the other in a socially unacceptable situation.
The notion of being 'alone' is also extended to being a lone partner in the system of exchange marriage. As mentioned in 1.1.4.3, for a woman this may also have other implications. Mamanj frequently points out that she is not Wayk's 'exchange woman' (lines 2 and 3) and that she is 'one-sided' (lines 9, 16, 27), thus saying that her marriage path has not been followed properly. In this way her shaming gains force as being legitimate. A person who is seen as being deprived or wronged can pour out their grievances without being seen as someone 'angry without a real reason', but rather being seen as someone for whom people (and even spirits, cf. M. Strathern 1968: 554) can feel pity. It thus becomes legitimate for Mamanj to express her anger.

3.1.4 THE IMMORAL, SHAMEFUL, AND SOCIALLY UNACCEPTABLE IN AWIAKAY SOCIETY

When the Awiakay want to say that someone is behaving immorally, or is doing something that is shameful, socially unacceptable or forbidden, they use the following expression:

\[
akanja \hspace{1em} enda \hspace{1em} okokoko-p-on \\
bad \hspace{1em} way/path follow-PRS-3SG
\]

'he/she is following the bad way'

The Awiakay do not tend to rank immoral acts explicitly according to the seriousness of their offence. However, different types of transgressions invoke different responses, from general disgrace, which may result in long-lasting loss of reputation of the transgressor, to immediate physical retaliation. In general, hiding food (or gaining other benefits) for oneself and not sharing it with others, thus rejecting the fundamental principle of the society – reciprocity of exchange – is considered offensive by everyone. It is hard for a person who has been seen hiding food (rather than generously sharing it) to restore their reputation. Adultery and malicious gossip are also considered major transgressions, as are stealing food, tobacco, or betel nuts from someone else's land or trees, or secretly felling and processing someone else’s sago. Not following other social norms, such as traditional marriage patterns and the associated system of sister-exchange is also considered immoral and is frequently a cause of disputes. Although generally disapproved of by the whole society, some transgressions primarily offend particular individuals. In this we need to consider the context of the immoral act, as well as the relationship between the transgressor and the person wronged. In line with this,
stealing from an ‘outsider’ with whom one has no relationship at all, can be considered positively virtuous, in particular if it benefits many, rather than just an individual.7

When it comes to language, certain expressions are unacceptable: using them will deeply offend, shame and provoke the person they are aimed at. The Awiakay refer to ‘abusive language’ as *akanja momba*, literally ‘bad talk’. According to their power of abuse we can roughly divide such expressions into four categories that are indicated, but not named by the Awiakay:

1- **Mildly abusive expressions** for example refer to the addressee’s bodily imperfections or low level of intelligence, for example:

   *nan kosek pisip, mima agalon*
   
   you bush.mouse like insideness/seat of thoughts none

   ‘you don’t have any brain, you’re as stupid as a bush mouse’

   Such an expression can be used at any time – and against anyone, except one’s taboo relatives.

2- In the **medium-strong category** there are some expressions referring to male genitals, such as

   *tukumb-on misi*

   balls-INAL.POSS2SG heavy

   ‘Your balls are heavy.’ *(i.e. You’re lazy.)*

   and borrowings from Tok Pisin (TP) such as *pakin bastet* ‘fucking bastard’, *idiet* ‘idiot’, *mae Sisis* ‘My Jesus’, Satan. Note that an expression of abuse borrowed from Tok Pisin is often rendered powerful because it comes from the outside world and not because of its meaning: hardly any Awiakay knows what the above Tok Pisin expressions mean (with an exception of *Satan*, whereas ‘Jesus’ is *Jisas* in Christian contexts).

3- **Very strong abusive expressions**: traditionally, any references to male defecation and the anus used to be just as strong a taboo as references to menstruation and the vagina, so scatological insults as well as expressions involving female genitalia come across as very offensive. Another group of insults in this category is any expression referring to copulation, when they refer to particular people.

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7 In this specific example I use the word ‘outsider’ meaning a non-Awiakay person (in the past someone from an enemy group) with whom one has not established a personal relationship and is not linked with through mutual relationships. It is a person from whom members of the community could benefit in some way, but do not, and do not expect that they will in the future. By stealing from such a person one does not put any negative effect on one’s existing relationships, but rather nurtures them by sharing the benefits (such as stolen goods) gained from the offence (see also Jones, forthcoming).
4. In the whole repertoire of abusive expressions the most strictly followed taboo is calling someone emay, an ‘assault sorcerer’ (TP *sanguma*; cf. 1.1.5). People actually avoid doing that – not the least because falsely accusing someone of being *sanguma* would involve high compensation. Such accusations do happen, but always in remarks whispered to intimates, and are normally targeted at people from other villages.8

In addition to this four-way distinction, the power of abuse largely depends on the context, especially the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. The most obscene expressions can be considered as a most appropriate form of joking if used with a joking partner, whereas even mild abuse could be considered highly immoral if used with a taboo relative. The motives of the speaker need to be assessed by the hearer. It is of crucial importance for the abuse to be effective whether the hearer interprets the bad language as being spoken in jest or in anger.9

As her intention was to shame Wayk severely, Mamanj used the most offensive expressions she could think of, mostly employing insults from the third category, referring to female genitals, sexual practices, and anal intercourse.10 What is more important, however, is that all these ‘forbidden’ words and activities were being associated with real people, in this case with Wayk and his sister Yakalimap. A brother should protect rather than expose his own sister to abuse. Although Mamanj kept repeating what was not happening to Yakalimap, the fact that she was mentioned in all these expressions made her an object of abuse. This shamed Wayk, as he was clearly presented as being the cause of this disgraceful situation, both as (a) a man whose own conduct (towards his wife) is shameful, and thus exposes rather than protects his own sister, and (b) as one whose lineage did not take care of a proper marriage. Further to point (b), it should be noted that while repeating that she was not Wayk’s ‘exchange woman’, Mamanj was deliberately ignoring the fact that Wayk’s sister Yakalimap was married to Mamanj’s classificatory brother Kamunj, who was her mother’s sister’s son (MZS), therefore her parallel cousin, called ‘brother’ in Awiakay. But in such cases, mere facts are of little importance, as they need to be seen contextually. What really matters is what is created through continual repetition of certain statements. When

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8 As mentioned in 1.1.5, this situation is very different from other parts of New Guinea where people from the same place, often even from within the family, accuse one another of witchcraft. The most detailed description of that kind of case is Knauf (1985). For more recent reports on witchcraft-related accusations and killings see Eves and Forsyth, forthcoming.

9 In the Goffmanian tradition, the first decision we need to make in understanding any utterance (pragmatically) is whether the speaker is serious or not.

10 Note that sodomy is not a common sexual practice among the Awiakay.
something is repeated loudly enough and often enough, it sits in other people’s minds, no matter what the facts are. ‘Mud sticks’, as the expression goes in English. It is thus essential to have the audience’s attention when shaming another person, as it is not so much his own but others’ hearing of Mamanj’s words that will shame Wayk. When speaking, Mamanj constantly shifts between addressing the audience and then again Wayk, referring to him in the third person (line 39), and then again the second person (lines 40 and 42), but with the audience being treated as ‘targeted overhearers’ (cf. Goffman 1981; Levinson 1983).

39  *Anamgoy* kay aka ependa-ependa-pimbla tongoy kopoŋikmun.
    My brothers aren’t fingering his sister.

40  *Ekepanim?*
    Do you [SG] hear?

41  *Ay, kakape!*
    Hey, tell me!

42  *Kay yukuyamblam toŋgon kopoŋikmun nangoy?*
    Are my brothers fucking your sister?

Please watch this example in a short video clip (0:11).

**VIDEO 3-2: Shifting between 2nd and 3rd person [0:11]**
https://vimeo.com/114475614  PASSWORD: K

The repeated use of **rhetorical questions**, i.e. ones that are posed not in order to be answered, but to remind the listeners of what is left unsaid, is a rhetorical device that Mamanj uses to augment her talk. What is unsaid in these questions — what is implied in them — is usually the opposite of what they ask, e.g. (line 49)

*Anamgoy nambokonjia kay yukiyamblangay toŋgoy kopoŋikmun?*
‘Are my brothers fucking all over the bush with his sister?’

What is implied here is: ‘No, my brothers are not fucking all over the bush with your sister’. Rhetorical questions nevertheless need to be posed, as it is in this way that Mamanj can shame her husband and his sister by practically saying, “No, I’m not saying that…” and yet referring to them in connection with immoral acts. E. Schieffelin (1983: 188) notes how a simple rhetorical question will cast doubt on the legitimacy of the claim that the question is directed at (in his case a Kaluli child).
Apart from the verb root *munjoko-* ‘to be afraid/ashamed’, other Awiakay expressions relating to fear are *mimik manga mambilj an* ‘my heart/courage/thoughts ran away/went to hide’, an expression which one uses if one gets really scared in the bush, for example when you are there at night and think that an assault sorcerer might be following you; *omuk pupropon* ‘my body’s shaking’ used when you are shaking from cold or fear; and *omuk munjokopon*, ‘my body’s afraid’, used when you are anxious that others will find out about your transgressions or when you already feel the shame. An expression that refers to a severe and sudden feeling of fear is the same as the one referring to severe shame: *koymbongum pokondimbon*, literally ‘gooseflesh hit me’, or ‘I got gooseflesh’. An equivalent literal expression in neighbouring (but unrelated) Karawari is used in serious fright or terror, but not with reference to shame (Telban 2004: 11).

About six months after his wife’s shaming Wayk came to see me, complaining of a pain between his chest and abdomen. Not being able to diagnose him I could not give him a specific medicine, as he would have liked. I checked on him twice more on the same day, and in the afternoon he said he was feeling better. The next morning some of us went to an upriver camp and from there walked to Asangamut, a village that is about 6 hours away. As we were walking back two days later, some men came to meet us on the way, and told us that Wayk had died.

In the Awiakay understanding of the matter, no sickness or death comes ‘naturally’, as Western science would see it. Most medical symptoms and accidents are locally interpreted as being caused by the afflicted person’s own transgressions, or those of their close relatives. These wrongdoings have offended the spirits – or Christian entities – who then afflict a person with sickness – or death.\(^{11}\) Shame, worry, grievances, resentment, jealousy and grief are feelings that will detach one’s spirit from the body. The person is thus open to sickness and accidents, or, worse, prone to resort to sorcery in order to solve their problems, which is the most feared, and thus most highly condemned social practice (cf. Jones, forthcom.).

The concept of ‘being ashamed’ is thus connected with fear, and often expressed by combining the verb ‘be afraid’ with the noun ‘body’. To be ashamed is to fear for the later health of one’s body.

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\(^{11}\) Christian entities, i.e. God, Jesus, Holy Spirit, Virgin Mary, the archangels and Satan are nowadays assuming the roles that were in the past held by bush spirits (cf. Hoenigman 2012; Telban 2009). Just like the bush spirits, who can be both benevolent and harmful, Christian entities, who are believed to be even more powerful, can also be temperamental and cruel, sending illness or causing death, and the Awiakay continually have to negotiate with them.
Close relatives’ transgressions such as adultery, unwillingness to share food, stealing any kind of food, betel nuts or tobacco from someone else’s land, not following social norms of reciprocity, not implementing certain practices that are demanded by bush spirits, or – notably – using offensive language, can be ‘punished’ by causing the sickness – or death – of oneself or one’s child, spouse or another close relative. Every death, even that of an old person, is thus followed by speculations about whose transgression might have caused it.

One of the rumours circulated about Wayk’s death was that it was caused by his having been so badly shamed by Maman. While the Awiakay do not remember anyone ever committing suicide (either out of shame or for any other reasons), some people suggested that God must have taken pity on Wayk by taking his life away. Similarly, Marilyn Strathern points to a common belief among the Melpa that ‘the ghosts may send sickness out of pity’ to the person who has been wronged (M. Strathern 1968: 554). This person’s sickness will then generate sympathy in others. The recovery from such sickness is only possible if the state of deep anger, resentment or shame is terminated (1968: 557), which is – in the Awiakay case – nowadays most commonly achieved in a Catholic charismatic reconciliation prayer meeting in which members of the whole family come together and publicly confess their sins, hoping that they will bring out the one that aroused the spirits’ (be it bush spirits’ or Christian spirits’) interest. Wayk’s death, however, came before such a meeting could be organized.

The death of a forty-something healthy man who had never been a troublemaker came as a big shock to everyone in the village. Andikay, a peace-loving man in his early 30s, beat up his two married sisters, Tikinjao and Yawas, none of whom had ever had any serious fights with their husbands, just to ‘remind’ them what could happen to their husbands if they ever shamed them like that. Within the same year another Awiakay man died whose death was attributed to his wife’s continual shaming. In spite of all the rumours, Maman has not been confronted or directly blamed by anyone. It is believed that when someone causes a major injury or even death, it would upset his or her spirit even more if the community accused them to their face, and this person’s resentment might lead to other troubles.

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12 Another rumour was accusing the village prayer leader for yelling at the spirit of the Virgin Mary in a possessed woman as if it was Satan. This incident is a topic of Chapter 4.
3.2 *Kandeŋ momba* ‘big talk’:

THE LANGUAGE OF INTRA-VILLAGE FIGHTS

The fights are not called ‘fights’ in Awikay, but ‘big talk’, which emphasizes the centrality of verbal as opposed to non-verbal physicality of altercations. *Kandeŋ* ‘big’ in this context means ‘serious’/‘important’, while *momba* ‘talk’ in this phrase refers to dispute, particularly a village-internal dispute, as opposed to a domestic quarrel or a dispute with another village.

This part of the chapter will look at various phases of fights as recognised and named by the Awikay people, introducing on the way the ‘rules’ and features of both physical and verbal fighting. Before going on, please view the following excerpt:

Please watch

![VIDEO 3-3: Punch-up](https://vimeo.com/114475615) PASSWORD: K

At the beginning of my fieldwork I found village fights rather upsetting, particularly as I was worried about the people whom I was getting close to. I could not understand why the same people who would eventually put all their energy into stopping the fight would at the beginning be encouraging either of the fighting parties to beat the other one up. Frustrated by my inability to stop the seemingly dangerous action and by a lack of understanding of what was going on, I started video recording fights. In the subsequent transcription and translation of the recordings and a discussion with both — those who were involved in a fight and those who were just observers — I learned that (a) fighting in a culturally appropriate way (I will explain what this means later) is seen as positive, and that (b) the language used in disputes and fights is a tool with which we can “dig out the roots” of people’s conflicts — as Awikay themselves would put it.

I am aiming to show how Awikay people themselves evaluate disputes and fights and what types of fights are not only socially acceptable, but also desired, as they lead to reconciliation and re-establishment of the social order, which had previously been disrupted.
Village-internal disputes, which often rapidly escalate into violence, are called *kandey momba*, ‘big talk’ and can be further modulated by such specific phrases as *nam momba* ‘talk about women’ (in the sense: dispute about women), *map momba* ‘talk about land’, *tay momba* ‘talk about sago’, *tandoij momba* ‘talk about canoe’, *tay-yawa momba* ‘talk about sago trap for hunting pig’, *tam momba* ‘talk about dog’, *yonggoyn momba* ‘talk about a creek’ *yaygom momba* ‘talk about a pig someone is taking care of’, etc. The above-mentioned ones would be the most frequent types of disputes among the Awiakay. In a dispute analysed later in the chapter we will come across the term *Inaktay momba* ‘talk about the bush camp called Inaktay’.

Such disputes seldom remain just arguments between the two people, but attract a number of participants. Moreover, they seldom remain arguments about just one issue: Like elsewhere in Melanesia, events from the past contribute to the present problems, so there are almost always several more-or-less related issues that get aired, and also several parties paired off across multiple oppositional fronts.

Any Awiakay fight attracts not only the original disputants, but also their relatives who have their expected roles in it. These kinds of fights are not only socially acceptable, but even desirable to the Awiakay, as they (ideally, but not always) lead to reconciliation. ‘Fight is good. It straightens one’s thoughts,’ they say.

People believe that resentments one has against someone else should not be kept inside, as thinking about them all the time will detach one’s spirit from the body. One may either become ill or resort to assault sorcery, which is the most highly condemned practice. In order to prevent that, someone who has been wronged has not only the right, but an obligation to fight the wrongdoers.

Although big village fights are seemingly chaotic, they are in fact regarded as a kind of social catharsis, which brings back order into the chaos caused by the disordered relationships. By not condemning but rather encouraging the ‘socially appropriate’ fights followed by reconciliation, Awiakay society has developed a mechanism for re-establishing the relationships between its members. People believe that it is not safe to walk around in the bush when one’s thoughts are rambling around in resentment or anger, as one becomes accident-prone. That is why people stay in the village when they have resentment towards someone, instead of going away and staying in their bush camps.
3.2.1 FIGHT ANALYSIS

In this section I present a general model of the form of Awiakay fights, based on the ones that I recorded and observed during the fieldwork.\(^{13}\)

Awiakay fights are highly structured events consisting of several phases in which physical and verbal action, which are tightly intertwined throughout the fight, come to the fore at different points. Although the Awiakay recognise these phases and comment on what is going to happen next, they do not have named categories for them. However, we shall see that there are noticeable differences in the language used in different phases.

3.2.1.1 PHASE 1: *Mima mokondepon ‘Provocation’*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
mima & mokonde-p-on \\
\text{insideness} & \text{hold-PRS-3SG} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He/She provokes’ → ‘Provocation’

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\(^{13}\) Although this is a typical model, not all fights are the same. In section 3.2.2 I discuss the variation among them with respect to this model.
A fight starts when a person who feels wronged begins to shout abusive words and accusations aimed at the wrongdoer(s) and thereby attracting everybody’s attention. One can only do that from one’s own house or yard. Approaching someone else’s yard would be a sign of attack for which it is too soon.

As for insults, one needs to know which ones to use in order to properly offend, shame and provoke the opponent, and we have briefly looked at abusive expressions when discussing domestic fights. Wanting to provoke the other party, people use the most offensive expressions they can think of. Like in domestic fights, the first category is too mild for properly insulting someone (rather it is used in mild joking), so this register employs insults from the second and third category.

However, in this first phase of a fight the abusive expressions the speakers use tend to be short (often words referring to genitals) and shouted very loudly, only to provoke the other person, while longer and more creative insults are used in later phases.

Insults, accusations and threats uttered by the wronged person are accompanied by gestures showing his/her anger, e.g. throwing one’s machete loudly on the veranda, hitting ground with a piece of clothing etc., as we shall see in VIDEO 3-5.

At this stage people in the village are alerted: *A-a, ek, pakan oupon?* ‘Hey, (quiet!), hear this, who’s being angry?’ Those who are close enough to hear the accusations often comment by encouraging the initiator to fight, saying something like: *Uuu, pok!* ‘Uu, beat him up!’ or comment the use of abusive language, saying: *Iss, akanja momba man aka kakaym.* ‘Iss (expression of contempt) you shouldn’t use too much bad language.’

The target of abuse soon hears what is going on and responds. And so we come to the second stage of fight.

**3.3.1.2 PHASE 2: Pokonpla ‘they’re fighting’: The first response; minor punch-up**

* pokon-pl-a
  
  hit-PRS-3PL
  
  ‘They’re fighting’

The provoked person(s) now approaches the house from where the initiator was shouting abuse, responding with their own abuse and denying accusations. This phase is very abrupt; the two parties meet and there is an initial punch-up, accompanied by
encouragement from several sources. At this phase one can hear approval even from the men with a higher status who will later on assume the role of peacemakers. For example, when a woman commented how they should hold the fighters, Moyambe, the village prayer leader replied:

\[ Mae kay olukanjan blut anamgoy bekimbapam. \]
\[ 'Let the other one first retaliate for his blood.' \]

At this stage the fighters are soon pulled apart or blocked by their cross-cousins or other relevant kin. By this time the whole village knows that there is a fight and everybody swarms to the scene. But before we go any further, it will be useful to learn about the rules of fighting.

3.2.1.3 Rules of village internal fights

Although Awiakay fights might initially seem violent and chaotic to an outsider, if they are to be socially acceptable, they have several rules, which the combatants are supposed to follow. The rules I am going to discuss in this section are implicit and the Awiakay only enunciate them when they complain that they are not being followed. They apply to all stages of fighting.

Disputants are generally encouraged to fight man to man. A group fight, (several men attacking one person) is considered cowardly (but is acceptable for women). In ‘sago fight’ (line 217, Appendix F) Topoq complains that the reason why he was overpowered was that he was attacked by several men.

\[ Kunja-kunja tok nambokoyn paiit paiit bunguny kon ambakmbapmin. \]
\[ ‘One by one you’re as strong as young girls, only when you fight in a group you become daring.’ \]

Secondly, men should fight with fists, while weapons of any kind – be it a bow and arrows, a spear, an axe, catapult, etc., are not only disapproved of, but immediately snatched out of an enraged person’s hands when they try to get hold of them. When machetes are used – mainly in domestic fights – people say that one can only hit another person with the blunt edge of the blade or with the handle. Low blows are also forbidden: no matter how infuriated the combatants are, they never consider kicking their opponent in the testicles. The Awiakay find this practice appalling and wouldn’t

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14 When an Awiakay girl wanted to marry a Biwat man from the Yuat River, everyone opposed their marriage on the grounds that Biwat men cut their wives when they quarrel. There was a general anxiety in the village and the marriage did not take place. During a threat that some people from Asangamut were coming to Kanjimeei to fight with a man who allegedly assaulted their cousin, one of the elderly women started crying, saying that we would all have to be lying on the floor in our houses, as these men are known for using catapults and stones will be flying all around.
use it even in self-defence if attacked by rascals in town. They find it much more acceptable to stab the attacker with a cassowary-bone dagger.

In addition to the two main protagonists, certain kin are expected to play roles in the fight. One’s same-sex siblings are normally one’s supporters who fight along with their sibling against his or her opponent’s supporters. One’s opposite sex siblings, cross-cousins and even mothers are expected to hold their brothers, cousins or sons back, obstruct them, take weapons out of their hands if they seize them, and make sure in every way possible that the fight does not become too violent. It was explained to me that it is a proper ancestral way (kandeŋ enda; TP kastam) that a woman with a suckling child steps between the fighting parties (who are usually men) in order to stop the fight before it can become too violent. The combatants are supposed to ‘respect’ the child and stop fighting.
In the film clip that follows we first see cross-cousins obstructing Wapisay, and later Tumak obstructing his MBDH/ZH Manduŋ who wants to beat up his own sister’s son Wapisay for shaming the family by instigating a fight. At the same time, Tumak is being pulled off Manduŋ.

Now please watch


People who are not involved in the fight and are not related to any of the fighting parties in a way that would require their cooperation are called emgoy, ‘outside men’ (definite form: emgon) and are discouraged from either physically or verbally participating in the fight.

At the very beginning of the fight, for example, Asaia and Tomi were chasing away those who did not ‘belong to’ the fight.

ASAIA:

2  O, hevi yok komgamgoy aunda, emgon aka pulimbapem.
Hey, this doesn’t concern you, don’t drag those ‘outside man’ into this trouble.

TOMI (to Aymakan):

3  Nan aunda emgoy. Nan iña popla!
You’re also an ‘outside man’. Come here [out of fight].

In the next section I provide some background to the fight we saw in the video, as we shall return to it several times throughout the chapter.

3.2.1.4  Iñaktay fight (4 and 5 May 2009)

When a headmaster from Asangamut promised to get an Elementary School teacher from Wewak to teach Grade 3 in Kanjimei, the Awiakay immediately decided to build a new classroom. While almost half of the village was busy with this community work, some men stayed upriver at the bush camp called Iñaktay (Map 1.4) from where they were making shorter trips to Tawim mountain in search of eaglewood.

With the village being emptier than usual, and thus standing a better chance of not being caught, Wapisay and Kawasaŋ, both 18 years old at the time, propositioned
two girls, Kanyay (16) and Waynjao (15). The girls did not consent and attempted to make the boys’ propositions known. Knowing that this meant that they would be beaten up by the girls’ relatives, Wapisay and Kawasañ immediately fled upriver, as boys often do when they are suspected of sexual affairs. As they told me later, on their way to Iñaktay, where they could stay with their relatives, they decided to tell the men in the camp that those who had stayed in the village complained that they had to do the community work all by themselves, while men at Iñaktay searched for eaglewood for their own benefit. While such complaints are nothing unusual and some remarks in this direction could actually be heard among those who stayed in the village, the boys made up a story that Saun (a ‘big man’ and the father of the two girls the boys made advances to) and Akrumbayn (the School Chairman) were sending a message to those who were at Iñaktay to come back to the village where the angry men were waiting for them to beat them up. The news spread fast along the river, so even men at other camps heard about it and rushed back to Kanjimeii.

In the early afternoon Aymakan (the owner of Iñaktay), his ZS Tumak, DH Anjôngoron, DH Mandun, DH Kawaki and DHB Kamay, all of whom had stayed at Iñaktay, came back to the village. There was an obvious tension upon their arrival. They did not go back to their respective houses, but sat in Aymakan’s haus win shelter. Saun and his son Arap were outraged because they believed that the men from Iñaktay came back to Kanjimeii in order to support Wapisay who insulted their daughters/sisters, particularly because Aymakan’s DH Mandun is Wapisay’s MB who is supposed to be protective of his ZS. The fight started after Asao came back to the village, angrily screaming “Kan! Kan!” (TP ‘Cunt!’) all the way to his house, loudly throwing his bushknife on the veranda, telling in distress that some had come to say that they would pull down the houses at Iñaktay. Only after the initial punch-up and some heated debate it became clear that the boys made it all up. However, by that time people were already aroused, as several other issues had come out, and it all turned into a huge all-village fight. As indicated above, in the second part of the video we saw Mandun wanting to beat up his sister’s son Wapisay for shaming the family by causing the troubles.

A full transcript of the video recording of this fight is available in Appendix E. I turn now to a discussion of the next phase of a fight.
3.2.1.5 PHASE 3: Taykunpla ‘Angry reasoning’: A full-blown verbal dispute

taykun-pl-a
angry-PRS-3PL
‘They’re being angry’

The Awiakay further divide this phase into

(a) **verbal abuse**, by saying

*aŋanja mombaŋ ounŋ-gom-bl-a / oupla*
bad, language-INSTR be.angry-3PL.OBJ.PRS-3PL.SBJ
‘they are being angry with each other with bad language’

(b) **searching for the core of the problem by competing with knowledge of oral history** (as will be shown later in VIDEO 3-7)

*kunda wakanji-pl-a*
root search.for-PRS-3PL
‘looking for the roots [core of the problem]’

*kambiasin-bl-a*
compete.with.ancestral.knowledge-PRS-3PL
‘competing with ancestral knowledge’

(c) **looking for fight**

tawa wakanji-pl-a
bones/strength search.for-PRS-3PL
‘looking for fight’

Just as combatants adhere to the rules of a physical fight – though it is often other people who make sure the rules are being followed – certain implicit rules apply to participation in a verbal dispute. In this phase the ability to be persuasive, provocative and offensive is no less important than is physical strength in a physical fight. Apart from insults, accusations and threats, which are still abundant and without exception accompanied by an arm pointed at the addressee as if shooting at them, the fighters are provoking one another, boasting about their strength and their ancestors’ power and trying to discredit one another by their knowledge of oral history.

While the younger men boast and threaten the opponents both verbally and with their posture, displaying their muscles (*pumbungunmun kakapan* ‘he’s talking with muscles’), the older men often find an excuse why they cannot fight at the moment, while emphasising what fierce fighters they otherwise are. Saun, a big man in his early 50s, used his aching shoulder as an excuse for not beating up the boys who had propositioned his daughters:
‘If it wasn’t for my aching shoulder [if I wasn’t short of a shoulder], I would hold you and lift-you-and-turn-you-and-jab-you-down-into-the-ground.’

Not all Awiakay are keen to participate in punch-ups, but when the circumstances force them to, e.g. when they have to support one of their family members, they will never admit that – nor their physical weakness, but will rather compensate for it with their verbal skills.

Apart from physical violence, one can threaten an opponent with other kinds of action, e.g. with demolishing their bush camps or bringing in authority from the outside (e.g. court members), which implies that one is sure that that authorities would prove that they – and not their opponents – are right. An interesting threat is uttered by Kangam when he says:

Kalaj Baibol pakapep yakanakoy munjokondinman.
‘I will hold up the Bible and stand here, then you’ll be afraid of me.’

The more knowledgeable they are in ancestral stories, with which they argue that the opponents’ ancestors are from elsewhere and can be labelled as ‘outsiders’, and the more skilled in using their language, the better their chance to discredit their opponent(s) and force them into a passive role, as we shall soon see in another video.

By this stage the initial fighters have been joined by their supporters, so there is not only one disputing couple, but several, paired across the disputing line. Although there is a lot of overlapping speech and it is often impossible to understand who is saying what, the quarrel remains a coordinated activity with pairs following a dialogic structure: A addressing B (and vice versa), C addressing D, E addressing F, etc.

3.2.1.6 TURN-TAKING

In overlapping speech of the kind referred to above, A, C and E belong to one disputing side, B, D and F to another. While A and B, C and D, E and F follow a dialogic structure with little or no overlapping speech, it often happens that A, C and E, (or B, D and F, i.e. the disputants from one side) talk at the same time, e.g. shouting insults and accusations at the other party.

Figure 3.X: Overlapping speech in fights

A ↔ B
C ↔ D
E ↔ F
In this phase of a fight there are practically no silences. Turn-taking is fast, particularly because disputants do not want to lose the floor. One means of keeping the floor is rhetorical questions, which will be discussed in 3.2.1.8. A common gesture that is often employed as a sign of taking the floor, still talking and not wanting to give up their turn is their raised hand. The Awiakay refer to it as

\[
\text{kola onga mokonde-mokoy miksok pe} \\
\text{hand with holding-REDUPL up-and-down} \\
\text{‘walking up-and-down with raised hand’}
\]

Plate 3.4: Kaprum trying to stop her son Kunbri who is holding the floor in a fight (a frame from video)

This gesture is a clear index of a dispute and is never used in any other speech situations. Another important detail in the following video is a facial display that I call ‘mm-gesture’. It is a clear index of anger. Its co-presence in an utterance is indicative of anger when the choice of words could be used either in joking or in seducing or in anger. It is displayed by pulling the lips inwards (the opposite of a pout) and raising one’s chin, while saying ‘mm’, as can be seen in the following video.
In the video (lines 67-80 in the Transcript; Appendix E) we see Aymakan being outraged because his bush camp, Ifiaktay, has become a topic in the dispute. He is trying to prove it that this has been his land, supporting his talk with two different types of gestures: (a) a raised hand, with which to keep the floor, and (b) an angry ‘mm-gesture’, which we can see at the very end of the shot.

Turn-taking is much faster and much more disorderly in this stage of verbal dispute than in the later stages, in which turns are much longer, particularly towards the end when the two parties are retiring back to their yards.

Although insults, provocations, threats, accusations and boasting moves are shot from both opposing sides without necessarily being answered, some of these utterances – particularly when it comes to discrediting the other side – move the conflict towards a debate. People’s utterances in ‘big talk’ tend to be short. There are very few complex clauses in this phase (they start appearing in phase 5 and onwards), and not much anaphora is used. In 235 lines of one dispute transcription there are only five anaphoric references and three of them are self-referential (referring back to one’s own rather than the opponents’ words). However, we can detect some references to previous statements.

Besides, combatants would often just mention each other’s ancestors’ names and the other party who is familiar with the story, would reply in a way that might seem unconnected to someone who does not share their common ground, e.g. one side is talking about their ancestor Uŋatpat, while the other responds with:

**WANDAK:** *Yamis sakay strong wakanjipon.*

‘You are looking for Yamis’s strength.’

Uŋatpat and Yamis are the opposing sides’ ancestors, and enemies from times of warfare. The meaning of this answer is: ‘watch out, in dealing with us you will come up against the power of our ancestor Yamis.’ It is common knowledge that he was a fierce warrior. A fight between different families does not involve only their living members, but also their ancestral spirits.
When a fight starts giving room to debate, a number of linguistic devices are employed for rhetorical purposes. Each of them can be used in a variety of contexts, but a particular combination of these devices is characteristic of the ‘big talk’ register.

3.2.1.7 PARALLELISM in fights

An immediately noticeable feature of the language of Awiakay disputes is parallelism, as introduced in section 1.3.4). Let us take for example an excerpt from the Inaktay fight, in which Aymakan is in a rage because his land keeps being mentioned in a fight about a completely unrelated matter, and by those who have no rights to this land. The elaborate parallelisms in the following excerpt are a rhetorical means through which Aymakan urges the addressees to understand the implications of the present-day ownership of that particular piece of land. When carefully analysed, these lines reveal the underlying cultural conceptualizations – the common ground shared by the Awiakay people to which he reaches in order to make them understand his rage.

AYMAKAN:

30 Ḳňaktay momba aunda kakaniįŋŋ.  
Just don’t talk about Ḳňaktay.

Ḳňaktay mombamba aka kakaim!  
Do not talk about Ḳňaktay!

Nįŋ kakay Ḳňaktay amgoy.  
I’m here, [I] belong to Ḳňaktay. [The one who belongs to Ḳňaktay is here.]

Nŋ aunda nam momba mae kakane.  
You should only talk about women.

Map momba aka kakaim.  
Do not talk about land.

35 Ḳňaktay momba aunda aka kakaim.  
Just do not talk about Ḳňaktay.

Ḳňaktay tok niŋ kakay.  
I am the one who belongs to Ḳňaktay.

Ḳňaktay tok niŋ ekoy.  
I am the one who has rights to Ḳňaktay.

Tasia mapa mae ek!  
I got spirit ground.

Nase minjikimbuakay.  
In the faraway past they were afraid of it [this land].

40 Engaím elŋŋ aka engasipua.  
They wouldn’t [dare to] spit there.

Tay pia elŋŋ aka papakapua.  
They wouldn’t [dare to] throw sago crumbs there.

Kum mola elŋŋ aka papakapua.  
They wouldn’t [dare to] throw sago pudding leftovers there.
Engaim elan aka engasipua.  
They wouldn't [dare to] spit there.  
Tasia mapa kay ek!  
I got [right to] spirit land!

For a clearer picture of the complexity of these lines, they are reproduced in the table below (3.1) with colour coding of the parallel sets. The individual sets are framed with bold lines and numbered 1-8c. The variables in these parallel sets are highlighted. A discussion follows underneath.

Table 3.1: Aymakan's parallelism
In lines 30-44 (Table 3.1) there are ten different parallel sets (parallel set 8 is divided into 8a, 8b, and 8c as these words feature both semantic parallelism (8a) and grammatical parallelism (8b and an extended one in 8c)).

Parallel sets 1 and 2 feature discontinuous parallelisms. They run from lines 30 to 31, and then continue in lines 34 and 35 (parallel set 1), and 33 to 35 (parallel set 2). They are interrupted by parallel set 3, which intervenes in the middle (lines 32-33).

In parallel set 1 Inaktay momba ‘talk/fight about Inaktay’ is paralleled with map momba ‘talk/fight about land’ (Table 3.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.2: PARALLEL SET 1: Inaktay // ground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Talking and fighting about Inaktay is thus associated with talking/fighting about land, which is what bothers Aymakan most. Bringing the land that he owns into a fight which started about a different matter brings trouble to that piece of land – and thus to him who belongs to it. The land and its owner are considered to be one. Even the spirits of the land are not bothered by its owners and consider them part of the land, as long as they behave properly.

Parallel set 2 features two forms of negation: kak-anijey (line 30) and aka kak-aim (lines 31, 34 and 35). However, these negative imperatives are juxtaposed to a positive imperative in line 33.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.3: PARALLEL SET 2: don’t talk about Inaktay // talk about women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
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<td>34</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Mombamba in line 31 is a shortened reduplication (momba(-mo)mба) with an emphatic effect.

15
What Aymakan thinks people should not do (talk/fight about Iñaktay, lines 30-31, 34-35) is juxtaposed to what he thinks they should do instead (talk/fight about women; line 33).

Parallel set 3 (lines 32-33), which is established by grammatical parallelism only, juxtaposes the first and the second person, and implies the rights/prohibitions that pertain to them.

Table 3.4: PARALLEL SET 3: I can talk about Iñaktay // you can’t

<p>| | | | | |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>niiy</td>
<td>kak-ay</td>
<td>lñaktay</td>
<td>amgoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>this.one.here:D</td>
<td>Iñaktay</td>
<td>POSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>nög</td>
<td>aunda</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>mae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (PL)</td>
<td>just</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I (Aymakan) belong to Iñaktay (implying: ‘I can talk about it’), whereas you should only talk or fight about women (implying: ‘unlike me, you [those who fight] do not belong to Iñaktay, and are thus not allowed to talk or fight about it’).

Parallel set 4 (lines 36-37) supports and intensifies the above. In line 36 Aymakan actually says: ‘I am Iñaktay,’ which reveals the Awiakay notion of people being one with their land. It is thus most natural that one has the rights to the land which is a part of his own self.

Table 3.5: PARALLEL SET 4: I am Iñaktay // I have the right to Iñaktay

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>lñaktay</td>
<td>tok</td>
<td>niiy</td>
<td>kakay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iñaktay</td>
<td>INTENS</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>this.one.here:D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>lñaktay</td>
<td>tok</td>
<td>niiy</td>
<td>e-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iñaktay</td>
<td>INTENS</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>get-1SG.PST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I am [the one who belongs to] Iñaktay.’

‘I am the one who has rights to Iñaktay.’

Embedded between a long-distance parallelism of lines 38 and 44, in which the variables are mae ‘before’, signifying the past, and kay ‘different’, oriented towards the present (Table 3.6), lines 39-43 are a parallel set in itself (Table 3.7).

---

16 The strong connection with land extends to one’s connection with the spirits of the land one owns. At some other point in the fight Aymakan identifies himself with Wambay, the spirit of Iñaktay, saying: ‘Wambay has grown new teeth’ (Appendix E: line 196), implying that he/the spirit is still very much alive and full of strength, so no one should mess with him – or with his land.
Moreover, each element in them is placed in a corresponding position with another element in all other lines, thus leading to four more parallel sets (7, 8a, 8b, 8c) paralleled with another element in all other lines, thus establishing five more parallel sets, each of them providing further detail.

I got spirit ground.

In the faraway past they were afraid of it [this land].

They wouldn’t [dare to] spit there.

They wouldn’t [dare to] throw sago crumbs there.

They wouldn’t [dare to] throw sago pudding leftovers there.

They wouldn’t [dare to] spit there.

I got [right to] spirit land!

Note that line 39 is very different from the rest of parallel set 6 (lines 40-43). So why it is included in this parallel set? It is a kind of a headline, followed by several equally important elements. This is an Awiakay organising principle, the one mentioned in the epigraph of this thesis, explaining the title. Line 39, the ‘headline’ can be likened to Mt Injaiq, and the following lines, which are all somehow subordinate to it, represent...
various mountain ranges coming out of it (Figure 3.1). More examples of this kind will be discussed in Chapter 6. To turn back to parallel set 6, line 39 is a statement that tells that in the faraway past people were afraid of this land. As Aymakan frequently repeats, Ñaktay was a spirit ground. A large snake was believed to have its nest there, and that is why it was a taboo place. Afraid of the snake spirit, people did not dare to leave there anything that would be associated with their bodies (food leftovers (lines 41-42), saliva (lines 40, 43), and the list could be expanded to any bodily fluids, pieces of clothing, betelnut, cigarettes, etc.), as the spirit could use them to harm their owners.

However, this was a thing of the past. Things are different now, as it is implied in parallel set 5. A further association between the present and the past can also be implied from the variable elements in parallel set 8c, which comprises lines 38 and 44. Although the verb itself is in the past tense throughout the parallel set, the variables are in the person and number: I (expressed as 1SG ending in the verb -k) stands for Aymakan of the present (lines 38, 44) vs they (expressed as 3PL ending in the verb -a) stands for people of the past (lines 39-43).

If we look at the same set without the framing lines 38 and 44, we get another two sets of variables (8a and 8b) which employ the same ordering principle as mentioned for parallel set 6. The first line is the ‘headline’ for the others to follow. Line 39 features a past habitual action, expressed with a past habitual ending -kay (people were afraid of something), which is not there in lines 40-43, which elaborate on what they were afraid of doing (Table 3.9). The purely semantic counterpart of this grammatical/semantic parallel set is 8a (Table 3.8).17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Grammatical Form</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>minjiki-mbu-a-kay</td>
<td>PST-3PL HABIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>spit</td>
<td>engasi-pu-a</td>
<td>PST-3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>papaka-pu-a</td>
<td>PST-3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>papaka-pu-a</td>
<td>PST-3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>spit</td>
<td>engasi-pu-a</td>
<td>PST-3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8: PARALLEL SET 8a

17 Note that in most cases grammatical parallelisms are at the same time also semantic ones. Another example of this is parallel set 3, which, unlike most examples of semantic parallelism, involves no repetition of words across the parallel lines. Instead, the parallel relation across the two lines is established by the occurrence at the same (line-initial) position of words which are of the same grammatical class, i.e., personal pronouns.
Aymakan's elaborate verbal parallelism is further intensified by 'parallelism' in the accompanying gestures. In the following video we see how Aymakan (the speaker) repeatedly strikes his hands on his thighs, alternating them with every new utterance – and marks the end of this 'passage' by changing the gesture (striking upwards). Please play the video twice, so that you can first pay attention to the subtitles, and the second time to the gestures.

Please watch

![VIDEO 3-6: Parallelism in fights](https://vimeo.com/114475619)  PASSWORD: K

The theme of the whole passage analysed above shows how an argument often proceeds as 'talk about talk' (also pointed to by Goldman 1983) – 'I am the one who has the right to talk about this piece of land, and you are not.' But it is much more than that. By getting an insight into what Aymakan considers to be common ground and deeply felt sentiments for the Awiakay, we learn how closely the Awiakay people associate 'land ownership', or in Awiakay terms, 'belonging to the land' – being part of it and the land being part of them – with being allowed to and having the right to talk about land. We learn about their fears and practices of the past, about their attitudes to that past, and to present.

All that would be lost if we reduced the passage to mere information:

'I got [was given] spirit ground. In the past people were afraid of it. They wouldn’t spit or throw sago leftovers there. I got spirit ground.'
3.2.1.8 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Another feature of *kandey momba* is the presence of rhetorical questions, i.e. ones which are posed not in order to be answered, but to remind the listeners of what is unsaid. And what is unsaid is what is implied in them, which is usually the opposite of what they ask, which was shown in the case of a domestic fight in 3.1.4.

As can be seen in those examples, rhetorical questions are frequently combined with repetition. Although they can also be used in other registers, e.g. in public speeches, it is the combination of them with the *mm*-gesture (which indexes anger) that is specific to ‘big talk’ register.

By using rhetorical questions the speaker seemingly engages the audience (though they are mostly addressed to the opponent) while he/she never pauses to wait for the answer. This is one of the strategies to keep the floor without giving the opponent room to speak, and this, in turn, adds weight to the speaker’s complaints. Rhetorical questions are more frequent in this phase of a fight when speakers must to compete for the floor than later.

3.2.1.9 CODE-SWITCHING between Awiakay and Tok Pisin

As noted in 1.2.2, among the Awiakay Tok Pisin is still largely restricted to the discussion of non-traditional topics and to non-traditional settings, though at the same time connected with the government, courts, Church – it thus indexes powerful forms of authority that come from the outside world. Just like in everyday speech, Tok Pisin is used in disputes mainly as a means of showing authority. It either shows the speaker’s status, or is used when a disputant wants to prevail. The village prayer leader Moyambe and the village Magistrate Yukun always use Tok Pisin when they act as peacemakers. Other cases when Tok Pisin is used include counting, abuse (as already discussed) and talking about court, as we will see in the last film of this chapter. As a language of authority Tok Pisin is often used with commands:

*Yu klia! Autsait!*
Go away! Go out [of the fight].

God or Mother Mary are sometimes invoked when people want to give more weight to what they have said. In such cases Tok Pisin is generally preferred to Awiakay. However, spirits of the bush and ancestral spirits are invoked in Awiakay.
Tok Pisin is sometimes used to repeat what has already been said in Awiakay (or vice versa), mainly for rhetorical purposes.18

_Pokonim kolopengoy Inaktayn aka opengombon._
You are fighting, but Inaktay doesn’t know you.
_Inaktay i no save long yupela._
Inaktay doesn’t know you.

Inaktay is the name of a bush camp, therefore the name of a particular piece of land. In saying that ‘the land doesn’t know you’ the Awiakay mean that the spirits of the land are not familiar with that person, which means that that person is certainly not the landowner. The spirits of the land get to know the Awiakay as children, when they frequently follow their parents to the bush (see also 1.1.6).

Sometimes several of the above mentioned rhetorical devices, e.g. repetition, rhetorical questions and Tok Pisin can be combined.

(Appendix E, lines 104-6)

_Husat? Hsats ia? (x7)_
Who? Who?
_Husat bai kamautim lek bilong mi?_
Who will cut off my leg?
_Husat ia?_
Who, hah?

While in the early phases of fight there is less code-switching and it is more of the intrasentential type, the last phases feature longer passages entirely in Tok Pisin.

We are still in Phase 3. During this phase of heated verbal quarrelling a dispute is bordering on physical violence. Disputants demonstrate their anger by occasionally holding a pole and stammering it to the ground, while continually being calmed down by those who try to control the fight (‘fight-controllers’). Other issues (and thus more disputants) are often brought in during this phase. I will shortly invite you to watch a film excerpt featuring this stage of a fight. But as this is from another fight, I will first provide some background to it.

3.2.1.10 Background of ‘Sago fight’ between Kangam’s and Mandum’s families

The dispute between Kangam’s and Mandum’s families over a particular piece of land called Kokolamgoa (a bush camp and a few sago stands) has been going on for generations and whenever something goes wrong between the two families – and given

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18 Sankoff (1973: 21) noticed a similar practice among the Buang.
that they intermarry this happens quite often – this problem always surfaces. Or the other way round: they start quarrelling about land and all other matters are brought in as well. One family claims the right to that land through their mother, the other through their father.

On the afternoon of 6 June 2019, Kangam and his sons returned from the bush where they had found out that someone – they assumed it must have been Mandum’s sons – had again cut a sago palm in their sago stand and took the trunk away to secretly process it somewhere else... And so this fight emerged.

Now please watch


While Yukun, the village Magistrate, is trying to calm down the disputants, in this phase the two sides are still throwing accusations and insults at each other. While using all the gestures that we have discussed above, they are trying to reason with one another by bringing in their knowledge of the ancestral affairs (they dispute about where Mandom’s ancestor Uŋgatpat came from and why), invoking ancestral spirits who were fierce warriors (boasting with Kangam’s ancestor Yamis and his strength), threatening one another both with taking the case to the district court in Angoram and with showing muscles to the other party, all permeated with continual insults and accusations. In particular, both sides are trying to prove that the others are ‘outsiders’ and in this way ‘discredit’ each other’s ancestors – and thus their legitimacy to the disputed piece of land. As is most often the case at this stage of a fight, at a certain point – as a response to just another provocation – the dispute reaches its climax and turns into a big physical fight.

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19 In his study of disputes among the Huli in the Highlands of PNG, Lawrence Goldman (1983: 14-17) introduces a rank scale dispute–profile–claim, in which dispute is the biggest unit, consisting of several profiles associated with the various disputants, and a profile consisting of several claims, thereby being able to link a given fight to others that have happened before. One of the differences between Awiakay and Huli disputes is that the Awiakay do not have mediators in the same sense as the Huli.

20 A full verbatim transcript of the video-recording of this fight is available in Appendix F.
3.2.1.11 **PHASE 4: Pokonpla ‘They’re fighting’: Climax; big fight**

*pokon-pl-a*

hit-PRS-3PL

‘They’re fighting.’

This is a phase when verbal action gives way to physical one. Although the fighters occasionally still insult one another, there is less room for boasting and threats. Those who take care that the fight does not become too violent, keep obstructing the fighters and try to calm them down. Although they are strong enough to wriggle out of their grief, the fighters almost willingly stay constrained, though giving an impression that they really want to fight, but cannot because they are blocked. The fighters, together with those who obstruct them, are rapidly moving along the village. Sometimes they jump to their houses to take a spear, but it is immediately snatched out of their hands.

This is the phase when bystanders’ comments on the fight are heard. Though several people are now blocking the fighters and trying to stop the fight, some are still encouraging them to beat the other party up.

3.2.1.12 **PHASE 5 (3a): Mom pekñaiñepe ‘The fight is calming down’**

*mom pekñaiñe-pe*

talk go.down-3SG.PST

‘the fight is calming down’

Although in phase 5 the fighters are calming down, the verbal dispute continues. After physical violence is stopped, the dispute continues in a similar way as described in Phase 3, this time venting-off and giving some more time to debate. There is less overlapping speech now, the dispute is either calming down or getting ready for another, this time shorter punch-up.

3.2.1.13 **PHASE 6 (4a): Another physical fight**

If there is another phase of fighting, it becomes obvious that the fighters are becoming tired, as it involves very little talk. There is no more urging on now, and more and more people are commenting negatively on the fight.

Please view excerpt from a film on the fight between Kaggam’s and Mandum’s families, this time depicting Phases 5 and 7 of the fight.
Both fighting parties are retreating back to their houses, while still shouting abuse at one another. Several of Kangam’s daughters are married to Mandum’s sons, so he comments on this, saying that those rubbish men are ‘going around with his daughters’. He brings out the case of their ancestress Andokum, who came from Namata, a settlement in the Upper Arafundi, and points out that her bride-price was properly paid for (he uses TP komponseisen ‘compensation’) by their ancestor Mapay.

It becomes clear at this stage that the speakers often reach for common ground that they share with other members in the community. In this case the common ground involves shared knowledge of oral history. By saying that Mapay carried the compensation “open-arsed” up to Namata, Kangam implies what a huge sacrifice Mapay (and therefore his whole lineage) made when carrying up that compensation. Namata is a settlement high up in the mountains. People say that climbing up there is as if climbing a coconut. In the past when men wore cordyline leaves to hide their backside, one would climb up and those who would stay at the bottom would just look up and see ‘into his open anus.’ Given that for the Awiakay, anything concerning male defecation and anus used to be a strong taboo, this explains the graveness of this statement.

Kangam continues his insults by saying how Mandum’s grandfather was stealing aibika leaves (Abelmoschus manihot) to eat them with the flesh of his (Kangam’s) ancestress Akunan, whom he had previously chopped up. That would not have been so unusual, as it is neither a secret nor a shame among the Awiakay that in the past their ancestors practiced cannibalism. However, having sago as staple food, people always eat it with everything, and in the past, human flesh was no exception. The fact that Mandum’s ancestor ate human flesh only with aibika makes his act of cannibalism vicious and not normal. It implies that he did not eat Akunan for food, that is, out of hunger, but that he had killed her ‘without a real reason’, which makes this a murder.

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21 The notion of common ground in Awiakay registers will be further discussed in the conclusion (7.3).
22 When aibika is boiled, it becomes slimy. The Awiakay believe that it is hard to gulp down human flesh unless aibika is eaten before, or with it. Even a gigantic mythical python mungum is believed to eat aibika before it devours a human being.
case, and aims at shaming the other party. With this, as is the case with several other insults and reasoning that appear in fights, Kanga reaches for the common ground among the Awiakay. The outsiders who lack the shared knowledge and cultural common ground might gravely misunderstand Kanga’s words, or at least find them obscure or unconnected.

The video continues with Kanga’s son Kunbri explaining to the other side why their claim for the land in question through his father’s side is unacceptable, and with Mandum’s son Topo comment ing on the whole situation, pointing out that he wouldn’t have been beaten up had the other party not been fighting in an ‘unmanly’ way, that is in group, rather than as a duel. In general, the fight is calming down, the talk is becoming quieter, and it involves no more threats. The fight is about to finish.

3.2.1.14 PHASE 7: Kolonuŋ mokopla, kumi wasiŋkapla ‘Reconciliation’

\[\text{kolo-n-uj, moko-pl-a, kumi, wasiŋka-pl-a}\]

‘[they are] shaking their hands and breaking a branch of betel nuts’

The last stages of a dispute involve longer passages in Tok Pisin, as this choice of language gives prominence and credibility to one’s words.

In some cases reconciliation happens the very next day, which is the desired outcome of every dispute. The former disputing parties and their families compensate one another with bunches of betel nuts. Several pairs shake hands at the same time, crossing handshakes to strengthen their re-established relationships. Tears are often shed at this stage, and the former opponents sometimes give one another a piece of clothing, saying Omuk imbia mok. ‘Here, hold my body’s dirt’. This is a sign of complete trust: one’s clothes (particularly when unwashed) are one’s extension, as there is, as the saying suggests, one’s body’s dirt (sweat) on them, which means that they could be used in sorcery (1.1.5). Giving them to another indicates that one trusts them. Being given someone’s trust needs to be reciprocated with another gift. Chewing betel nut together has a similar significance: any part of a betelnut that one spits out, even just the skin, can be used in sorcery, so one would never chew with enemies.
3.2.1.15 Outcome of the 'sago fight'

The dispute between the two families has not been settled to the present day. The first few days after the fight were particularly delicate. Although it had been promised that I would be able to borrow an outboard motor from one family's son (A) and a canoe from another man not related to any of the two families, a son from the other family (B) explained to me that he could not allow motor A to sit on 'his' canoe B. Although the canoe belonged to someone else, the son from family B was the one who had carved it. Perceiving objects as extensions of their owners, it was thus understandable that the motor and the canoe from the opposing families who have not reconciled could not fit together.

3.2.2 Phases of Awiakay fights: conclusion

The phases of Awiakay fights which I have introduced and discussed above are typical of all major fights. While phases 1, 2, 3 and 5 are present in all fights, their intensity and length varies from one fight to another. However, there are many minor fights that start with phases 1 and 2, but then, for various reasons, calm down before they blow into major fights. Very often the reasons they started remain, and are brought out at a major dispute that blows out at some other time.

Table 3.10 shows the various features of these respective phases. × marks presence, / marks absence, cases in-between are described. In addition, the degree of darkness of the colour in the table shows the intensity/frequency of the feature in question in different phases.
Table 3.10: Phases of Awiakay fights and their features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase 1</th>
<th>Phase 2</th>
<th>Phase 3</th>
<th>Phase 4</th>
<th>Phase 5</th>
<th>Phase 6</th>
<th>Phase 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROVOCATION</td>
<td>MINOR PUNCH-UP</td>
<td>VERBAL DISPUTE</td>
<td>BIG FIGHT</td>
<td>CALMING DOWN</td>
<td>(=3a)</td>
<td>(=4a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESENCE IN FIGHTS</td>
<td>ALWAYS</td>
<td>ALWAYS</td>
<td>ALWAYS</td>
<td>in bigger fights</td>
<td>ALWAYS</td>
<td>in bigger fights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERBAL ABUSE</td>
<td>1ˢᵗ party short, loud</td>
<td>2ⁿᵈ party response</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>occasional</td>
<td>occasional</td>
<td>less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCUSATIONS</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>less</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THREATS</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPICAL GESTURES</td>
<td>'m' gesture, throwing things</td>
<td>'m' gesture</td>
<td>raised hand, throwing things</td>
<td>'m' gesture</td>
<td>fewer</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENCOURAGING FIGHT</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>occasional</td>
<td>occasional</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CALMING DOWN THE FIGHTERS</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHYSICAL FIGHT</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>short, heated</td>
<td>threatened</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>fighters tired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLOCKING FIGHTERS</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>occasional</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPETING WITH KNOWLEDGE</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOASTING</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>less</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THREATS</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>less</td>
<td>occasional</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPPORTERS</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>still involved</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVERLAPPING SPEECH</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SILENCES</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>more long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TURN-TAKING</td>
<td>slow</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>fast disorderly</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>longer takes</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOLUME OF SPEECH</td>
<td>very loud</td>
<td>very loud</td>
<td>very loud</td>
<td>very loud</td>
<td>going down</td>
<td>going down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHETORICAL QUESTIONS</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LENGTH OF UTERANCES</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>very short</td>
<td>long, agitated</td>
<td>very short</td>
<td>longer</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANAPHORA</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEBATE</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>turning towards debate</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARALLELISMS</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USE OF Tok Pisin</td>
<td>in insults</td>
<td>individual words</td>
<td>loan words</td>
<td>individual words</td>
<td>increasing</td>
<td>loan words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER ISSUES BROUGHT IN</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 CONCLUSION

In-depth studies of conflict and conflict resolution in PNG have been undertaken in the fight-prone areas of the Highlands (Strathern 1974, Goldman 1983, Merlan and Rumsey 1991, Rumsey 2009, etc.). Fewer such studies have emerged for other regions of PNG. Moreover, the majority of studies dealing with conflict have focused on fighting on a large scale (e.g. Ketan 2004, Muke 1993, Strathern A. 1993), in areas where conflict has been going on for a long time. This chapter, however, focused on a small-scale society where disputes are frequent, but just as frequently successfully managed. This study of Awiakay fighting adds to the small number of anthropological studies based on verbatim transcripts of fights in New Guinea and is the first of a Sepik, as opposed to Highlands societies. It also differs from previous studies in that it brings in an analysis of domestic fights.

In this chapter I tried to demonstrate how talk is used to negotiate, reproduce, create, and change social order in PNG communities and their links to the world outside. My goal was to produce ethnographic account that would be rich enough to do justice to local forms of understanding and action.

The Awiakay encourage fights to blow up because they see this as necessary for healing longstanding poisonous tensions and tears in the social fabric. I have shown that fights are highly rule-governed (even though these rules are implicit). They are carefully stage-managed to follow a predictable sequence that prevents extreme acts and leads towards reconciliation. At the same time they are greatly enjoyed by all bystanders.

Drawing on the case study of a domestic fight, this chapter has introduced the Awiakay concepts of shame and fear, examined the kind of language that is used to invoke shame, and discussed the reasons why the feeling of shame is feared in Awiakay society.

Although it comes as a consequence of being angry, or as a part of a dispute, an act of shaming is, by definition, intentional and I treat it as an institution. In analysing the episode of shaming in a domestic quarrel I point to the importance of calling on an audience in humiliating the person shamed. While on the one hand this proves how important the others are in a small, face-to-face society, on the other hand the humiliation can only be achieved by creating an impression that intimate details, to which others do not have access, are exposed to the public.

In this case study the language of shaming gains force through the normatively
reciprocal relations inherent in sister exchange. If a woman’s husband is doing something bad to her, she can ‘get at’ him via framing his bad behaviour as something that may – or may not – be visited upon his sister by her own brother(s). In this way husband-wife relations and the close, but notionally asexual, protective brother-sister relations are brought into the same frame.

Public humiliation can, of course, be linked to fear anywhere in the world, however, it is less common that shame/shaming would be identified – and thus feared – as a possible cause of physical death. Be it in a domestic or in a public fight, shaming among the Awiakay is considered as an attack on another person. But unlike physical attack, whose consequences, i.e. wounds or broken limbs, are immediately obvious, shaming can have unforeseeable consequences for the one shamed.
In October 2009 a dramatic event shook the existing sociolinguistic setting in Kanjimeei village in East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. Possessed by a Christian spirit, a woman harshly reproached the most important village leaders. The ensuing verbal fight between ‘the spirit’ and the village prayer leader became a battle of languages: the Christian spirit spoke the community’s native language, Awiaakay, overpowering those in authority, who are the most frequent users of the national lingua franca Tok Pisin. This chapter analyses the language of spirit possession and discusses the crucial role which the Awiaakay socio-cultural frameworks played in the effect that this event had on the society, and shows the complexity behind ever-changing linguistic ideologies.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Building on Silverstein’s (1979) pioneering work on linguistic ideology, Rumsey (1990: 346) defines it as ‘shared bodies of common sense notions about the nature of language in the world’. These always exhibit cultural variation, in part because they are not only about language (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 56), but are linked to notions of personhood, identity, gender, agency, power, and morality. As each of these culturally and historically specific notions is in a state of continual flux, linguistic ideologies are also ever-prone to change.

Looking at linguistic ideology through the prism of processes of language contact and vice versa, Makihara and Schieffelin (2007) observe that scholars often do not adequately notice and document the ‘moments of choice, compromise, adjustment or even outright opposition on the part of local community members facing introduced ideas and actions’ (2007: 16). They argue that ‘[i]n such encounters, not only are the

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1 An earlier draft of this chapter has been previously published as a journal paper (Hoenigman 2012b).
imposed ideas taken under consideration, but traditional ones may be reevaluated and lead to syncretic cultural or linguistic forms' (ibid.). This chapter examines one such moment: it reports on a dramatic spirit-possession event in 2009 that represented a significant change in the existing sociolinguistic landscape of Kanjimei village in East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. It thus adds to the existing pool of linguistic anthropological studies of events as they unfold (e.g., Merlan and Rumsey 1986, 1991; Duranti 1992; Kulick 1992b, 1993; Robbins 2007). Rather than suggesting that the change in Awiakay linguistic ideology is sudden (and suddenly revealed), the event analysis in this paper shows change in progress.

4.2 CHARISMATIC CHRISTIANITY AND IDEAS OF GEOPOLITICAL INFERIORITY IN KANJIMEI

The Awiakay often say in Tok Pisin *mipela las ples bilong bus* ‘we’re the last place in the bush’. They often complain that they are ‘inferior’ and ‘forgotten’ not only in comparison with the white man (TP *waitnjan*) or PNG town dwellers, but also in comparison with the neighbouring groups. This is a common feeling among those Papua New Guineans who are far from roads, shops, health centres and governmental offices (cf. Kulick 1992a, Robbins and Wardlow 2005).²

The Awiakay have been nominal Catholics since the 1950s, and during that time have gradually abandoned initiation and other customary rites (1.1.6.1). However, in the mid-1990s the Awiakay people wholeheartedly embraced the Catholic charismatic movement, often referred to in this area by the Tok Pisin expression *gutpela nius*, ‘good news’. This movement arrived in the villages of the Amboin Parish (Map 4.1) in December 1994 when a wooden statue of the Virgin Mary was brought there from the provincial capital Wewak (Telban 2008: 229; 2009: 133, 144).³ The movement was brought to Kanjimei by three local men who happened to attend a Charismatic seminar.

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² Bambi Schieffelin (pers. comm., 7 Jan 2012) reports that Bosavi people of Southern Highlands Province in PNG also thought they were ‘the last ones to hear the Word’, since this is what the missionaries had told them. The volume edited by Robbins and Wardlow (2005) brings together papers discussing rural Papua New Guineans describing themselves as last place, linked to the sense of humiliation and lack or longing for development (see also Sahlins 1992). Papua New Guineans who have access to the Internet even post on internet forums that they are the ‘last place’ in PNG, hoping to persuade the politicians to take better care of them (cf. PNG Politics Forum).

³ Amboin Parish (Map 1) comprises 16 villages of the Amboin Subdistrict. Amboin itself, however, consists of only a station with an aid post, a school, a tourist lodge, the parish church and a priest’s house. The priest, a Polish missionary Piotrek Wasło, travels around the two parishes he is in charge of, Amboin and Chambri, and visits each village once or sometimes twice every two months.
in the faraway coastal city of Lae, where they received the gifts of the Holy Spirit: the gifts of healing and speaking in tongues (Appendix B). In exchange for the ‘services’ of the Holy Spirit, charismatic Christianity has demanded that people break their relationships with bush spirits and ancestral spirits. Both of these categories of spirits were labelled as evil and came to be associated with Satan.\(^4\) Charismatic prayer meetings and healing sessions are held in Tok Pisin, whose use in the village has thus increased. Although Tok Pisin has been mainly confined to charismatic activities, its influence is also seen in settings in which there is a conflict of power, and it is gradually spreading to other domains of language use.

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\(^4\) A demand for a radical break with tradition and therefore the relationships with bush spirits and ancestral spirits, labelled as bad and blamed for illness, misfortune, and lack of development, is common to charismatic movements in various Christian denominations throughout New Guinea (cf. Telban 2008: 230; 2009 regarding the Catholic charismatic movement in Ambonwari, Eves 2010 on Pentecostalism among the Lelet of New Ireland and Robbins 2007: 128 on the Baptist Urapmin).
Coincidentally, it was just a couple of years after the arrival and uptake of the charismatic movement when the Awiakay learned the value of eaglewood (1.1.7). Everyone in Kanjimeī interpreted this sudden source of income as God’s reward for their involvement in the charismatic movement, a pattern of interpretation consistent with traditional beliefs about good fortune generally, which was ascribed to people’s good relations with bush spirits. However, charismatic prayer meetings soon became irregular, because people spent most of their time in the mountains seeking eaglewood. Charismatic activities have become mostly limited to times of adversity, such as sickness and death. In the last few years the boom in eaglewood trade has declined and the price has dropped, due in part to regulations the PNG government put on its previously uncontrolled export. Emepanda kolopla ‘sitting well’, an expression which the Awiakay interpret as ‘a state of prosperity and absence of sickness and death’, has not arrived yet. This expression translates into Tok Pisin as gutpela sindaim, and is roughly synonymous with development ‘development’. People keep praying and waiting for this (cf. Kulick 1992a: 282), as well as looking for reasons why it does not happen.

It was against this background that in late 2009 a discursive event unfolded in Kanjimeī, which shook up the sociolinguistic status quo in the village and is likely to have ongoing, if subtle, significance in the ever-shifting linguistic ideologies. We now turn to this event.

4.3 THE SPIRIT-POSSESSION EVENT

October is a month dedicated to the worship of the Virgin Mary, and in October 2009 a wooden statue of Mama Maria (Tok Pisin for ‘Mother Mary’) was travelling around the Amboin Parish. She stopped for two nights in each village. She was carried around by women whom she had ‘chosen by herself’ by pointing at them with her head. While holding the statue, a woman was believed to be controlled by Mother Mary, who channelled herself through the statue and communicated with people through gestures. During her stay in Kanjimeī, Mama Maria was believed to ‘work’ or ‘act’, that is, to heal, hear people’s prayers and perform miracles. People were putting all their hopes and wishes into those two days. The general hope was that Mama would finally acknowledge that Kanjimeī, las ples, deserved to get development.

5 My description of the statue as ‘travelling,’ and as an animate actor, is meant to reflect Awiakay patterns of talk which rarely mentioned that there were people carrying the statue.
When a group of twenty people from the neighbouring village Ambonwari originally brought the statue to Kanjimei, Mama Maria, while being held by an Ambonwari woman, was dancing around me while I was videorecording, pointing with her head at me and downriver towards Ambonwari. Because this continued for a while and the gestures of the statue were becoming ever more assertive, the Awiakay decided that she was becoming too violent and Yukun and Moyambe, two charismatic leaders, asked me to stop recording. As I put the camera down, the Ambonwari woman who was holding the statue danced away and handed it over to a middle-aged Awiakay woman, Pambaim. As soon as Mama Maria was in Awiakay hands, Yukun came to ask me to turn the camera on again. Later on he and Moyambe explained that it was not Mother Mary, but the jealousy of Ambonwari people, which had controlled the statue when it became violent.

Plate 4.1: Mama Maria in Pambaim’s hands

6 This was the only time during my twenty months of fieldwork that people asked me to turn off the camera.
7 Because I had stayed in Ambonwari during my first two visits to the region in 1998 and 2001 before later making Kanjimei my main research site, the Ambonwari maintained a belief that I belonged to them and not to the Awiakay. My presence in Kanjimei has thus been a source of ongoing complaints and jealousy to the Awiakay since the beginning of my fieldwork in the village.
When the statue of the Virgin Mary was brought to the church, Moyambe, the prayer leader, used Awiakay ‘hidden talk’ (Hoenigman 2012a) in order to say that Mama could not start ‘working’ until there were no longer ‘other people’ in the village. He avoided her name, so that the Ambonwari would not be able to understand what he was saying, and called her *tasia*, which is Awiakay for ‘bush spirit’.

On the second evening of her presence, after the departure of the Ambonwari people, Mama finally started to act. The whole village gathered at a prayer meeting which started in an ordinary way, with songs and prayers. In the hands of Pambaim and Kasom, the women who were chosen by Mama herself, the statue was ‘walking around’, ‘dancing’, ‘talking’ to people and ‘hearing’ their prayers. At a certain point, Toska Panbok, a woman in her late twenties, became possessed by a spirit. After subsequent discussions in the following weeks people agreed that it was the spirit of Mother Mary speaking through her, although some had initially been confused, not knowing whether it had been Satan or one of the good spirits: Mama Maria, Jesus or the Holy Spirit.

Plate 4.2: Mama Maria dancing
In Kanjimei, possession by the Virgin Mary is particularly common during big healing sessions when a person is dying and most of the villagers are present. In these events, people witness multiple events of possession by different Christian figures. Charismatic leaders in Kanjimei say that during possession it is easy for the evil spirit (i.e. Satan) to take over and pretend to be one of the good spirits in order to mislead people. That is why the leaders often hold their hands above the possessed person, repeating the word *kontrol* ‘control’ in Tok Pisin. As soon as they feel they themselves are not ‘in control’, i.e. unable to interpret what is happening around them, or do not agree with what is being said or done, people ascribe their confusion to the evil spirit.

Acting through Toska, the spirit of Mama harshly reproached the most important village leaders. These were the councillor Joseph Aymay, the village magistrate and charismatic leader Geoffrey Yukun, and the main prayer leader Charles Moyambe. They had been the very first Awiakay men to receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit and were the ones who brought charismatic Christianity to the village. They were accused of being idle, not using their gifts properly and thus preventing the ‘good spirit’ from embracing the village and opening the door to development. What was most intriguing – given the norm that she usually speaks Tok Pisin – Mama Maria was speaking Awiakay.

The reader who has access to the Internet is now invited to go to the following link and watch a film excerpt, which is a recording of Toska/spirit of Mama mocking and scolding village leaders.

Please watch

**VIDEO 4-1: Toska/Spirit of Mama scolding leaders [1:59]**

https://vimeo.com/34006002
PASSWORD: K

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8 While ascribing powers to a statue of the Virgin Mary is common among other Catholics in PNG (Hermkens 2007), possession by her spirit is not. Most of the literature on Pentecostal-charismatic Christianity in Melanesia reports on (often female) possession by the Holy Spirit (Robbins 2004a; 2004b; 2007, Telban 2008; 2009), but not possession by other Christian figures. One would expect possession by the Virgin Mary to occur among the Catholic charismatics, however, it seems that it might be a feature of the Karawari area (the neighbouring Ambonwari claim to be possessed by Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary during prayer meetings; Daniela Vávrová, pers. comm. 2 Jan. 2012).

9 Cf. Robbins (2007) for Urapmin people’s deliberations over whether the Spirit women were communicating the Holy Spirit’s will or that of evil spirits.

10 For this chapter I have edited two short films which are part of much larger video footage of the event.
The excerpt of the spirit-possession event (which I will sometimes call ‘Mama Maria event’) described and analysed in this paper, starts with a late night prayer meeting with the statue of Mama Maria. People are moving around, singing, and dancing. Most of the time there is singing in the background, not everybody is paying attention to what is going on in terms of spirit possession.

The transcript below shows Mama Maria speaking Awiakay while scolding the leaders, in particular Moyambe, the main prayer leader. She used Tok Pisin only with common borrowings or when swearing (for which Tok Pisin is considered especially appropriate).

Plate 4.3 Mama Maria speaking to Aymay (a frame from the video)
Verbatim transcript of 'Mama Maria event' excerpt 1 (VIDEO 4-1): Toska/spirit of Mama mocking and scolding village leaders

MOYAMBE [prayer leader]:
1 3 – 2 – 1, say...
   Three – two – one, say...
   [clapping]

PEOPLE at prayer meeting:
   ... Jisas!
   ... Jesus!

MOYAMBE:
   Alelu-
   Hallelu-

TOSKA:
   | Nogat ia! |
   No way!

MOYAMBE:
5 |-ia!
   -jah!

TOSKA:
   Nogat!
   No!

MOYAMBE:
   Sakias!
   Zacchaeus!

TOSKA:
   O-o! Ehe-hee [laughs]!
   No-no! He-he...

MOYAMBE:
   Lazarus, kamaat!

TOSKA:
   Lazarus, come out!

TOSKA:
10 O-o!
   No-no!

MOYAMBE:
   Alelu- Jisas! [...] 
   Hallelu- Jesus!

   Husat i karim laif bilong yu? 
   Who's carrying your life?

SOME PEOPLE / OTHERS:
   Jisas! / Mama!
   Jesus! / Mama!

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11 As elsewhere in the thesis, AwiaKay speech is given in italics, Tok Pisin is italicized and underlined, and English is italicized and bolded. For other transcriptions conventions see the guide at the beginning of the thesis.
TOSKA:

Mae nan tay mundimba Moyambe!
Wait for me first, Moyambe!

Moyambe a!
Hey, Moyambe!

Moyambe!
Moyambe!

Mae mupa mae stopimbapa kambanja.
Wait first, stop for a while.

Mae mundimba!
Wait for me!

YONGONDAM [a woman possessed by the Holy Spirit, a short instance of glossolalia]

TOSKA:

Nan-niŋ tema tema tanjan autimbapolapikim.
You-many limes I’ve been communicating [God’s talk].

Eskius.
Excuse me.

YONGONDAM:

Aunda aka umbundimbem pe umbundimbem endemdimbem pe.
Don’t dance without a reason, she says, dance with leaves in your hands, she says.

Kundainjinge pe, kundainjinge pe.
This has roots, she says, this has roots.

[roots+undetachable POSS it has meaning/it is meaningful]

TOSKA:

Nan tema tema, tema tema īnike.
Many, many times you came.

Nan tema tema, tema tema īnike, tanjan popmanim Moyambe?
Many, many times you came, and you made like this, Moyambe?

Taŋan ton yamanim?
Is that the way you are?

Pes! Pes!
Whack! Whack!

Tema tema tanjan yape.
He was like this all the time.

A? Elak pukumanim?
Hah? Can you remember this?

Amba yaňaimbukim?
What did I tell you?

Pukumanim?
Remember?

Nan tanjan kay yamanim?
Will you carry on like this?
[people’s explanation: yu bat karim hevi raum olsem? → You have troubles
[transgressions...] – how will you carry out God’s work?]

Taŋan kay yamanim?
Will you carry on like this?

Aunda taŋan yaman.
You’re just like this.
At this point Toska goes away. However, it is not long before she turns around and comes back again. Provoked by the spirit’s accusations Moyambe starts fighting back, but before continuing with the description of the event, let us take a closer look at some features of the spirit’s speech.
4.4 FEATURES OF THE SPIRIT’S SPEECH AND ITS INTERPRETATION

In the above excerpt from the spirit-possession event Toska (the spirit of Mama) starts by opposing the prayer leader while he is calling out the phrases to which people are expected to respond. When he calls out: ‘Zacchaeus’!’(line 7), this alludes to Luke 19:1-10, and is supposed to provoke other people to call out ‘Come down!’ Later on (line 9), Moyambe calls: ‘Lazarus!’ , this time alluding to John 11:43, and people are supposed to call with him: ‘Come out!’ These two ‘formulae’ are employed in all healing sessions and during all important charismatic prayer meetings, at the climax of the event. They index the leader’s power and authority. Most Awiakay people do not connect them with the Biblical stories, but they all recognise these calls as powerful

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12 Luke 19:1-10 narrates how Zaccheous, a tax collector of short stature, wanted to see Jesus and so climbed a fig tree to have a better view over the crowd. When Jesus approached he looked up into the tree and called him down. (The rest of the story is not important for the Awiakay.)

13 John 11:43 is a story about Lazarus, who was dead for four days when Jesus called him out of the grave and brought him back to life.
words of Jesus. By laughing at Moyambc when he calls out these important formulae and directly opposing him at the most important part of a prayer meeting (lines 4, 6, 8, 10), the spirit-possessed woman Toska rejects his authority. As people explained later, her laughter and linked expressive acts meant: ‘No, you’re not acting like Jesus, I’m not going to listen to you!’ Considering that she was believed to be uttering the words of Mama Maria, this was a serious attack on Moyambe’s credibility as an important prayer leader and a powerful ‘big man’.

Throughout the possession event, the spirit uses a number of identifiable linguistic devices, including allusive personal reference, rhetorical questions, tropes and indirection or what I will call ‘crypticness’. I turn now to a brief discussion of these features. As we will see later, they are consistent with certain aspects of the Awiakay political ethos, egalitarianism and gender norms.

The Awiakay generally avoid using names of powerful and therefore potentially dangerous entities. In most cases of ‘Mama Maria event’ such an entity was referred to by a descriptive term (1) or a demonstrative pronoun (2). The examples below are taken from parts of this event which do not appear in the transcripts in this paper.

(1) Kunjakanta map mokoyke kalekiay munjaim mae.
   ‘The one who holds the ground [God] is looking now.’

Rhetorical questions are used for a variety of purposes, and, as we have seen in the previous chapter (3.2.1.8), as one cannot answer them, they are designed to shame (cf. Schieffelin 1990: 87). Like in domestic quarrels, where the speaker only aims at reproaching and insulting their partner, some of the rhetorical questions in the spirit’s speech are used to remind the listeners of the opposite of what the question asks, e.g.

(2) Elak tok liklik samtinkim?
   ‘Is this [referring to the power of statue] (just) a little thing?’

This rhetorical question implied: ‘This is not a little thing – it is something very important.’

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14 When I asked several men and women what these words meant, some said that Lazarus was another name for Satan, others said that both Lazarus and Zacchaeus were names of evil spirits which Jesus was driving away by calling out to them, and yet others said that only the leaders know the meaning of these words. There is a song in Tok Pisin which children often sing, with the lyric Sakias, o, yu no longpela man – yu go antap long diwai long lukim Jisas. ‘Zacchaeus, oh, you were not a tall man – you climbed a tree to see Jesus’. Interestingly, though, most people do not connect the words of the well-known song with the ritual callout of charismatic activities. Only the few literate men connected the calls with reference to the Bible.
Another type of rhetorical question aims to point at what has gone wrong and thus implicitly to blame those who have let this happen, e.g.

\[ (3) \quad \text{Em yet i westim taim, bilong wanem westim taim i stap?} \]
\[ \quad \text{‘He’s wasting time, why is he doing that?’} \]

The speaker, i.e. the spirit of Mama Maria, is not really interested in why Aymay, the village councillor, who has received the gifts of the Holy Spirit, is wasting time. What her question implies is: ‘He shouldn’t be wasting time.’

In contrast to public village fights where disputants use rhetorical questions mainly to hold the floor, the spirit does not need to do this. However, rhetorical questions add weight to the spirit’s words and further provoke the audience to look for the meaning which (for social reasons) cannot be offered directly.

Another linguistic device that the spirit often employs is *tropes*, for example an image of dancing when referring to the careless joy which one feels when one does not hold any resentments or grievances, or is free from accusations of any wrongdoings; or an image of digging out the roots for ‘getting to the core of the problem’. Although to an outsider the spirit’s speech gives an appearance of being highly metaphorical, these tropes are indigenously recognised (though not necessarily interpreted by everyone in the same way; cf. Rumsey 1986: 288-9 and Merlan and Rumsey 1991: 108-9).

These two devices, rhetorical questions and tropes, are used also in other Awiakay registers and will thus not be further discussed here. A feature which is characteristic of the spirit’s speech and needs some attention, however, is her ‘crypticness’. The spirit’s messages are not explicit. They require interpretation. The most significant utterances to the Awiakay are those which – to an outside observer – initially seem not to make much sense. At the same time these are the ones which give most room for discussion. In the framework for cooperative use of language developed by the philosopher of ordinary language, Grice (1975), these utterances are ‘insufficiently informative’ and the audience is forced to look for a reading that makes sense. Explanations of these cryptic utterances are formed in terms of people’s views on the state of affairs in the community and their previously (publicly) unexpressed grievances or accusations. An example of such an utterance is

\[ \text{Aymayan amba inayke aka kamba kambat umunak pe unja.} \]
\[ \quad \text{‘When Aymay does what, I will dance forcefully, she says.’} \]
Instead of saying explicitly what Aymay should do, this statement provokes people to infer it for themselves. Everybody in the village knows that Aymay was one of the first three men who received the gifts of the Holy Spirit. People also feel and occasionally say in secret that he is neglecting these gifts, which means that the community cannot benefit from them. The Awiakay have been waiting for development for a long time. When God finally decided to improve their lives and bestowed special powers upon some people, it turned out that, in the general view, those people have proved to be unworthy of the powers which they could be using for the common benefit. Now Mama has come to warn them that they will forever stay ‘in the dark’, as she herself says, unless they change their lives.

4.4.1 THE ROLE OF GENDER IN THE SPIRIT’S SPEECH

Spirit’s utterances coming from Toska’s mouth are characteristically female in Awiakay terms. In scolding the leaders, the spirit provokes them in the same way as Awiakay women do when they accuse their husbands of being lazy and not helping them pound sago, which shames a man and normally ends up in a fight. The spirit continually repeats her accusations and enhances them with rhetorical questions and insults. Calling the leaders *plali pekpek lida* (TP) ‘bloody shitty leaders’ (line 43) was very strong. In a society where anything concerning male defecation was just as strong a taboo as anything concerning female menstruation, scatological insults are in the most offensive category (see also 3.1.4). In this, Mama Maria boldly breeches the norm set by the teachings of the church and Marian movements which ascribe to her virtues such as silence, obedience and modesty (Hennkens 2007: 7), qualities which “constitute the very quintessence of passive female submission” (McLaughlin 1974, quoted in Hennkens 2007: 7). Instead, she speaks and acts like an Awiakay woman. This is in line with Kulick’s (1993: 512) description of women in Gapun as ‘forceful and belligerent in provoking and sustaining verbal conflict’. If in urban Papua New Guinea the Virgin Mary has become a role model for women, providing them ‘with an example how to be a good Christian mother and wife’ (Hermkens 2008: 164-5), in Kanjimei it is rather an Awiakay woman that seems to be a model for the image of Mama Maria. Although

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15 Similarly, Rumsey (1986: 288-9) and Merlan and Rumsey (1991: 108-9) show for *ung eke* ‘bent speech’ (indigenously recognised tropes which occur in various Ku Waru registers) that while the speaker might intend one meaning, the listeners, who interpret the speech, do not necessarily arrive at the same one.
believed to be more powerful, Mama Maria is perceived much like the bush spirits to whom people ascribe culturally recognised gender roles and kinds of conduct.

### 4.5 A BATTLE OF LANGUAGES

While Aymay and Yukun accepted the spirit’s reproach without complaints, Moyambe was convinced that Toska must have been possessed by Satan, who, being jealous of Moyambe’s good reputation in the village, started fighting back. (His views about Toska’s possession appear in transcript 2 below, in lines 63 and 73.) The ensuing verbal fight between him and the spirit becomes a battle of languages: the spirit speaks Awiakay and Moyambe speaks Tok Pisin and English. While Moyambe believes his choice of codes to be a powerful weapon, he is overpowered by the Awiakay-speaking spirit. This became apparent in the following weeks when people reached the verdict that the spirit was indeed Mama Maria.

At this point I invite the reader to watch the second film, an excerpt of Moyambe’s fight with ‘Satan’.

Please watch

![VIDEO 4-2: Moyambe vs ‘Satan’](https://vimeo.com/39250648)

**PASSWORD:** K

In the transcript below we can visually follow the battle of languages if we note that, as elsewhere in this thesis, Awiakay speech is italicized, Tok Pisin is italicized and underlined, while English is italicized and bolded.

**Verbatim transcript of ‘Mama Maria event’ excerpt 2 (VIDEO 4-2): Moyambe’s fight with ‘Satan’**

**MOYAMBE:**

1. *Ey! This is my village [vilis]!*
   
   Hey! This is my village!

   *Who [u] are you? | Who [u] are you?*

   Who are you? 

**TOSKA:**

   Mokoinba-yañaimbali kunda. Mokoinba-yañaimbali.

   I’m telling you all to hold onto the roots. I’m telling you all to hold onto them.

**MOYAMBE:**

   *Yu husait?*

   Who are you?
TOSKA:

5 Mokoinha-yanaimbalik.
I’m telling you to hold onto this.

Nopi [1 tanan injini. [2
You [pl] are like that, in the middle.

MOYAMBE:

1 Yu husai?
Who are you?

2 Yu husai?
Who are you?

TOSKA:

Taan emhepemba yanaimbalik.
I’m telling you, I will put it like that.

10 Taan.
Like that.

MOYAMBE:

Yu husai?
Who are you?

TOSKA:

Kunda mokoimba mae moke kunda elak.
Hold onto this, hold onto these roots.

MOYAMBE:

Yu husai?
Who are you?

TOSKA:

Moke!
Hold [pl]!

MOYAMBE [calling Jesus]:

15 Come back! Come back! Come back!
Come back! [x3]

I tell you! Come back!
I’m telling you! Come back!

Come ... back!
Come ... back!

[...]

Move out! (x2)
Move out!

[...]

Kontrol! Eskiiis mi, kontrol!
Control! Excuse me, control!

20 Kontrol! (x3)
Control!

Kontrol kam insait!
Control, come inside!

Kam insait! (x3)
Come inside!

Kam insait!
Come inside!

Kam insait! (x3)
Come inside!

Mi no liklik manki, harim, a? A?
I’m not a little boy, you hear me? Hah?

I’m a big man in this village!
I’m a big man in this village!

I can belt you off!
I can belt you up!

TOSKA:

Bihain bai yu kirap nogut.
Later you’ll be surprised.

MOY AMBE:

Hey!
Hey!

Hey, I can belt you up!
Hey, I can belt you up!

Get out! (x5)
Get out!

Hey! Ha! Hey! Ha! Who are you?
Hey – ha! Hey – ha! Who are you?

Don’t play with me! Ha!
Don’t play with me! Ha!

Don’t play with me! Ha!
Don’t play with me! Ha!

Who are you?
Who are you?

Yu husait? Ha?
Who are you? Hah?

Get from this gate, hey!
Get [out] from this gathering, hey!

I don’t like – I don’t want to see you here!
I don’t like – I don’t want to see you here!

This is not your village, this is my home! Hey!
This is not your village, this is my home! Hey!

TOSKA:

amunga pakapap umunakim?
how will I carry and dance?

MOY AMBE:

Come back!
Come back!

Set your mind!
Set your mind!

Setim tinktink bilong yu, a.
Set your mind, hah.

Setim tinktink!
Set your thoughts!

I want...
I want...

Jisas!
Jesus!
Kambek!
Come back!

Kambek! (x3)
Come back!

Yupela tu noken sindaun natink, setim!
You [pl] can’t just sit like that, set [your thoughts]!

Setim, setim keset bilong yupela!
Set, ready your cassette!

Putim on!
Put it on!

Yu lukim olesem wapela video o wapela drama.
You’re watching as if this was a video or a performance.

Baimbai lus ia, bai yu lus!
You will stray from the path!

Harim, a? Em i laik salensim mi!
You hear that, hah? He’s challenging me!

Mi dai, yupela tu bai indai.
If I die, you will also die.

Harim tok, a?
You hear me?

MEN:
Yes.
Yes.

MOYAMBE:
Ha?
Hah?

MEN:
Yes.
Yes.

Mi dai, bai yupela olgeta inap seif, a?
You think you will all be safe if I die?

YOONGONDAM:
Mipela olgeta bai dai.
We will all die.

MOYAMBE:
Bai yupela seif, a?
Will you be safe?

Em i wokim jeles ia, yu harim tok? A?
He’s just being jealous, you hear? Hah?

Mi indai bai yupela olgeta kuk!
If I die you’ll all burn!

Harim, a?
You hear?

Seten em i komplein long fran-men!
Satan’s complaining about the front man!

Hey, framen, ia, Aleluja...
Hey, frontman, yeah, Hallelujah...

Fran men! (x4)
Front man!
Hey! (x3)
Hey!
70 Fran men! (x2)
Front man!

YUKUN:
Yu wan-wan mas opim spirit na putim iau street ... putim iau street. Putim iau gut.
Each of you must open your spirit and listen attentively ... listen attentively.
Listen carefully.

MOYAMBE:
Satan is jealous to me!
Satan’s jealous of me!
Fran men! (x2)
Front man!
Harim, a, noŋ setimbape nokomgoy keset.
Listen, ready your cassettes.
Tenkyu tru Mama kam na lukim yumi.
Thank goodness Mama came to see us.
Klostu tru kamap olsem disasta bilong Aitape, a?
We were about to experience a disaster like the one in Aitape.

YUKUN:
Trupela...
True...

MOYAMBE:
Aitape pisip yakalakanj...
Almost like Aitape...
Lukluk gut! A? Lukluk gut!
Be careful, right? Be careful.
[...]

TOSKA:
An kuŋanja kambanjagay pondimbon.
He [Moyambe] thinks he’s a little child.
Tongaia yakŋgainayke kopa mokocep kendenda.
When the spirit turns up again, I will tell you its message.

MOYAMBE:
Yu traim baimbai yu lukim. Hey!
Try and you’ll see. Hey!

TOSKA:
Nan kuŋanja pisip iŋinman kenda tungumjanj.
You will come back to me like a child.

MOYAMBE:
Laki, laki, laki, ia!
Lucky, lucky, lucky, yeah!
[laughing]
Mi lap long yu ia, aleluia, aleluia!
I’m laughing at you, Hallelujah, Hallelujah!

YOŅGONDAM:
God bai win.
God will win.
As the main prayer leader in Kanjimei, Moyambe had been convinced that the whole community appreciated and supported his ‘work for God’. Moreover, Moyambe believed that God was happy with him as a loyal servant and he had often publicly emphasised as much. He frequently sought to heighten his status (TP apim nem bilong em yet) by boasting to the community that it was with his help that God was doing favours to them. While occasional boasting can help a man on the way to being recognised as a ‘big man’ (1.1.4.4), such a man ultimately achieves respect in the community through his actions resulting in tangible wellbeing for everyone. In an egalitarian society it is all too easy to cross the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable, in which case the boaster’s status will need to be lowered. This, however, cannot be done by an individual, as his/her action would be seen as highly immoral. A person can initiate a dispute with someone – even a leader – who has somehow violated them, their relatives or their property (and is even encouraged to do so), but one cannot oppose a leader for bad leadership. Although people do that by gossiping, tui momba ‘illegal talk’ or TP tok baksait ‘gossip’, ‘talking behind people’s backs about them’ is considered to be one of the major transgressions.

In his discussion of gossip on Nukulaelae Atoll, Tuvalu, Besnier (2009) shows how gossip enables people to enact or challenge power structures, but he adds that it is ‘often regarded as a reprehensible activity to be avoided or feared’ (2009: 13). However, among the Awiaakay, spirit possession has the effect of making criticism possible: discussing a spirit’s words is no longer considered gossip or public criticism, as they have a different status from those of human speakers. This fact is central to an understanding of the significance of the spirit’s utterances and their reception by the community.
4.6 THE COMMUNITY'S INTERPRETATION OF THE VERBAL BATTLE

While Moyambe believed that he was using the most powerful verbal weapons — Tok Pisin and English, his choice of code, as well as his actions, actually turned against him. People agreed later that he was not ‘shooting’ at Satan, but at Mother Mary, and so his abuse of his opponent damaged his reputation. What actually mattered in this case was not whether Moyambe would manage to verbally overpower the spirit, but the fact that through this fight the spirit enabled people in the community to openly discuss a delicate matter, that is their critical views about their leaders. Although Mama Maria spoke as if she was quarrelling with Moyambe and scolding other leaders, her targeted overhearers, in the sense developed by Goffman (1981) and Levinson (1983), were actually other members of Awiakay society, whom she targeted by using Awiakay and the ways of speaking that people are familiar with from other contexts.

About two weeks after this event, Noah Wayk, a man in his early forties, died ‘without a reason’. Unless someone dies in an accident, or through illness or from snakebite, people say *aunda we* ‘he/she died just like that’ i.e. ‘without a reason’ and ascribe the person’s death to their own or their close relative’s transgressions. Seven months earlier, after three successive deaths in the village, the Awiakay made a contract with God, which was supposed to stop deaths. Wayk was the first person who died after that, and one of the explanations people put forward was that by chasing off Mama Maria as if she were Satan, Moyambe had broken the community’s contract with God and opened the door to death again.

One day when some Awiakay and I were sitting on the veranda of my house, Yakame, Moyambe’s mother-in-law, walked past as if in a trance, oblivious to everything around her. She was possessed by a spirit who was announcing more deaths in the village: *Yu tanim baksait long God, em bai salim sanguma o spirit nogut long kilim yu* ‘You turned your back on God. He will send an assault sorcerer or evil spirit to kill you.’ Everyone around me agreed that the spirit was speaking of Moyambe. A few weeks later, his child became sick, which was seen as yet another confirmation that he had been wrong.

16 Note an interestingly similar metaphor between ‘shooting’ at Satan and ‘targeting’ Satan (as in ‘targeted overhearer’).
4.7 TOSKA’S RESPONSIBILITY AND POWER RELATIONS

Several parallels can usefully be drawn between Du Bois’s (1992) discussion of intentionality and responsibility in divination and issues of personal expressive agency in Awiakay spirit speech. As Du Bois puts it concerning language uttered in trance, ‘the utterer of the shifter pronoun is “speaking involuntarily or nonintentionally” – and thus, paradoxically, in another sense is not “speaking” if we understand by this acting as a responsible speech actor’ (1992: 53). While Du Bois argues that divination (or in our case spirit speech) works by suppressing speaker intentionality, Keane (1997: 57) suggests that we should rather be thinking in more wide-ranging terms of the ascription of intentions. He adds that ‘what Du Bois takes to be the suppression of individual intentionality can also be described as an expansion of the presupposed speaking subject beyond the level of the individual’ (ibid.).

In keeping with Keane’s point, in Awiakay people’s view, a person who is possessed by a spirit becomes a spirit. Such a person’s words and actions are not attributed to them but to the entity who is speaking through them, so they will not be judged for what they say or do during possession.17

Building on Goffman’s (1981) classification of participant roles, we can say that the spirit is both the principal, who bears responsibility for what is said and done (but not for the meaning), and the author who formulates the actual words and actions. Toska is merely the animator, one who utters these words. Moyambe and other reproached leaders are proximal addressees, while the roles of the target, to whom the words are ultimately directed, and the overhearer merge into one, as everybody is supposed to hear Mama’s complaints. The principal-author and the animator occupy the same physical body, but are not perceived by the Awiakay as the same entity (cf. Keane 1997: 58), which is why Moyambe has never expressed any reproach towards Toska for attacking him, but rather did so towards the spirit, in his opinion Satan, who was speaking through her. If she were acting as herself, Toska, as Moyambe’s classificatory sister (MZD), would be expected to support and not attack her brother.

17 Telban (1998: 193) discusses a case from the past when several Ambonwari men killed a woman from a neighbouring village when she approached a men’s house. They captured her and clubbed her to death with the snout of a carved spirit crocodile. The men, however, were not held responsible for their actions, as they said that spirit crocodiles were acting through them. In contrast, Bambi Schieffelin (pers. comm. 7 Jan. 2012) reports that in Bosavi the mediums channel the spirit voices, so that the medium has no responsibility for the utterances, but they are not seen as becoming a spirit, just carrying the voice.
Yet nobody in the community complained about her ‘misconduct’, as it was clear to everyone that she was possessed by a spirit. It was because of this split between the author and animator roles that her words had power and authority.\footnote{This supports Keane’s (1997: 59) observation that ‘[d]istinctions among participant roles can have political consequences.’ Lawless (1988) argues that Pentecostal women in patriarchal communities can exert influence that would not be available to them were they to claim full responsibility for their words.}

A Christian spirit is an authority which is higher than a village leader. Mother Mary is therefore entitled to criticize the leaders whom she has appointed by herself, as when she says:

\begin{quote}
Mae nif lida ambayangoy elekiangoy kandok pekeyapongoy pokopungakaj!
\end{quote}

‘I appointed them all leaders, but now the cloud has sat upon them and I have to destroy it.’

Another dimension of the ‘Mama Maria event’, which has already received brief attention in section 4.5, is the power relations inherent in the battle of languages. Spirits (bush, ancestral or Christian) are more powerful than people, but people have ways of dealing with them. One of the important things is knowing which entities are more powerful than others, so that one can call on the former for help when one needs it. Christian entities (God, Jesus, Holy Spirit and Mother Mary) are believed to be able to overpower Satan, whose name is often used as a synonym for all harmful spirits.

When it comes to the hierarchy of languages, Awiakay is not perceived as a language of power. Its speakers (whether Awiakay people or local spirits) do not possess all the desirable goods that they associate with speakers of Tok Pisin (and English) in general. As noted in the Introduction, Christian prayers and services, as well as Christian spirits, and PNG town dwellers are associated with Tok Pisin. Besides, Tok Pisin is associated with the authority of governmental institutions. Although people know that the world outside PNG, which is perceived as even more powerful, speaks English, very few people in the village can speak any English at all, so the language of authority in their immediate world is Tok Pisin. However, Awiakay is not completely powerless: its implicit potency lies in the fact that it gives its speakers a feeling of safety and intimacy. People tend to resort to Awiakay whenever they feel threatened by the unfamiliar, whether in the form of people or places (Hoenigman, \textit{forthcom.}). Awiakay is an indispensable tool for hiding one’s intentions (ibid.) and deploying cunning in order to mislead the enemy, as well as for insulting and challenging others (cf. Kulick 1993). This can cast light on the paradoxical situation of Awiakay ‘winning’ over the generally
more powerful codes, Tok Pisin and English, which occurred during Moyambe’s confrontation with the spirit.¹⁹

4.8 CONCLUSION

Spirit possession in itself is not a new phenomenon in Awiakay society. While other ways of communicating with ancestral and bush spirits were common in the past, possession by Christian spirits has come into practice since the uptake of the Catholic charismatic movement in the mid-1990s. What made the spirit-possession event discussed in this paper unprecedented was the length of possession (unlike late-night spirit messages which last no more than ten minutes, this possession went on for about two hours with some short pauses in between), the fact that the spirit was interacting with people (although not paying much attention to what other people said, the spirit was commenting on Moyambe’s actions and words), and the fact that a Christian spirit was speaking Awiakay. While unprecedented in these respects, the whole event took place largely within the terms of established linguistic ideologies and wider socio-cultural frameworks, albeit within a context of cultural change and intercultural articulation.

One relevant set of established understandings were those held by the Awiakay people about the nature of spirits and their relationships with human beings, and about the nature of spirit possession, i.e., that it is possible for a spirit to speak through a mouth of a human being.

Another relevant set of understandings concerned the status of the local Awiakay language in relation to the lingua franca Tok Pisin and a foreign, yet powerful code, English. This is revealed in speakers’ choices of codes, which vary depending on the targeted overhearers. Consistent with this we can see Awiakay as an insider language. Throughout this event Awiakay is chosen when the speaker aims at agreement with the targeted overhearers against an ‘outsider’, e.g., Moyambe speaking

¹⁹ Note that this kind of spirit possession in which the possessed person (which is usually – but not necessarily – a woman) triggers public discussions about delicate village matters, occasionally takes place late at night or at least when there is not much noise in the village. The person usually walks along a village and not everyone hears everything, but people quickly combine and interpret what was said. Such spirit messages, however, are much shorter than the one discussed above, and the spirits tend to speak Tok Pisin. Besides, the spirit rarely communicates with people, but rather communicates messages to them.
to Awiakay people in the church when he did not want the Ambonwari to understand
the insiders’ secrets; or the spirit speaking through Toska when the targeted overhearers
were other Awiakay people rather than the leaders who were being reproached. It was
up to the people to give meaning to the spirit’s words and it was their discussions and
conclusion that lowered Moyambe’s, Aymay’s and Yukun’s status. In this case the
leaders were the ‘outsiders’, as their acts did not comply with the expectations of the
society. Consistent with the established language ideology, Tok Pisin is chosen as a
language of authority. English, which in this event unexpectedly enters the Awiakay
scene, is supposed to be as powerful as spells and is only used when fighting with the
spirit.

A third relevant set of established understandings was people’s attitudes towards
the present economic and religious situation: as the economic prosperity and consequent
leisurely lifestyle the Awiakay had been hoping for, as a result of their adherence to the
charismatic movement, did not arrive, somebody had to be blamed. Those blamed were
the village leaders who, despite doing what is otherwise perceived as ‘community
service’, did not follow the socially appropriate mode of conduct: Moyambe and Yukun
had been boasting too much, while Aymay had not sufficiently acted in his calling.

It is on the basis of these established understandings in Awiakay society that we
can look at ‘Mama Maria event’, which marked a new development in public criticism.
This otherwise transgressive practice became publicly acceptable through spirit
possession. People’s disappointment is uttered through the mouth of a woman whose
indirect, at times cryptic speech, and otherwise inappropriate conduct are ascribed to
the community attributes authorship of the words to the divinity rather than the woman,
her contentious statements are not only tolerated, but taken seriously. It is the split
between the roles of the author and the animator of the speech that gives the spirit’s
words the power and authority. The cryptic indirection of the utterances coming out of
Toska’s mouth is an index of their divinity, which makes Toska (the spirit) a trusted
speaker (cf. Keane 1997: 57; Robbins 2001) and the listeners’ trust gives power to her
words. But in keeping with what has been found in other Melanesian locales (Robbins
2001, Schieffelin 2008), the responsibility for their meaning lies with the listeners, the
people of Kanjimei, who have been deliberating upon it in the weeks and months that
followed the event.
Chapter Five:  

Pukupuku kaŋapla ‘Grief-crying’: The language of laments  

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I discuss a linguistic register that is a combination of weeping, melody and text and is most commonly used at the death of a person – or a dog. The Awiakay expression for this genre is pukupuku kaŋapla. None of such related English terms as ‘lament’, ‘dirge’, ‘mourning song’, ‘wailing song’, ‘funerary chant’, ‘wailing’, etc., provides an adequate translation for that expression. Pukupuku is a noun that can be translated as ‘grief’, ‘worry’, ‘keeping in thoughts’, whereas kaŋapla ‘they are crying’ functions like the English gerund, hence the short gloss ‘grief-crying’. Perhaps the most suitable English expression for pukupuku kaŋapla is the term coined by Steven Feld ‘sung-texted melodic weeping’ (Feld 1982: 93). Although primarily expressing an individual person’s grief, Awiakay laments have an additional function: they are a legitimate means for pointing at existing imbalances in the community and thus play an important part in the process of righting such perceived wrongs. In this respect they correspond to James Wilce’s definition of lament as

a typically improvisational genre in which women (and some men) have expressed grief and aired grievances, one in which communities have ritually reconstituted themselves in the face of loss. Lament is thus a lens through which many scholars have examined emotions, musics, poetic languages, and the societies in which those take shape. (Wilce 2009: 2)

In this chapter I try to examine all of the above, while focusing on Awiakay lament as a linguistic register. I use Awiakay labelling and distinctions between

1 An earlier version of those parts of this chapter that relate to weeping for dogs have been previously published in Gillespie and Hoenigman 2013.

2 Twenty-seven people have died since my first visit to Kanjime in 2004, eight of whom passed away during my various visits in the village. While I participated in all instances of mourning for those eight deaths, I have only recorded seven laments wept for four different people, and one for a dog. When someone dies, the whole village is grief-stricken, and although the Awiakay did not mind being recorded while lamenting, I found it hard to persuade myself to hold the camera or an audio-recorder at moments when we were all deeply shaken.

3 In his comprehensive study of laments James Wilce suggests a similar term ‘tuneful, texted weeping’ (Wilce 2009: 1).
different stages or types of lament, provide the ethnographic context, and analyse the structure and functions of laments.

In New Guinea laments have often been studied as song genres (cf. Harrison 1982; 1986, Gillespie 2010, Niles 2011). More broadly framed studies are those by Feld (1982) and Weiner (1991), whereas I often refer to James Wilce’s (2009) comprehensive study of laments all over the world. ⁴

* * *

When I arrived in Wewak in November 2008, my hosts at Masandanai camp told me that a boy from Kanjimei was at Borom hospital. I rushed there to see who it was, and was shocked to discover that it was my 21-year-old ‘brother’ Raymon Yan. Visibly emaciated, sitting on a hospital bed in the overcrowded ward, he was a mere shadow of the strong and healthy young man I’d known, who had just got married, cut the trees to make his own garden, and started planning to build a house. Yan was undergoing TB treatment. I managed to speak to his doctor who was positive that the patient would soon be released to go back to the village. We even thought that we could travel together, but just before my departure the doctor decided that it would be better for Yan to stay in hospital a little longer. We arrived in Kanjimei with good news, telling everyone that Yan was getting better, and arranged for Yan’s brother Andikay to go to Wewak and replace our brother-in-law, Anjogoroi, who was Yan’s escort and was getting tired of hanging out in the hospital. Two weeks later we were in a bush camp, half a day’s paddling away from the village, when the news reached us by way of a messenger from Asangamut that Yan had passed away.

Before continuing with the chapter, please watch the following 14min film.

Please watch

(camera: Robert Gartner)

¹ These laments are spontaneous outbursts or emotion, and are not composed in advance. However, they draw on a number of formulaic elements and schemata. If laments are sung by a grup, however, there must be some advance composition, otherwise people could not sing the same text in unison. This is true of the laments described by Harrison (1982; 1986), Niles (2011) and to some extent Weiner (1991).
Yan was the first person from Kanjimei to die in a hospital, far from Awiakay land. The news of his death deeply shocked the entire village. In the video we see a group of Awiakay who, after receiving the news, leave the bush camp and go back towards the village, leaving signs for others who were at various camps along the river to return. The spirit of a newly deceased person is considered particularly dangerous and it is not safe for people to remain in the bush.

An overwhelming sound of crying permeates the village a few days later when the canoe brings Yan’s body in a coffin. His sisters jump into the water and throw themselves onto the coffin, crying hysterically and calling Yan’s name. His mother Kununda throws herself onto the floor of her house, crying and calling his name when the coffin is carried towards Imbisay’s house. Imbisay is Yan’s classificatory father (FyB) and it was decided that his house would be suitable for the large number of people who were coming to cry and spend the night with the body. Yan’s father Aymakan is desperately calling his son’s name. The crowd is entering the house and Yan’s mothers and aunts are already crying on his coffin.

At this point it seems as if the whole village is weeping as one, but the video makes it clear that these are actually different laments overlapping, each wept by a different person, independently of others. Mothers, aunts and brothers’ wives are calling Yan’s name (his brother’s wives, who are in a taboo relationship with him, only call him Raymon, which is his Christian name), people are sitting around the coffin in small groups, each of them weeping their own lament. Individual mourners approach the coffin and cry upon it, men in particular allow their mucus to fall down towards the coffin, which is a sign of ‘good crying’. Once their lament is over, they wipe their face on their shirts or into a small towel that they wear around their neck, and walk away, talking to others without even sobbing, as if they have not just cried their hearts out.

Mourning for Yan continues in a way that is typical of other instances of mourning I have observed among the Awiakay. During the night there are longer pauses between the episodes of weeping. People bring their kerosene lamps and LED torches to light up the house of crying. The family of the deceased provides large quantities of betel nut to be chewed by the mourners (see Plates 5.2 and 5.3).

For more on Awiakay taboo relationships and appropriate behaviour see Hoenigman (2007: 175-77). Being ‘a good crier’ is a highly valued skill not only in Kanjimei, but in the wider area. I have heard people approvingly commenting on some women from Asangamut who had been seen crying passionately at funerals. See also Telban (2001).
Quiet emotional weeping by those who were closest to the deceased is heard throughout the following day when young men start digging the grave. A number of people start weeping in church after the prayer leader crosses out the name of the deceased from ‘the book of this earth’, which is a notebook in which he writes the names of newborn children and notes who passed away, in order to report it to the parish priest. The all-village weeping, consisting of a number of overlapping personal laments, is resumed during the funeral. While some of the close relatives throw themselves onto the coffin or even jump into the grave, others go to weep in a secluded place, turned towards the bush, with their backs to the deceased.

After the funeral the family of the deceased distributes food to everybody around, in particular to those who helped dig the grave, make and carry the coffin, etc., and while the majority sit around quietly, chewing betelnut, or slowly start going back to their houses, the parents, siblings or grown-up children of the deceased continue lamenting. It is at this stage when the collective crying ceases that individual laments come to the fore and their words can be heard by many. The textual part of weeping tends to turn into an implicit airing of grievances, which will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. First I will provide some introductory notes on weeping for deceased people and dogs.
Plates 5.2 and 5.3:
Yan's family rounded the *haus win* with branches of betel nut and tobacco swirls for the mourners to consume.
Some of the traditional Awiakay mourning practices, in which the relatives of the deceased would rub their bodies with white clay and remain in the haus krai (TP for ‘mourning house’) for several weeks or even months (Hoenigman 2007: 59-62), have been abandoned since 1995 with the uptake of the Catholic charismatic movement. However, this has not had much effect on the melodic-texted crying which accompanies every death. Even though following a culturally established ‘template’, laments are spontaneous outbursts of emotion, each of them wept only once and never repeated (cf. Wilce 2009: 23), and as such not perceived as an ‘old custom’ that would need to be abandoned.

Crying for a deceased person starts at the moment when people feel that the mima ‘spirit’ has left the body. Oma ‘body (of a living person)’ thus becomes tundia ‘dead body’, and mima ‘a person’s spirit, insideness, seat of thoughts, knowledge, mind’ turns into tangia ‘the spirit of the dead’ (cf. Telban 2011: 57). The spirit stays close to the body and in ordinary conversation people avoid calling the name of the deceased for a few years, as their recently departed spirit could come back and harm them. Instead, they use avoidance terms, such as kopa kamianda ‘the bald head’ or tapuka oluka ‘the old man’, which was used for the oldest, recently deceased man in the village, and so on. A couple of years after Yan’s death I still heard his father, Aymakan, referring to him as man i bagarap (TP) ‘the ruined one’ or kay punjukandenge ‘that long one’, as he was his tallest son. The name of the deceased, however, is continually called in lamenting.

While young Awiakay boys are embarrassed to cry (cf. Telban 2011), and children are believed not to have the understanding, both adult men and women are competent in expressing their sorrow through sung-texted melodic weeping. As soon as people learn of someone’s death, loud crying permeates the entire village, emanating from the house where the body of the deceased lies. People stream there to see the body, and soon start bringing their sleeping mats in order to stay with the body and cry overnight. Close relatives lie next to the body, touch it, caress it, hold the deceased person’s hands, and in case of a dead child, the parents hold it in the lap, continually kissing the child’s face (see Plates 5.4 and 5.5).

Although lamenting for the deceased is often the domain of women, and older women in particular (Gillespie 2010; Niles 2011; Weiner 1991; Wilce 2009: 23, 28), numerous studies of lamenting all over the world show that men are equally involved in the diverse practices of lamenting (Alexiou 1974: 10, 12; Wilce 2009: 51).
The Awiakay nowadays cry until just after the funeral; then they encourage each other to stop. They fear that prolonged mourning can be dangerous for an individual whose spirit is detached from his/her body. This view corresponds interestingly to that of Sigmund Freud, who in his essay on mourning and melancholia maintains that “when the work of mourning is completed, the ego becomes free and uninhibited again” (Freud 1925: 245). However, the Awiakay nowadays often ascribe prolonged mourning of an individual to moral weakness and lack of faith, as we shall see below. The following excerpt (a full transcript can be found in Appendix H) shows how Moyambe scolded his mother Kununda who could not stop weeping for her deceased son (Moyambe’s elder brother) Akaim.

[Exhausted from long and loud crying KUNUNDA is using the last bits of her strength to keep calling her son Akaim. Her voice is weak and hoarse, and the words she utters are hardly intelligible...]

Akaim! Akaim o... Akaim o...
Akaim! Akaim... Akaim...

MOYAMBE

Ambi, baibelun tanan kakay: mae man i aipas, i no save long Jisas, em bai krai planti, man i save olsem em i bilip long mi, em bai mi kirapim em long las de.
Mum, it says so in the Bible: before, when the man was blind and didn’t know about Jesus, he’d cry a lot, but the man who knows me, believes in me, I will bring this man back to life on the last day.

Baiyu lukim pikinini bilong yu long las de.
You will see your child on the last day.

Dispela tok em i strongpela tok.
These are powerful words.

Nan emep putim-iubapem.
Listen carefully.

Wari i save bagarapim man.
Grieving can destroy you.

Mom tzungumiay okok.
Follow my words.

Mom tzungumgoy okokonmamgoy, emep endan kamapaponman.
If you follow my words, you will find yourself on the right path.

[...]

KUNUNDA crying

MOYAMBE

Mama, inap nau!
Mother, enough now!

Stopim dispela maus!
Stop this kind of crying.

Yu mas lukluk long mi!
Follow my example.

Wok bilong mi em i spesel wok.
I’ve got very special work.

8 Cf. Feld 1990: 96 fn.1 for Australian missionary concept among the Kaluli that ‘weeping indicates weakness and undue emotionalism’. 
Mama, tay okokondimbem tay paulimbapundimangoy tajan kanganman uñikanda. Mum, you must follow my example. If you break my heart, you will cry again.

Tay piakandinman.
What if you lose me as well?

Bilip aka ton koñ kangaplaman.
The one who doesn’t believe will cry a lot.

Sapos yu save long Jisas, nogat.
If you know Jesus, [there’s] no [crying].

[...]

An tok amamasuy an.
He went to a place of joy.

Nan anda sotpela taim kolopan, ambi.
You too are only here for a short while, mum.

Mama, stop nau!
Mum, stop now!

[...]

MOYAMBE

Nan kenda ambaimba ambopan elay andam sorian?
Why are you choosing the path of sorrow?

Nan anda elay aninman kunja enda.
You too will go this way.

Nan anda ambamba ambopan?
Why will you too go?

Kamon, kambek!
Come on, come back!

The Awiakay say that ‘grief will destroy a person’ and ‘sadness will kill life’ and they reproach those who are overwhelmed with sadness. Freud explains that people never willingly abandon their clinging to the loved object or person, even though it no longer exists. He believes that “[t]his opposition can be so intense that a turning away from reality takes place and a clinging to the object through the medium of a hallucinatory wishful psychosis” (Freud 1925: 244). In a tropical rainforest everything that distracts one’s focused mind can be potentially lethal. While the Awiakay nowadays have Jesus as a reference point, saying that the person who weeps a lot is not a good believer and implying that God is not happy with such a person (lines 200, 219-20), several Awiakay myths tell of people who were harmed by spirits while wandering in the bush in grief that extended beyond the period spent in the ‘mourning house’. Just like jealousy or anger, deep worries and grief are also believed to detach the spirit from one’s body and thus leave the person open to sickness and prone to accidents.
Plate 5.4: Kununda lying next to her classificatory brother's Kawaki's body, his son-in-law (DH) Andok crying and holding his hand, his daughter Apiman continually slapping and grabbing his right foot while weeping her own lament.

Plate 5.5: Aymakan and Kununda got married after they were both widowed. Although they both had children from their previous marriages, and although I was their adopted child, I was often treated and spoilt like their youngest offspring. When Kununda died, Aymakan asked me to lay my head on his thighs like a child and rest my arms on her covered body for the last time.
Moyambe thus begs his mother to stop crying lest her sadness affect and harm him (lines 213-18) or she herself perish (lines 228-31). Although people discourage each other from extended grief, one can occasionally hear melodic weeping coming from the house of the deceased even several months after their death. Kopona pukupon, ‘She remembered her little brother’, or Anamgoy tenja pukupon an, ‘He’s still grieving over his son’, people from nearby houses say quietly, often looking down or sideways, and thus expressing sorrow either for the deceased or for the person in grief.

The Awiakay do not weep only for deceased people. Pukupuku kagapla ‘sung-texted melodic weeping’ extends also to deceased dogs. Before moving on to a discussion of different types of weeping, I shall briefly introduce this practice.

5.3 WEEPING FOR DOGS

As a largely hunter-and-gatherer society, the Awiakay have always had a close relationship with their dogs. Dogs appear in a great number of myths. According to one myth, women used to marry dogs who would vomit food for them. One day, one woman discovered a man. He could hunt for food, and she found him to be a better mate than dogs in other ways as well, so since then dogs have been helping the Awiakay hunt for pigs and cassowaries. In the days when the Awiakay still practiced male initiation, one of the most important things that a boy learned during the course of it was how to use hunting magic to make his dog kill many pigs. Apart from people and spirits, only dogs and spirit objects have names. Dogs are normally named after powerful bush spirits. In 2009, out of the 83 adult dogs in Kanjimei 51 had spirit names, 7 were named after pain-inflicting plants or animals and 25 dogs carried names borrowed from Tok Pisin, which are also perceived as powerful, as they come from the outside world. Not only among the Awiakay, but in the wider Sepik area, a puppy is an important gift which eventually needs to be reciprocated. Dogs are the only mammals that the Awiakay claim never to have eaten (1.1.3). Instead, they are fed with sago and treated relatively well. They are only hit or have something thrown at them when they come too close to food or when they fight. A dog becomes an extension of its owner and is, in Awiakay belief, the only animal that can, like humans, be attacked and killed by an emay ‘assault sorcerer’ (TP sanguma).
During my 23 months of fieldwork in Kanjime I recorded only one lament for a dog. One of the reasons for this is that more dogs perish on hunting trips when wounded in a fight with a pig or a cassowary than die of old age. In such a case the dog is buried and cried for in the forest. Their owners' laments are thus never heard by anyone else. I was told about two such cases in 2009.

However, even when a dog dies in the village this is not an event that normally attracts much attention, and a dog's burial goes unnoticed by most people other than the owner. No matter how important an individual dog is for its owner, it does not have much significance for Awiakay society more generally. But just as in the case of weeping for deceased people, weeping for dogs can be a vehicle for the subtle airing of grievances, a matter which will be discussed later in this chapter.
5.4 TYPES OF WEEPING

An Awiakay term describing crying with tears is *kaŋaplə* ‘crying’ or ‘weeping’. When it is preceded by the word *pukupuku*, the resulting phrase implies that the reason for crying is grieving (rather than crying because of physical pain or resentment, both of which is typical of children). While weeping for a deceased person or a dog is generally referred to as *pukupuku kaŋaplə*, this expression covers several different types of weeping: *pende-pende kaŋaplə* ‘hysterical crying’, *yaŋi-yaŋi kaŋaplə* ‘calling-crying’ and *pukupuku kaŋaplə*, which, besides being a general term for ‘grief-crying’, also denotes a particular type of weeping. Each of these several types occurs at a particular stage of mourning. The following table (5.1) summarizes some of the key features of the three types. In the rest of the chapter these features will be discussed in detail.

Table 5.1: Awiakay lament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>pukupuku</em></th>
<th><em>kaŋaplə</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>pende-pende kaŋaplə</strong></td>
<td>hysterical</td>
<td>calling-crying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeping</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melody</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>a melodic descent, often involving 3 pitches, with the lowest as tonal centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>text</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>(X)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addressee</td>
<td>deceased</td>
<td>deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>targeted over hearer</td>
<td>deceased</td>
<td>deceased</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Pende-pende kaŋaplə* refers to the hysterical crying, often combined with calling the name of the deceased, when – as the Awiakay explain – ‘the person crying goes nearly mad.’ This type of crying typically takes place as soon as close relatives see the body or the coffin with the deceased, as well as during the funeral, at the point when

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9 *Puku-* is a verb root, meaning ‘grieve’, ‘worry’, ‘keep in one’s thoughts’. The reduplication *puku-puku* in the compound *pukupuku kaŋaplə* functions as an intensifier, contributes additional meaning ‘grieving’, and thus indicates a lasting inner-state.

10 The melody of weeping will be discussed in section 5.8.
the body is about to be buried. The same expression is used when a child is crying out of resentment because it cannot get hold of something it wants, or had to give something away to a younger sibling. Both examples of *pende-pende kanapla* can be seen in the following video. The first shot shows Yan’s sisters crying hysterically on his coffin, and the second one a child crying resentfully because his father did not want to carry him on his shoulders.

Please watch

![VIDEO 5-2: Pende-pende kanapla](https://vimeo.com/99926547)
PASSWORD: K

The Awiakay say that at such a point you cannot think what you are doing because your ‘mind has gone to hide’.

\[ \text{Mim-} \text{onga mambi-} \text{amb-on.} \]

\text{mind-3SG.INAL.Poss with hide-LOC go-3SG.PRES}

‘One’s mind goes to hide.’

In the context of grieving it is usually close relatives who go through this stage of crying; parents more often than children, and siblings more often than spouses. One cannot stand, but falls or flings oneself heedlessly on the ground or on the coffin.

When Imbisay’s two-year-old daughter Akua wandered off without supervision and was carried away by the river, I kept trying to resuscitate the unconscious, perhaps already dead child who had been pulled out of the water, while people already started crying. When it was clear to Imbisay that his daughter was dead, he flung himself at his house ladder, falling through the steps of the ladder as if his body were made of jelly. His wife and Akua’s mother, Palomay, who was in the bush when this happened, could not walk, but crawled on her hands and knees back to the village after she had been told what had happened. Her eldest daughter, Angaïñ, screamed with rage and swung her

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11 A child who feels resentful throws himself to the ground and can cry for more than an hour, but is never punished, as it is believed that this would ‘ruin his spirit’. The carers thus leave such a child crying for a long time, but eventually come and pick them up, and give them a piece of sago pancake or some other food to ‘bring their spirit back’ (cf. Hoenigman 2007: 79; see also Telban 1993 for a discussion on caring and resentment in Ambonwari).

12 Wilce (2009: 38) notes that “self-injury through throwing oneself to the ground accompanies lament in a wide variety of traditions,” to the extent that such acts sometimes result in long-lasting injuries.
bushknife, threatening to chop up her devastated mother for leaving her little sister behind when going to the bush to collect tulip.\footnote{Although Akua was left in another woman’s care while the mother went to collect tulip leaves (TP for Gnetum gnemon) to top up the sago pudding for the family’s evening meal, that woman has never been blamed for the little girl’s death. Neither was Akua’s mother, apart from her eldest daughter’s initial rage. The rumour that prevailed in the following months was that the child had been led to the river by emay, an assault sorcerer (TP sanguma), hence a lack of adult footprints next to the child’s ones. Her father, Imbisay, the village teacher, was convinced that it was the jealousy in the community and their accusations that he had used school subsidy-money to buy a boat that led to his daughter’s death. But there have never been any accusations of particular people hiring a sanguma.}

The Awiakay explain that severe sadness paralyses the mind – because of the loss of a beloved person, or because of a great desire for something they cannot get (which is most often the case with crying children; cf. Telban 1993). In both cases other people feel obliged to intervene, as grieving – just like resentment – detaches one’s spirit from the body and thus makes one vulnerable and open to sickness, as mentioned above.

*Pende-pende* crying is not melodic, but is sometimes intertwined with another type of weeping called ‘calling crying’ when grieving.

*Yañi-yañi kañapla* ‘calling-crying’, takes place after the first shock at the death of a loved one. The verb root *yañi-* stands for ‘call’ in the sense of ‘utter/tell the name of’ and is often used for example when urging a woman to publicly call the name of the father of their illegitimate child. Reduplication of the verb root indicates a repeated action. At this stage the lamenter repeatedly calls the name of the deceased, intertwined with melodic weeping or sobbing, or lists names of places that he/she and the deceased visited together. *Yañi-yañi* is often a part of either *pende-pende* or, in particular, *pukupuku kañapla*, but it can also stand alone, and some people keep weeping by calling the name of the deceased throughout the night.

The following video excerpt is an example of *yañi-yañi kañapla* ‘calling-crying’ by Pasam, sitting underneath her house and lamenting the death of her 18-month-old granddaughter Maria. This is followed by three shorter excerpts from recordings of *yañi-yañi* as wept by men: Andikay calling his deceased brother Raymon (Yan), Aymakan calling his son Yan, and Moyambe calling his brother Akaim. Please watch

**VIDEO 5-3: Yañi-yañi kañapla** [1:07] https://vimeo.com/99898608

PASSWORD: K
Pukupuku kanyapla 'grief-crying' or 'sung-texted melodic weeping' usually starts when people begin coming to the mourning house to cry over the body, and completely takes over after the funeral, when individual laments are no longer merged into what sounds like mass weeping, but can be distinguished from one another. At this stage the uncontrolled crying gives way to text and melody. The weeping person usually calls the names of the places in Awiakay land where the deceased walked, mentions their shared experiences, grieves over their unfinished work and recalls all the good deeds that the deceased did for them, often lamenting the fact that there will now be no one to take care of them. At the same time, this is when the lamenter can indirectly appeal for help and implicitly bring out his or her own grievances, which will be further discussed later in this chapter.

It is hard to say when particular laments begin and end. It is impossible to predict when the texted part of a lament will start, as it springs out of weeping. In its course it is often interrupted by a burst of crying or (frequently still melodic) moaning. It is equally hard to estimate when the texted part finally ends. The lamenter may move to a different place and resume the lament there. Aymakan was lamenting for his son Yan while his body was being buried. During the burial the texted part of his lament was often interrupted by bursts of crying, and at some points he simply stopped from exhaustion. However, he resumed his lament several times, and (as we can see in the first video in this chapter VIDEO 5-1: Yan) continued even when others were already distributing the food or chewing betelnut in the haus win shelter. Similarly, Kununda, who wept for her son Akaim at his funeral, resumed her lament once back in the house (and soon after she was scolded by Moyambe, as discussed above). Moyambe, who started crying for his brother Akaim in the church, continued at several stages during and after the funeral.

5.5 WEEPING FOR AKAIM

Before I continue with an analysis of Moyambe’s lament wept for Akaim, I will briefly introduce the circumstances in which he passed away.

One afternoon in February 2009 Akaim, a married man, aged about 39 and with three children, started complaining of a pain in his solar plexus. He felt better in the evening, but by the following night he had become unconscious. The whole village was engaged in a huge prayer meeting in which they demanded God send a miracle and give
life to Akaim. Multiple spirit-possession events took place, in which the spirits revealed causes of his sickness, all family members publicly confessed their transgressions, and various people tried different techniques to bring Akaim back to life – from shouting into his ears to hitting the soles of his feet, pouring water over his head, and being joyful, as they all firmly believed that a miracle was on its way. By this time Akaim’s pulse could no longer be felt and clinically he was most likely already dead. His brother Karuap held him, with Akaim’s body leaning against his own in a sitting position while the women around him were trying to force his mouth open and make him drink some blessed water. "Laif, laif, givim laif! Laif, laif, laif arî!" ‘Life, life, give life!’ people inside and outside the house were shouting to God both in Awiakay and in Tok Pisin. The house where Akaim was lying was packed. At some point it started cracking and we had to go out lest the termite-damaged posts give in under the excessive weight and the house collapse. The cracking was interpreted as a sign that a miracle was coming. "There will be a loud bang when his life comes back," various people said to me. Everybody was waiting in suspense while the spirits were at work. All this went on until after midnight. After that all was quiet. It was strictly forbidden to cry, as that would not allow Akaim’s spirit to come back to his body. However, in the early morning hours, the family started lamenting.

I will now turn to parts of a lament which was sung by Akaim’s brother Moyambe after the church service, and which continued after the funeral. A full transcript of the lament appears in Appendix 5.A and a short excerpt can be heard in the following subtitled version of the audio recording.

Now please watch


PASSWORD: K

The overall pattern of this lament and even some of the phrases are (with some variation) repeated in many laments, particularly rhetorical questions addressed to the

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14 The attempt to bring Akaim back to life was, in terms of the number of spirits involved, the biggest spirit-possession event I have ever witnessed in Kanjimei. The actions of the spirits as performed through the possessed people were so incredibly coordinated that one could not expect to see it anywhere but in a play that the actors have been rehearsing for months. However, a detailed analysis of this event will need to find its place elsewhere, as it would be too much of a deviation from the topic of this thesis.
deceased, asking where the lamernter will see the deceased again (lines 1-6, 12), why he/she had to remain alone (lines 7, 22) or why the deceased has left people who were close to him/her (line 8), which is how this particular lament starts.15

1. *Ayo, kanjaj opia inakim?*  
   Ayo, where will I see you again?

2. *Ayo, kanjaj opia inakim nokomgukmuy?*  
   Ayo, where will I see you again with my eyes?

7. *Niŋ ambla amungga amungga tonakim?*  
   Why, oh why will I remain alone?

8. *Ayo, Akaim o, amungga pendimaman?*  
   Ayo, Akaim oh, why did you take your leave of me?

22. *Ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o, niŋ ambla amonga koloponakim?*  
   Ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim oh, why will I just be alone now?

Many of these are repeated several times, and with some variation throughout the lament, e.g.

10. *Akaim o, ayo, ayo, amungga amungga pendiman?*  
    Akaim, oh, ayo, ayo, why did you take your leave of me?

16. *Ayo, ayo Akaim o, nanumgoy kunanja andomba pengumaman?*  
    Ayo, ayo, Akaim o, why did you take your leave of your children?

17. *Akaim o, aka tapukan pengumaman.*  
    Akaim o, you weren’t an old man to have taken your leave of us.

    Ayo, ayo, Akaim oh (x3) why did you take your leave of your children, you weren’t old.

    Why did you take your leave of your children, you weren’t old.

24. *Nan amonga pengumaman, aŋ ambla koloponanjim?*  
    Why did you take your leave of us, how will we be alone now?

38. *Amunga amunga pengumaman, ayo, Akaim o?*  
    Why oh why did you take your leave of us, Akaim oh?

---

15 Such ‘grieving questions’ (the term used in Wilce 2009: 29), are common in laments from elsewhere in New Guinea (Don Niles, pers. comm, October 2014; see also Feld 1982 for Kaluli; Gillespie 2010: 91, 94 for Duna; Weiner 1991 for Foi), as well as in other parts of the world (Wilce 2009: 29).
Plate 5.7: Akaim’s mothers Kununda and Yongondam and his brother Karuap crying on his coffin.

Plate 5.8: When the coffin with Akaim’s body was already in the grave, someone noticed that it was placed there in a wrong way, as his head should be facing the mountain. The coffin was then pulled out and properly placed in the grave.
Exhausted from crying at the funeral for her deceased son Akaim, Kununda was taken back to her house by Yakame who shared her sorrow by commenting how she herself had lost her 18-year-old son who drowned in the river. As Kununda kept crying in the house, her son Moyambe came to scold her.
Similar formulae continue in lines 70, 72, 89, 93, 106, 116, 129, 149, 157, 159, 171 and 188-90. A common ‘complaint’ in Awiakay laments, sometimes posed in the form of a rhetorical question (though not featuring in this particular lament) is also that the deceased did not tell that he/she is departing. A few examples of that can be heard in laments wept for Yan, in video 5-1.

\[
\begin{align*}
Aka & \ \text{yañà-nfì-m-an} \ \ \text{nànan}, \ \ \text{Dari aka} \ \ \text{yañì-m-an}, \ \ \text{Yan o.} \\
\text{not} & \ \ \text{tell-3SG.OBJ-m-2SG.SBJ} \ \ \text{2SG} \ \ \text{Darja not} \ \ \text{tell-3SG.OBJ-m-2SG.SBJ} \ \ \text{Yan o}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You didn’t tell me you were leaving, you didn’t tell Dari [Darja] either, Yan o.’

Such formulae are common in other New Guinea songs, such as among the Foi (Weiner 1991: 47, and the Duna (Gillespie 2010: 94-95).

Although drawing on a number of formulaic elements and schemata, each lament is different, composed while being wept, and thus never repeatable, which is a common feature of traditional laments all over the world (Wilce 2009: 23).

This lament for Akaim is full of lines that reflect Moyambe’s sorrow, moments when he realises that he will now be ‘alone’ (line 22), calling out to his peers to let them know that Akaim has really gone (lines 18, 41, 42), awareness that he will keep searching for his brother wherever he goes (line 83), missing him as time passes (lines 109 and 164-165) and feeling that he is just away temporarily (line 183). Examples are shown below.

\[
\begin{align*}
22 & \ \ Ayo, \ \ \ ayo, \ \ \ Akaim \ \ o, \ \ \ Akaim \ \ o, \ \ \ niñ \ \ ambla \ \ amonga \ \ koloponakim? \\
& \ \ Ayo, \ \ \ ayo, \ \ \ Akaim \ oh, \ \ why \ \ will \ \ I \ \ just \ \ be \ \ alone \ \ now?
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
18 & \ \ Ayo, \ \ \ Jonathan, \ \ \ ayo, \ \ \ Vitus \ \ o, \ \ \ Akaim \ \ agalon! \\
& \ \ Ayo, \ \ \ Jonathan, \ \ \ ayo, \ \ \ Vitus, \ \ \ Akaim’s \ \ no \ \ more \ \ [gone]!
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
41 & \ \ Asao \ \ o, \ \ \ Akaim \ \ agalon! \\
& \ \ Asao \ \ oh, \ \ Akaim’s \ \ gone!
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
42 & \ \ Saun \ \ o, \ \ \ Akaim \ \ agalon! \\
& \ \ Saun \ \ oh, \ \ Akaim’s \ \ gone!
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
82 & \ \ Akaim \ \ o, \ \ \ kanjan \ \ amanim? \ \ Ayo, \ \ Akaim \ \ o! \\
& \ \ Akaim \ oh, \ \ where \ \ did \ \ you \ \ go? \ \ Ayo, \ \ Akaim \ \ oh!
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
83 & \ \ Akaim, \ \ kolon-usa \ \ kakaynay \ \ nan \ \ pekemangoy. \\
& \ \ Akaim \ oh, \ \ I \ \ think \ \ this \ \ is \ \ your \ \ footprint, \ \ you \ \ must \ \ have \ \ come \ \ down \ \ this \ \ way.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
84 & \ \ Akaim \ \ tungumgyoy, \ \ mimik \ \ mga! \\
& \ \ Oh \ \ my \ \ Akaim, \ \ my \ \ heart!
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
109 & \ \ Tem \ \ ambla \ \ mulakanak, \ \ Akaim \ \ o! \\
& \ \ I \ \ alone \ \ will \ \ be \ \ looking \ \ at \ \ the \ \ sun, \ \ Akaim \ \ oh!
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
153 & \ \ Akaim \ \ o, \ \ \ yao \ \ kulamba \ \ eyenaiñjay, \ \ ayo, \ \ Akaim \ \ o! \\
& \ \ Akaim \ oh, \ \ your \ \ house \ \ will \ \ be \ \ cold \ \ now, \ \ ayo, \ \ Akaim \ \ oh! \\
& \ \ [your \ \ spirit \ \ will \ \ not \ \ be \ \ there \ \ any \ \ more]
\end{align*}
\]
Line 83 implies that Moyambe will keep searching for Akaim whenever he goes to the bush, and reads the signs that might remind him of his late brother. The Awiakay know each other’s footprints, and can almost always recognise if they belong to those who are close to them and with whom they often walk together. When in the bush, the Awiakay are highly attentive to everything around them. Footprints, broken twigs, folded leaves, grass slanting in a certain direction, as well as the chirping of the insects and various bird cries – small signs that an untrained ear or eye cannot even perceive – make them aware of the presence of another human being, or remind them of the deceased and the times they were walking in the bush, reading these signs together.

Calling out names of places in Awiakay land therefore triggers intense feelings of sorrow (see Chapter 6; cf. Feld 1982; Gillespie 2010), mostly because it brings about memories of past experiences with the deceased. Across Melanesia, these feelings are played up as a major cultural theme and object of aesthetic elaboration, i.e. not just a matter of how people feel, but of how they are meant to feel and act out in public (cf. Feld 1982; Weiner 1991). In his lament Moyambe mentions the places where he and Akaim used to go, or were planning to go together, e.g., in lines 85-88 (example below), as well as 103-105, 110-111 and 154-156.

85 Kasipa manga ambla enjejanakjay.
I think I’ll have to go to Kasipa hill by myself.

86 Kulakap manga ambla enjejanakjay, ayo, Akaim o!
I think I’ll have to go to Kulakap hill by myself, ayo, Akaim oh!

87 Mundumi manga ambla enjejanakjay.
I think I’ll have to go to Mundumi hill by myself.

88 Kulakap manga ambla enjejanakjay, ayo, Akaim o!
I think I’ll have to go to Kulakap hill by myself, ayo, Akaim oh!
This is intensified by the use of parallelism in which names of hills (shown in boldface) stand out as variables in the parallel set.

Further on, Moyambe’s lament portrays Akaim as a generous, hardworking man (line 101) who was fulfilling his social obligations and taking good care of his own children as well as his brother’s by always sharing food, in particular his kill with them (lines 14, 15, 64, 106, 125, 160, 172, 176-7).

14 *Akaim o, niŋ lotu musuay mokopalik, ey nanomsaŋ pokomokonpalik.*
Akaim oh, you were the only one who helped me while I was doing church work. [I received your and no one else’s help]

15 *Nan ambla lukauntimbapundimban nombembunj.*
Only you were helping me with food.

64 *Akaim tamo yandopep aka aman mapen tay pukundimbep ayo, ayo, ayo!*
Akaim, you never took the dogs to the bush without thinking of me [and giving me part of their kill], ayo, ayo, ayo!

106 *Kuŋanja lukauntimbapopolungoy sapot tungumgoay, Akaim o!*
We were taking care of our children together, you were my support, Akaim oh!

160 *Kuŋanja menggangumbeke openinga pekepman menge-kamia onga.*
When the children were hungry you would come and bring me some meat.

172 *Ambaydan amanim kuŋanja emepanda lukauntimbapangumpmongoy [kakaruk i krai]*
Wherever you went you used to take good care of children [...] 

176 *Nan kuluk pisip toman.*
You were like my father.

177 *Tungoy kuŋanja makandimbopman niŋ wok misin mokopokoy.*
You were taking care of my children when I was doing mission work.

101 *Nam pisip walopman tay niŋ koŋ panainga wambopok tay, unja kele aka panainaknyay tay.*
You were pounding sago like a real woman, and I was asking you for it, now I won’t be asking you for it anymore.

Line 101 implies that Akaim was indeed a hardworking man. Comparing a man to a woman when it comes to work that is considered a female job (e.g. pounding or cooking sago) reflects deep admiration and is considered flattering. However, this line carries another implication. Although Akaim’s diligence in pounding sago was understood as

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16 Similarly, it is a compliment for a woman to hear that she is like a man in performing what is considered to be men’s tasks. One can sometimes hear stories of admiration about Apas, a widow who went hunting by herself and killed a pig after her husband passed away. *Aka nam!* ‘Not a woman!’ people say, *Oluk pisip* ‘She’s like a man.’ However, when a man is compared to a woman in the context of fighting, this does not mean anything good, as it implies that he cannot fight by himself like a grown-up man, but needs other people’s help (3.2.1.3).
something very positive, it was also seen as worrying. A rumour had been going around
to the effect that his wife Mas had been continually nagging him to help her and in the
end he was the only one doing all the hard work in the family. One of the several
explanations for Akaim’s premature death was that he was overworked, as well as often
verbally shamed by his lazy wife.

Throughout his lament Moyambe dwells on the fact that he will now not be able
to ask anyone else when he needs something (lines 56, 94, 101, 125, 139)

56 Ake niŋ pakalay ekopenakim Akaim amunga amunggam penguman?
Oh dear, who will I ask for help [if I need anything], oh Akaim, why oh why did
you leave us?

94 Niŋ pakan ekopenakim?
Who will I ask [for anything] now?

125 Ayo, Akaim o, taymba aka ekpeainy wamonaknay kolokotnba kunanja asumgoy
makaimba.
Ayo, Akaim oh, I won’t be coming to ask you for sago and meat to feed our
children.

139 Taymba aka ekpeainy wamonaknay kolokotnba kunanja asumgoy makaimba.
Now I won’t be able to come and ask you for sago for feeding our children.

Similar concern is expressed in line 56 of a short excerpt of Akaim’s classificatory
mother’s Yongondam’s lament (lines 52-60 in Appendix H).

56 Ake niŋ pakalay ekopenakim Akaim amunga amunggam penguman?
Oh dear, who will I ask for help [if I need anything], oh Akaim, why oh why did
you leave us?

5.6 FUNCTIONS OF WEEPING

5.6.1 Weeping as a call for help

Expressing a worry about how one will be able to live without the deceased, not only
emotionally, but in terms of the help that the deceased provided, is intended as an
indirect call for help.

The person weeping often refers to the unrealised plans (line 60) or unfinished
work of the deceased and thus emphasises that their death was untimely (lines 26-27,
30-35, 59, 77, 81 and 89).

26 Akaim o, namungoy yao-teŋga aka pinisimbaŋpom
Akaim o, you haven’t finished the awning on your house yet.
27 Nanumgoy yao pakan pinisimbaponaim?
Who will finish your house now?

30 Upim aka andoman nanumgoy yamj.
You haven’t spread the limbum floor

31 Nangoy yao upim pakan andonaim?
Who will lay the limbum floor in your house?

32 Yao aka pinisimbapoman.
You haven’t finished your house yet.

33 Yambat aka paloman.
You haven’t fitted sago palm slats into the walls yet.

35 Ayo, Akaim o, tenga aka pinisimbapoman.
Ayo, Akaim oh, you haven’t finished the awning over your veranda yet.

59 Akaim tungumgoy kak yawa aka endepalepmman, Akaim tungumgoy.
Oh my Akaim, you haven’t finished your house yet, my Akaim!

60 Akaim tungumgoy, abu sakay ka tapon ayaka aka endepalepmman, o Akaim o!
My Akaim, you haven’t built a house at your grand-father’s old garden, oh, Akaim oh!

77 Amonga amongam, Akaim o, yao aka pinisimbapoman, Akaim, yao nanomgoy.
Why oh why, Akaim oh, you haven’t finished the house, Akaim, your house.

81 Akaim o, yao nanumgoy aka pinisimbapomangay! Akaim! Akaim! Akaim!
Akaim oh, you haven’t finished your house! Akaim! (x4)

89 Yao aka endemanjay, yao amgwapeaman?
You haven’t finished your house yet, why did you take your leave of us?

At the same time, these lines, repeated with some variation throughout the lament, are an indirect public call for help. When an old man dies, his widow is taken care of by her grown-up children, whereas in the case of a younger man’s death whose children are still small, this task is divided between her late husband’s brothers and her own brothers. In practice, however, a widow does not necessarily get much help (and when it comes to a sickness in the family, family members often confess their slackness towards their widowed relatives as one of their transgressions). Although her sisters and their families, as well as her husband’s brothers’ families do sometimes help by bringing her water or firewood, and sharing meat or fish with her, her house will most likely remain unfinished until her own sons are big enough to build one. Although she can maintain the house or do some smaller repairs by herself, it takes action by a group

17 In the past it was very likely that after her husband’s death a woman would marry her husband’s brother. With polygyny no longer practiced, widowed women nowadays often stay alone.
of men to replace house posts or repair the roof. Such an action needs to be paid for with food, which becomes difficult, as a widow does not have a husband who can hunt and provide the meat for the feast. Her own brothers or her husband's brothers, whose duty it is to help her, often postpone it till it is too late, her house collapses and she and her children go and live with one of them.

As Mas's late husband's brother, Moyambe is one of those who are directly responsible to help her, and if her house is not in order, it is partly his fault. By incorporating these lines into his lament for Akaim, Moyambe subtly reminds everybody of the fact that his brother's widow needs help with the house.

His point is emphasised in lines 26-27 and 30-31. These together are an example of double parallelism (Table 5.2) in which a statement of what Akaim has not done yet (lines 26, 30) is paralleled by a rhetorical question asking who will now do it (lines 27, 31; see parallel sets 1 and 2 in Table 5.2 below). At the same time, this repeated pattern establishes a frame for another parallel set (3), one in which actions A (finish the awning on the house) and B (lay the limbum flooring in the house) are paralleled as acts that signify finishing a house. It is a purely implicit parallel set in which the parallels are the unexpressed answers to the rhetorical questions.

Table 5.2: An example of double parallelism in Moyambe's lament for Akaim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>26</th>
<th>27</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>31</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>You haven't done A</td>
<td>Who will do A?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>You haven't done B</td>
<td>Who will do B?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This parallel set thus brings to attention the fact that the work Akaim has not finished will likely not be done. Rhetorical questions that are posed as polar questions usually imply the opposite of what they ask (3.2.1.8; 4.4), whereas ones that are posed as content questions usually imply a negative expectation. In this case the rhetorical questions in lines 27 and 31 imply that nobody will now finish the awning on Akaim's house, and nobody will lay the limbum floor.

At the same time we need to know that the Awiaakay are embarrassed to directly ask for help for themselves. When they need something they often send their children or someone else to ask, or ask for what they need in a very indirect way, e.g.

Kongot o, beteri mola agalon, a?
Kongot voc battery rot no q.tag
‘Hey, Kongot, you don’t have any rotten [old/flat] batteries, do you?’
At the beginning I falsely assumed that people wanted to use my flat batteries in order to get the black-paste-like substance (manganese dioxide) from the inside for making paint, as this is how they normally use them. It took me a while before I realised that they were actually coming to ask me for good, fully-charged batteries to use in their torches. Asking for something useless is acceptable, whereas asking for a good thing owned by someone else would be too big a demand. Consequently, a widow cannot ask other people to help her fix the house unless she has enough food for *musuya kondomba* ‘the work-feast’, which is highly unlikely unless her relatives help her collect it. Although one can sometimes hear widows complaining that nobody helps them, nobody really pays attention until someone in the family becomes sick. At such moments people become aware of their failure to fulfil their obligations, publicly confess it and often do something about it. In his lament for Akaim, Moyambe thus implicitly reminds the community of the need for help.

Moyambe also points out that, as the village prayer leader, he has important work to do and he himself needs help. A part of the lament is Moyambe’s usual boasting about the importance of his ‘mission work’ (as discussed in Chapter 4), in particular lines 130, 162, 173, 185-186.

130 *Gavman wok pisip koy piakanapok, wok-misin-plaka koy aka piakanak, Akaim o!*
Were I working for the government I would resign, but I can’t abandon mission work, oh Akaim!

162 *Akaim o, aunda musuya pisip koy piakanapok wok misin palaka koy aka piakanak, Akaim o!*
Were it any kind of job I would leave it, but I can’t abandon mission work.

173 *Wok aka penak wok marimari, ayo, Akaim o.*
I won’t abandon the work of mercy, ayo, Akaim oh.

185 *Aunda tonapokoy wok misin plaka pukumalik ples nogut ia, sevim laif bilong komuniti.*
If I didn’t have a job [I would give up], but I’m concerned about the mission work – it’s not a good place, I’m saving the life of the community.

186 *Haus lotu yakayke, an wok profet pisip toluj kumbin.*
But the church is here and we’ve got prophetic work, so I’m staying in the village.

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18 This is not the case when it comes to (from my point of view) unreasonable requests which I am believed to be able to fulfil as a white woman, such as buying an outboard motor for every clan in the village, bringing in the machinery to build an airstrip, etc. These requests are very direct, but at the same time also impersonal, they are considered as ‘services’ that would benefit several families, if not the whole community. Among the small things that one is allowed to ask for are tobacco and betel nuts, in fact, asking for these things is often a conversation opener upon entering a *haus win.*
Moyambe appeals to the community by pointing out that both his own and Akaim’s children are so young that they need to be taken care of.

90  *John aluka aka yakay, ayo, Akaim o!*
    John hasn’t become a man yet, ayo, Akaim oh!

Akaim’s eldest son John Darimay was fifteen years old when Akaim died, but as he was of a tiny build, everyone considered him a young child. Akaim’s younger daughters were five and one.

125  *Ayo, Akaim o, taymba aka ekepaiŋga wamonakŋay kolokotnba kuŋanja asumgoy makaimba.*
    Ayo, Akaim oh, I won’t be coming to ask you for sago and meat to feed our children.

126  *Wesley sakay, Jennifer sakay kola-imbia aka noman, ayo, Akaim o!*
    Ayo, Akaim oh, you haven’t eaten the dirt of Wesley’s and Jennifer’s hands. [you haven’t lived of the sweat of Wesley’s and Jennifer’s brows]

129  *Taymba aka ekepaiŋga wamonakŋay kolokotnba kuŋanja asumgoy makaimba.*
    Now I won’t be able to come and ask you for sago for feeding our children.

140  *Wesley sakay, Jennifer sakay kola-imbia aka nomanŋay, ayo, Akaim o!*
    I think you won’t live of the sweat of Wesley’s and Jennifer’s brows, ayo, Akaim oh!

Lines 126 and 140 imply that Moyambe’s daughter Jennifer and son Wesley were not big enough to be able to feed Akaim – Jennifer could not pound sago by herself and Wesley was still too young to go hunting.

159  *Kuŋanja aka kandeŋi pua, pisikanda amgwa amgwa pendimaman?*
    The children are not big yet, why oh why did you take your leave of them so soon?

160  *Kuŋanja mengangumbeka opendinga pekepman menge-kamia onga.*
    When the children were hungry you would come and bring me some meat.

Such appeals for help may have an additional undertone and they can be understood as subtle complaints, or personal grievances, which the lamentor can in this way make known without being accused of being a nagging person who disturbs the peace in the community.

5.6.2 Weeping as a subtle way of airing grievances

Melodic weeping is an expression of deep sorrow or grief, which may be invoked by a feeling of loss, but also by a perceived wrong, such as neglect. This kind of weeping invariably deeply affects people who hear it and triggers sympathy in them. The person who weeps in this way is not being judged, and if in the house, people show them their respect by not seeming to be disturbed by it, but quietly carrying on with whatever they
are doing. The person who is sad, even if only a metre away from others, averts his or her eyes and in this way chooses not to engage with anyone.  

The Awiakay say

\[ \text{nokomg-a aynas papaka-p-on} \]

\[ \text{eye-3SG.INAL.POSS sideways throw-PRS-3SG.SBJ} \]

‘He/She is throwing her eyes to the side.’ ‘He/She’s looking sideways.’

i.e. ‘He/She is sad.’

While temporarily not disturbing the person who feels wronged, people eventually feel obliged to intervene, as they believe it is essential to ‘take his/her spirit back’. Melodic crying can therefore be a means of letting others know about one’s grievances over some perceived wrong, and is at the same time a means of subtly ‘accusing’ the wrongdoer. Such an ‘accusation’, however, is not perceived as such, and does not end up in a fight like direct verbal accusations do, but its message is taken seriously, as we can see from the following case.

One morning I was woken up by melodic weeping coming out of Kununda and Aymakan’s house. Going out to see what was happening I saw fresh sago flour spilt at the bottom of the house-climbing post. Kros ‘family quarrel’, I was told by people sitting in the nearby wind-house. I first thought it was just another of the many quarrels between my adoptive parents Kununda and Ayamakan, but when I climbed up into the house they told me that they were not quarrelling. The previous night Aymakan’s daughter, my ‘sister’ Tikinjao, came to ask for some sago that had been given to the couple by our younger sister Alamda. Aymakan gave her all the sago they had. Later in the evening Kununda said to him that he should have saved some, as I often came to their house to cook sago pancakes when I got hungry. This was overheard by our brother Pupi, who went and told it to Tikinjao. He later said to me that he hadn’t meant any harm, but thought it was good to let Tiki know, lest that \text{tui momba} ‘talk behind her back’ could result in her having some accident in the bush. Not knowing that Kununda wanted to save some sago for me, Tiki thought that she just didn’t want to give it to her and felt deeply hurt. She wept and carried the sago back to her father, saying that she was leaving for her bushcamp. Although Kununda explained that she had not talked against her, Aymakan immediately threw the sago out of the house to show that they did not want it for themselves and that it was wrong of Tikinjao to ‘accuse’ them by weeping (when a person weeps melodically everybody is so moved that they tend to

19 This is an example of how the Awiakay perceive privacy and respect one’s personal space. While a person is not supposed to be physically alone (3.1.3), they create their personal space by choosing whether or not to engage in an eye contact with others.
side with him/her). By the time I arrived, Tikinjao had already gone back to her house, but Kununda told Aymakan that he should go and ‘take her spirit back’ by immediately taking some sago to her to show that they were not angry. She filled a large bag with the new sago they got that morning and, as I had also been entangled (although unknowingly), I added a tin of fish, and Aymakan carried it all to Tikinjao. A misunderstanding that could have blown into a family dispute was thus settled and as soon as she could, Tiki reciprocated for our compensation by sending us a bandicoot that her husband killed. The normal everyday exchange and amiable relations within the family were thus resumed.

Another example of the power that melodic crying has on everyone present can be seen in a charismatic prayer meeting that Kununda’s family held when she became sick. The extended family came to make peace with Kununda about any resentments they might have held against each other. This is one possible way of appeasing the spirit who causes the sickness. Everybody had been talking about the bitterness between Kununda and her sister-in-law (HyBW) Palomay (who was at the same time Kununda’s classificatory daughter), which might have had roots in Kununda’s alleged accusation of her husband Aymakan and Palomay of adulterous thoughts. Knowing the two people, everyone (including Palomay’s husband) knew how ridiculous such an accusation was, and therefore nobody paid any attention to this rumour. However, there was an undeniable tension between the two women and their families did not engage in a normal daily exchange. An additional reason for this was the long-lasting resentment between the two brothers (the husbands of the two women), Imbisay and Aymakan, concerning Aymakan’s paying Imbisay’s school fees and contributing to his outboard motor, and Imbisay, now the village teacher and an increasingly important man, not acknowledging this help by any reciprocal actions and not even allowing Aymakan to use the motor. When Kununda’s illness had not improved for a while, the family decided to reconcile. I now invite you to watch a 2-minute video of a part of the prayer meeting in which Palomay comes to make peace with Kununda. The whole transcript of the recording of this event is in Appendix G, starting in line 135.

Now please watch

VIDEO 5-5: Palomay pukupuku [2:00] https://vimeo.com/100391686

PASSWORD: K
While shaking hands with Kununda, Palomay suddenly launches into a melodic grief-cry. In this way she shows the wrong that Kununda’s alleged anger does to her. Kununda assures her that she cannot possibly be angry with her, as she is her own (classificatory) daughter. She says that Palomay ‘belongs to her womb’, and calls her ‘the slack breasts on her belly’ (indicating that she is the child who drank her milk) and as such her own extension, therefore a part of her. She then explains what she sees as the real reason for her sickness: her mother-in-law’s spirit, Imbisay’s and Aymakan’s mother, is angry about the resentment between the two brothers, and has come to sit on Kununda’s shoulders, giving her the pain.

The second part, in which Kununda’s son Moyambe, who organised and led that prayer meeting, talks to his mother, epitomizes Awiakay perception of melodic crying. Moyambe tells Kununda that Palomay’s cry was a deep and genuine one, and that if she holds any resentment towards her, she must immediately let it go. He compares Palomay’s melodic cry to a cry of the Holy Spirit and thus shows its great significance. Moyambe’s words “You have to accept her thoughts, her sorrow” are in accord with people’s reactions to other instances of this kind of crying I have observed among the Awiakay. A response to melodic crying is like a placatory response to an accusation (one does not accept the accusation, just wants to ‘undo’ it with a counter-action, such as a gift) in which the motives of the crying person are not questioned. Instead, their sorrow is accepted and needs to be ‘taken care of’. Moyambe also says that Palomay’s crying pierced his heart, which is what normally happens: people immediately feel deep sympathy for the person who cries in this way. Kununda was supposed to let go of her resentments (which she says she has never held anyway) and compensate Palomay, which she did by breaking a branch of betelnuts and later giving some sago grubs to Palomay’s children.

Pukupuku kanapla, the ‘grief-crying’, either with or without a text, is thus sometimes used by a non-confrontational person (a man as well as a woman) who feels wronged, to make this known to the others. When people’s grievances are part of laments, they are always expressed in text, lest others would think the person weeping is

20 In the case of Tikinjao’s cry described above, Kununda immediately instructs Aymakan to go and ‘take her spirit back’ by bringing her some sago.
21 While young unmarried men are ashamed of crying, grown-ups do not refrain from doing so. However, when it comes to grievances, men are more likely to burst out in an immediate confrontational accusation, as discussed in the chapter on fighting, unless they are being very politically-conscious. The ‘politically correct’ way of making one’s grievance known to the public is by crying during a speech or some other public event – or incorporating it in a lament.
only grieving for the deceased. Such grievances are aired in a subtle, often indirect way, their efficacy depending on the common ground the Awiakay share.

In his lament for Akaim Moyambe subtly brings up a few of his own concerns.

113 Wok misin ambla aka mokoym-mokoym-pisip popalik, ayo, Akaim o!
I don’t think I can do my mission work by myself, ayo, Akaim oh!

As the village prayer leader Moyambe does not receive any pay. However, he believes that he is doing important work for the benefit of the whole community and that people should therefore help him in his calling by providing him and his family with food. The same topic is emphasised in lines 130, 173, 175 and intensified in 185-6.

130 Gavaman wok pisip koy piakanapok, wok-misin-plaka koy aka piakanak, Akaim o!
Were I working for the government I would resign, but I can’t abandon mission work, oh Akaim!

173 Wok aka penak wok marimari, ayo, Akaim o.
I won’t abandon the work of mercy, ayo, Akaim oh.

In lines 130 and 173 Moyambe emphasizes that it is his goodwill and his sense of duty to the community that prevents him from abandoning this work.

175 Akaim o, nan ambla lukautimba-pundiman wok misin mokopokoy.
Akaim oh, you alone were taking care of me when I was doing my mission work.

Line 175 implies that nobody else has ever helped Moyambe (with food, with work on his house, etc.), whereas he has been serving the entire community. In lines 185-6 he emphasises what sacrifice he is making and tries to show how indispensible he (and his work) is for the community.22

185 Aunda tonapokoy wok misin plaka pukampalik ples nogut ia, sevim laif bilong komuniti.
If I didn’t have a job [I would give up], but I’m concerned about the mission work –
It’s not a good place, I’m saving the life of the community.

186 Haus lotu yakayke, aŋ wok profet pisip toluj kumbiŋ.
But the church is here and we’ve got prophetic work, so I’m staying in the village.

As discussed in chapter 1, the Awiakay share a belief that it was because of their uptake of Christianity and later the Catholic charismatic movement that God sent some money to the community via their eaglewood trade (1.1.7). As a village prayer leader Moyambe feels he is the one who takes care of a good relationship between God and the village.

---

22 Moyambe’s case was discussed in Chapter 4.
His grievances can only come across as such on the basis of the common ground that Moyambe shares with all Awiakay people.

Below I will point to some more examples of implicit grievances in a lament for a dog, but before I turn to that discussion, I will briefly provide some background to this particular lament.

5.7 KUNUNDA’S LAMENT

One early afternoon in September 2004, my ‘brother’ Ingasim came to tell me that Mek had died and was about to be buried. Mek was Kununda’s dog and as I had seen him hale and hearty the previous day, I rushed to ask her what had happened. I found her quietly crying in the bush behind her house, where her sister Pambain was digging a grave. When the hole was ready, I followed them to the house and saw Mek’s body lying next to the wall. Kununda put him onto a leaf sheath, leaned against a post supporting the storage rack above the hearth and started weeping. Her lament was heard by a few people in her house, as well as several others sitting in a nearby wind house.

KUNUNDA:

1  Aunda makangumyame koŋ aunda nombondimbomiŋ.
   He was wandering around in the bush and taking care of them, and they just ate it all up [finished all the pigs he killed].
   [He was hunting for everyone and they just ate it all.]
   Aye...
   Ey...

2  Aunda nombopua, e-e.
   They just ate it, e-e.

3  Aunda nombondimbuə, e-e.
   They just finished it up, e-e.

5  E-e-e-e...
   E-e-e-e.
   Usangumbian pepok, e-e...
   I tried to tell them, e-e.

6  Aunda mangombok, aye-e.
   I just gave it [the meat of the pigs that the dog had killed] to them, aye-e.

7  Aunda pokondimbua, e-e.
   They just hit him, e-e.

10  Tungoy tam aka tui nombopokoy, e-e.
    I didn’t eat my dog’s kill secretly by myself, e-e.

10  Tam - o, e-e.
    Dog – oh, e-e.

10  Kambanja kolokotay aka ūnipepok e-e.
    I never hid any away [I always shared it], e-e.
'Aunda pokondimbua, e-e.
They’d always just hit him, e-e.

'Ambla aka nombopok, papatun pakainasipep, e-e.
I didn’t eat it by myself, didn’t hide it into a leaf sheath, e-e.

Kay olukunja wambopuakay isomyawakopan opiangombep aka pakainasipok.
When I saw others coming up to the bushcamp I didn’t hide it [the meat].

15
'Tam – o, e-e.
Dog – oh, e-e.

[stops crying]

'Maninjanda paŋangombek olukunja opiangombep kopa mangombalik paŋombuk aka timbupua.
I saw people [from Konmei who gave me the dog] and I asked them [my sons] for some money to reciprocate the gift, but they didn’t give me any.

'Aunda angainim yambianj, yambianj, yambianj, ya mengenja aunda pokopep nombopua, aunda mangombok.
I’ve been walking around in deep worry, while they’ve been eating the meat my dog had killed. I gave it to them for nothing.

'Olu kunja isoŋ yambakay iskamianjanda aka timbupua.
They wouldn’t even give me so much as a bit of eaglewood [garu] to sell.

'Kenda pokangungua pekepuwa kumbin.
They’d think nothing of hitting the dog when they came down from the mountain.

20
'Kenda mengea nombopua, kenda pokangumbua.
They’d eat meat again and they’d hit my dog again.

Plate 5.12: Kununda weeping for her dog Mek. A frame from the video.
In her lament Kununda expresses her grievance that her sons would not help her reciprocate for the now deceased dog that had been given to her by people from Konmei village. By failing to do so they prevented her from being a moral person and fulfilling her obligation. She emphasizes that she is a moral person by saying that she would never hide her dog’s kill and eat it secretly by herself. That kind of behaviour is highly condemned in Awiakay society and is considered very antisocial, as one is expected to share all the food one finds with others. While Kununda’s sons all benefited from the dog, they did not pay attention to her worries that she was indebted to people from another village. By that neglect, they did wrong to her. Moreover, by hitting the dog (probably chasing him away while they were eating his kill) they did wrong to Mek, which was again directed at Kununda, as dogs are their owners’ extensions.

After she stopped crying, and while her sister Panbain waited to carry the dead dog away, Kununda kept complaining about how she and Mek had been mistreated by her sons, while her sister Pambain waited to carry the dead dog away. Kununda stayed in the house and resumed her melodic cry. Her weeping could still be heard while we were burying the dog.

Now please watch the following video, a recording of the event discussed above.

Now please watch

![VIDEO 5-6: Kununda’s lament](https://vimeo.com/101723001) PASSWORD: K

5.8 THE MELODY OF WEEPING

Wilce indicates that “melody can conventionally signal grief largely because [it is] text-like and structured predictably” (2009: 35). As indicated above, there is a specific melodic movement that characterises pukupuku kanyapla, ‘grief-crying’ or ‘sung-texted-melodic weeping’, and differentiates it from any other kind of crying.
When combined with text, *pukupuku kanyapla* shows a repeated pattern of alternations between passages of sung text and melodic weeping, organised on three descending pitches, the lowest pitch normally ending with sobbing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sung Text /</th>
<th>Melodic Weeping</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sung Text /</td>
<td>Melodic Weeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sung Text /</td>
<td>Melodic Weeping (+ Sobbing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Melodic phrases also define lines, which are basic building blocks in a lament. A line most commonly ends with sobbing, with a vocable, or with a repeated exclamation *ayo*, expressing a feeling of sorrow, as well as self-pity.23

Melodies for all laments are similar, whereas the text varies from one to another. This calls for comparison with the Kaluli notion of sound as a natural, given substance, and text as composed, created substance (Feld 1990: 166).

The following video clip, which includes excerpts from eight different laments, illustrates that all of them have similar melodic movement. While the clips in the video are only marked with numbers, Table 5.1 provides information on what type of lament it is (*yani-yani* ‘calling-crying’ or *puku-puku* ‘sung-texted-melodic weeping’), whether it was wept by a man or by a woman, and shows how the text, crying and sobbing are often distributed between the three main descending pitches.24

Now please watch the video, paying attention to the melodies of the different laments.

*Please watch*

VIDEOS 5-7: Melodic weeping – examples [1:55]

https://vimeo.com/100614032 PASSWORD: K

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23 See 6.3.2, including fn. 21 for a discussion on vocables defining a line.
24 Note that more pitches can be heard, but I distinguish between the three main ones.
Table 5.3: Distribution of text, crying and sobbing on different pitches in AwiaKay laments
(Video example L-V07)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of lament</th>
<th>Wept by</th>
<th>Descending Pitches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Andikay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Saun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Andok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Aymakan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Pasam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Moyambe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Kununda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While both men and women use similar melodic movement, there are some differences between how different lamenters (irrespective of sex) distribute the text between the descending pitches. The gradual descent to a tonal centre is similar to the one that can be heard in Kaunjambi songs, which I discuss in Chapter 6. In many repetitions of the melody, some pitches that have previously been sung with text are realized at other times only in weeping. The type of ‘calling-crying’ (example 5 in VIDEO 5-7) in which the lower two pitches are silent seems to be mostly practiced by men, particularly when they keep calling the deceased throughout the night.

The melody in AwiaKay weeping therefore establishes a frame which indicates that (a) this is a particular type of crying and (b) the person asking for or complaining about something is not to be blamed, but rather sympathised with, and their spirit should be retrieved with some positive action. The ‘grief melody’ intertwined with a verbal complaint (or with crying) therefore has a similar function to the ‘m-gesture’, which was discussed in fights (3.2.1.6). Its presence makes it clear that the utterance is not a jocular one, but is expressed in anger.

* I use the word ‘sobbing’ to refer to the convulsive gasping.
5.9 PARTICIPANT ROLES IN AWIAKAY LAMENTS

While *pende-pende kaŋapla*, ‘hysterical crying’ and *yañi-yañi kaŋapla* ‘calling-crying’, which do not contain any text (apart from the name of the deceased), are addressed – and usually targeted – only at the deceased, *pukupuku kaŋapla* ‘sung-texted melodic weeping’ among other things expresses grievances or indirect requests. These remain non-confrontational, as they do not address the wrongdoer, nor the public, but the deceased, i.e. the spirit. However, in this case the target is the living members of AwiaKay society. As Wilce observes, “[those who could be expected to hear the words of a lament indirectly would be crucial in local understanding of participants” (Wilce 2009: 28).

A lament sung by a grieving person thus becomes a legitimate means of subtly airing one’s grievances without being accused of being ‘a man or woman full of anger’ who complains about others all the time and is thus seen as someone who disrupts the peace in the village. What is more, laments are heard by many and, as mentioned above, deeply move people (cf. Feld 1982), who feel sorry for the lamenter and try to comfort them in order to ‘take their spirit back’.

5.10 CONCLUSION

The instances of ‘sung-texted melodic weeping’ discussed in this chapter are a combination of weeping and melody, gestures and text. The text of each lament is unique – a spontaneous creation – but at the same time it is highly structured, drawing heavily on familiar formulae and conventional ways of combining these. These laments are also one of the most powerful and efficient means of subtly passing on messages that might otherwise not be well-received. Each of their constituent components – i.e. weeping, melody and text – contributes to making this possible.

Apart from the initial *pende-pende* ‘hysterical crying’ stage of mourning, weeping is always merged with melody (see Table 5.3).

The specific three-pitched descending melody, which establishes *pukupuku kaŋapla* as ‘grief-crying’, enters the lament as soon as the hysterical crying is over, and entitles the lamenter to bring out his or her grievances. This practice is consistent with the AwiaKay belief that any grievances, resentments or worries should be let out, lest they lead to sickness – and death. The ways AwiaKay people make complaints vary greatly, they are almost always confrontational. However, the grievances (or requests) expressed in weeping are indirect, and meet a benevolent reception. There are two
factors which make this possible: (1) The common ground\textsuperscript{26} that the Awiakay people share facilitates the indirectness of such messages. A part of this common ground is a shared understanding that a person who laments is in a particular state, with their spirit detached from their body. The melodic cry, which is in Awiakay belief a reflection of the person's inner state, points at what is deeply hurting them. It makes the complaints expressed in laments irrefutable, and triggers feelings of deep sympathy in everyone who hears them. The lamenter thus has a status similar to a spirit (as discussed in the spirit-possession event in 4.7) who is neither questioned nor blamed for the words uttered through the mouth of its medium. (2) Laments are monologic, and not a place for debate. The way participant roles are distributed makes the weeping non-confrontational. Although laments are addressing the deceased, the messages they carry target the living members of the society.

Expressing grief for the deceased and remembering the past, as well as subtly, yet efficiently pointing to existing tensions in relationships between the lamenter and other members of the community, and thus aiming at socially appropriate actions which need to be taken in order to re-establish distorted relationships, Awiakay laments are as much a part of the present (and consequently the future) as they are of the past. Just as different types of weeping are intertwined with each other, grief-crying itself is an integral part of a much more complex process of mourning, deeply rooted in Awiakay everyday life in general.

\textsuperscript{26} The notion of common ground will be discussed in 7.3.
Plate 6.1: A bunch of betelnut hung in the house where Kaunjambi is sung.
Drawing by Penny Johnson.
Chapter Six:

*Kaunjambi*

6.1 INTRODUCTION

When the Awiakay want to say what distinguishes them from other people in their region, they point at *Kaunjambi*, an all-night song/dance cycle that they all perceive as iconically Awiakay. While the neighbouring groups of Ambonwari, Imanmeri and Awim – but not Asangamut – have all-night dances as well, the Awiakay claim that *Kaunjambi* is unique and recognisably theirs.

While all-night song cycles seem to be quite common in the Sepik, there is a relatively small body of anthropological or linguistic literature dealing with them. The greatest similarity is between the performances of *Kaunjambi* and those of all-night dances (particularly *yamin siria*) in Ambonwari (Telban 1998: 196-221). However, the songs of *Kaunjambi* are not as explicitly narrative and contain more untranslatable elements than those of *yamin siria*. The latmul all-night song cycle *sagi* is discussed in Wassmann (1991). The songs of this cycle, which lasts up to 16 hours, are highly narrative, tracing mythological journeys of the ancestors; it thus in some ways resembles some chanted tales of the Highlands (see Rumsey and Niles 2011).

---

1 When I visited Awim during one of my Arafundi trips, some people there told me that they too had Kaunjambi. When I later mentioned that in Kanjimei, people were outraged, saying that *ol i giaman* (TP for 'they're lying'), and told me a story of how they had had a major dispute with Awim people some time in the 1970s when they went to perform Kaunjambi at Amboin station and the Awim 'stole' the songs from them.

2 Apart from their own all-night song/dance cycles, the Awiakay have and occasionally perform three more, which are sung in other local languages. Two of these languages are not identifiable by Awiakay, but all three of these cycles seem to have been adopted from the Sepik or Madang Provinces. They are all performed outside. One of these song cycles is called Aymat and some say that it comes from the Sandaun Province and is sung in a West Sepik language. Although nobody in the village knows what any of the words mean, the cycle is referred to as 'songs of sorrow', and my 'father' Aymakan often sang it alone when he was sad. Another cycle, Ramis, a dance with a carved fish, seems to be called Aymalo in Ambonwari where people say they purchased it from Moim village on the Lower Sepik (Telban 1998: 217). The third one, Mandep (called Mandayp in Abonwari; cf. Telban 1998: 216), is sung in Tok Pisin and was purchased from somewhere in Madang Province. There are some five to six men who can sing each of these song cycles, while others can only sing along. Each of these cycles has a different way of dancing.
sections of *sagi* are accompanied by flutes and performed in a screened off area. This is never the case in *Kauunjambi*, which involves the whole village throughout the performance. While indoor dusk-to-dawn performances with song and dance are not common in New Guinea Highlands, we find them again when we move south to the fringe Highlands area. The Kaluli *gisaro/gisalo* songs (E. Schieffelin 1976, Feld 1982) are not performed ‘at home’. The dancers are invited to another place where they perform for their hosts. The songs are composed anew for each performance, and their aim is to move the hosts to tears, who, in turn, burn the performers with resin torches for evoking such strong emotions in them. Weiner (1991) discusses the Foi memorial songs *sorohabora*, which originate in songs sung by women when processing sago, and are transformed into *sorohabora* by men in their performances in a longhouse during an all night ceremony.

*Kauunjambi* is one of the three Awiakay all-night song/dance cycles, the other two being *Supim* and *Telek endinga*. While *Supim* used to be sung in the men’s house during initiation rites, *Telek endinga* ‘war song’ was performed after cannibalistic raids (Hoenigman 2007: 34, 53). Along with their associated rituals, both dances/song-cycles were banned by the early visiting missionaries, and Awiakay people believed that if they performed them again, the spirits would cripple the legs of the uninitiated children. *Kauunjambi* was regarded more positively by the early missionaries. It is performed either in honour of an individual (e.g., a special guest) or a local person’s achievement (e.g., completing a teacher’s course), or as a celebration of something important to the whole community, such as an important reconciliation, or, in more

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3 The Highlands of Papua New Guinea abound with long sung narratives or ‘chanted tales’ (Rumsey and Niles 2011). Although they are also performed at night, they are sung by an individual, are not accompanied by any instruments and involve no dancing. Indoor night performances of ‘sitting dances’, performed to unaccompanied singing, usually by young men in chorus, often in conjunction with courting, are a common part of the Duna and several other highland groups all the way to the eastern parts of the Eastern Highlands Province (Stewart and Strathern 2002: 29-90).

4 A comprehensive comparative listing of indoor nocturnal performances and other Papua New Guinea song traditions can be found in Don Niles’s introduction to James Weiner’s *Songs of the Empty Place* (forthcom.). Besides all-night song cycles, research has been done on various other song genres and poetic traditions in New Guinea, including Manambu *namai*, men’s laments for foiled marriages (Harrison 1986), Duna song genres (Gillespie 2010), music and dance in Mt Hagen area (Niles 2011), the oral poetry of Kitava (Scoditti 1996), erotic and other narrative songs in the Trobriand islands (Senft 2011), Asmat sung myths (Voorhoeve 1977), etc.

5 While Simon Kawaki, the only person who still knew all the words of the long-banned songs, would only talk about them in 2004, he gathered a small group of mature Awiakay men and women to perform parts of them for recording in 2006. By my next round of fieldwork starting at the end of 2008 his memory had begun to deteriorate and he found it hard to remember details. While some men can still hum the tunes or sing a few verses, detailed knowledge of *Supim* and *Telek endinga* passed away with Simon Kawaki in February 2009.
recent times, a new school, or a group of children receiving the Christian sacraments of First Confession and Communion. As there was no direct connection with ancestral spirits and initiation (such as in Supim) and Kaunjambi was not connected with warfare, it was deemed harmless by the Catholic Church and the Awiakay were free to continue performing it.

While Kaunjambi can be analysed in a number of different ways, in this chapter I will primarily focus on the songs as a linguistic register and look for some similarities with other registers discussed in the thesis. Its properties as a linguistic register are inextricably bound up with its musical properties, so my analysis will also include consideration of those. I will also explore the ‘Awiakayness’ of Kaunjambi and try to explain why the Awiakay identify themselves with this barely comprehensible song cycle. Before moving to the analysis, I will briefly describe the mythical origins of Kaunjambi, discuss the circumstances under which it is performed, look at the preparations for the performance, and finally consider the night performance of Kaunjambi itself.

6.1.1 THE ORIGIN OF Kaunjambi

According to an Awiakay myth, Kaunjambi was composed by ancestral spirits and brought to people by a woman called Kambras.

A brother died and his sister grieved and grieved. While doing so she walked around and became lost. She eventually came to the place of Simay, a spirit. He asked her:

“What are you doing?”

“What, my brother died and I’m walking around grieving for him, and so it happened that I wandered into your place.”

“It’s good that you came here, the other spirits are going to sing now. They’re just collecting decorations and painting their faces.”

They finished decorating themselves in the late afternoon. Then she heard the sound of the hand-drums that they were beating. While doing so they went up into the house singing. The song [singers and dancers] was coming up into the house. Before that, Simay had hidden the woman in a mat. They went on singing and dancing all night until the sun came up, and then they sang the songs of the sun. As they did so, they noticed a person hiding in a rolled up mat. She stuck her head out and they said:

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6 Since the beginning of my fieldwork in Kanjimei I have participated in seven all-night performances of Kaunjambi, five of them being performed for individuals (including my supervisor, Alan Rumsey, visiting the village, and myself leaving the village) and two of them celebrating Christian rituals or festivals. There have been several other shorter day-time performances, and in 2012 we had a two-day Kaunjambi session in which I re-recorded the whole song cycle and later discussed my existing song transcripts with several lead singers. The transcript (without repetitions) includes 534 lines.

7 For a full Awiakay transcript of this myth see Appendix I.
“Let’s take a look at this woman hiding in the mat.” As she looked out, she saw her brother and the brother saw his sister. They hugged each other. Some spirits ran away and the house was nearly empty. They stripped off their decorations and left them in the house. The ‘son of the house’ collected all the decorations and hung them on the main post. Simay asked the woman:

“Have you learnt all the songs?”
“I remember some of them, but not all,” she said. Okay, so he got up and taught her. He took a hand-drum for himself, and he took another one and gave it to her. He kept teaching her the songs until she knew the whole song-cycle. And then he asked her:

“Do you know all the songs now?”
“I know them all,” she said. “I remember and understand them all.”
“So now you can take them to your place,” he said, “it’s not forbidden.” She went to sleep and on the following morning she woke up and went back to her place where everybody was asking her:

“Where have you been?”
“Yes, I was in such-and-such a place,” she told them.
“Whose place are you coming from?”
“I will teach you the songs now,” she said to them.
“Yes,” they said, “teach us.”

So she taught them all the songs, and so they all knew how to sing. The men tried it and it went well. Good, she thought. The men sing really well, she thought. And so now it’s the men who sing, and women don’t. They only dance.

This is the story of our songs, no more at this point. That’s all, the story of singing. A woman had learnt these songs and taught all men. Her name is Kambras.

Although Kaunjambi is owned by Alus Mandum and his lineage, who descend from Kambras, the above myth about it is well known by all Awiakay, including children. Whenever we discussed various parts of Kaunjambi in detail, people of any gender or age would keep referring back to the myth.

The Awiakay are often worried about a person who grieves too much (5.2), saying that such people are prone to accidents or to getting lost in the bush, which is considered very dangerous (Chapter 2), as spirits tend to harm an unfamiliar human being.\(^9\) By wandering in an unknown territory and coming to the place of ancestral spirits, Kambras thus places herself in danger. However, just like Yandom whom the mountain spirits did not harm, but instead instructed how humans could avoid their anger by using mountain talk (2.3), Kambras is also spared. Moreover, the spirits teach

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\(^8\) The owner of the house, in Tok Pisin referred to as *papa bilong haus* ‘the father of the house’ is expressed in Awiakay as *yawa kopona* ‘a brother of the house’, but better translated into English as ‘the son of the house’. The same expression can actually extend to the sons who reside in the house. The word *kopona* ‘brothers’ is used similarly when referring to the ‘sons’ of a certain place (e.g. Appendix C, line 182: when Kunbri wants to tell Mandum’s lineage that they are ‘outsiders’ he calls them Namata *kopona* ‘sons of Namata’, a place in the mountains).

\(^9\) That is why parents always take their young children with them to the bush, so that the spirits get to know them before they start foraging and hunting by themselves.

200
her a long song-cycle, which she is allowed to take back to her place.\textsuperscript{10} This is another case in Awiakay mythology in which a woman possesses important knowledge (the first one is Ambianji, who, after being wronged, took away the book of all knowledge and gave it to white men). In this case, Kambras transfers her knowledge to men. They perform so well that women agree that it should be Awiakay men who will sing Kaunjambi, while women will do the dancing.

The Awiakay verb for singing is \textit{endi}-, while dancing is \textit{umbo}-. The identification of these two verbs with the all-night song/dance cycles is so strong that people often say:

\begin{center}
\textit{Aka endi-pl-a, aunda umbo-pl-a Awiakay nam.}
\end{center}

\textit{‘Awiakay women don’t sing – only dance.’}

In their casual remarks that women do not sing, the Awiakay only refer to the all-night song-cycles, as women are actually very good song composers – and singers – of a song genre called \textit{nam endingga} ‘women’s songs’, which is melodically and rhythmically closely related to Kaunjambi.\textsuperscript{11}

Although the vocal performance of \textit{Kaunjambi} is restricted to men, this song cycle is not secret and it proved during our discussions that women also know parts of the songs. However, there are only six Awiakay men (Andok, Kamangip, Kangam, Tambaay, Akandao and Tomi) who know the entire \textit{Kaunjambi} well enough to lead other singers. \textit{An kopa pukupon endipon}, say the Awiakay of the lead singer, meaning that he is ‘the one who remembers the first line and starts singing.’ Another ten men know the songs very well, but would not be able to perform without the help of others. Younger men can join in singing, but their knowledge of the songs is very incomplete. Some of the men who are capable of being lead singers often spend a night sitting on their veranda, singing until the morning and thus frequently refreshing their knowledge of \textit{Kaunjambi}. They are always joined by a few younger boys. However, as long as batteries for the radio-cassette recorder are available, the younger generation is more likely to spend a night playing cassettes or, more recently, SD cards with popular PNG music bought in town.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} In Australian Aboriginal societies songs or special languages in which to compose them are often believed to be received in dreams (Apted 2010).
\textsuperscript{11} Women compose songs in order to seduce men who are invariably so touched by them that many of these attempts actually do end up in a marriage. Some of the women’s songs are remembered and sung for generations, and everybody remembers who composed them and for whom.
\end{flushright}
6.2  *Kaunjambi* as an index of benevolent relations in the village

People whose ‘spirit is heavy’, those who have grievances or are in dispute with someone, cannot participate in *Kaunjambi*, as it is a dance of joy. When someone says ‘my body is heavy’ or ‘I’m tired’,

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
{omu-k} & {misi} \\
{body-1SG.INAL.POSS} & {heavy}
\end{array}
\]

‘my body is heavy’

this is synonymous with ‘my spirit is heavy’, meaning that they cannot dance with pure joy – it is therefore no use doing it at all, as they would not be able to be transported onto a joyous state of mind. Men, however, tend to say ‘my throat is heavy’,

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
{tokombo-k} & {misi} \\
{throat-1SG.INAL.POSS} & {heavy}
\end{array}
\]

‘my throat is heavy’

meaning that they cannot sing wholeheartedly until what bothers them is resolved.

On one occasion in 2006, when a dispute between two families regarding sister exchange had been going on for months (Hoenigman 2007: 44-5), many people complained that they could not stand the situation any more, as they ‘were hungry for singing’, something which they could not do while there was a major dispute in the village.

On another occasion, two families were in dispute because their children had sneaked away to have sex. However, this was the time when *Kaunjambi* was to be performed in honour of an important visitor, my teacher Alan Rumsey, who came to visit me in the field. Only the house belonging to Andaqgi, the father of the boy involved in that incident, was big and strong enough to be suitable for dancing. As many people in the village had been enthusiastically preparing their decorations for weeks, they told me to go and ask the family whose daughter was involved in the incident whether they would allow the others to go ahead and dance *Kaunjambi* in the house whose residents were involved in the trouble. They reckoned that Aymay, the girl’s father and my classificatory brother, would find it much harder to decline a request from me than from someone else. As soon as he agreed to it, his wife and her sisters, who would otherwise not have been able to dance, took out their grass skirts and got ready for *Kaunjambi*. Aymay’s consent for Andaqgi to host *Kaunjambi* while the
two families were in dispute was a temporary ceasefire that created general relief, almost like one at a proper reconciliation.

On another occasion in 2012, the community was considering performing *Kaunjambi* in honour of the local teacher, Imbisay, for buying a new dinghy. The intention behind honouring him, however, was to 'get his spirit back'. After the recent death of his two-year-old daughter, who had drowned in the river after wandering away without supervision, Imbisay and his family left Kanjimei and went to stay with Imbisay's sister Tantanbug, who is married to Asangamut. At a certain point Imbisay sent a letter to the village, stating that it was jealousy that had killed his daughter, as there had been rumours that he had bought the dinghy with the school subvention money. Feeling wronged and in grief, he left the village for two months. Although *Kaunjambi* would be a proper compensation, he avoided it by leaving the village as soon as he had seen the dinghy being delivered.

After one of my classificatory brothers violently attacked his wife and the community failed to intervene, I reacted in a similar way and showed my contempt for such behaviour by refusing to have *Kaunjambi* performed for me before my upcoming departure from Kanjimei although I had been enthusiastically preparing to video record and participate in it. For a few days my closest relatives kept coming to my house, doing their best to persuade me to change my mind. When *Kaunjambi* finally started and I participated in it, this was a sign of a peace treaty, likened to reconciliation. My maternal uncle provided me with a few branches of betel nuts to hang on the main post in the house for the singers and dancers to chew during the night.

Since *Kaunjambi* is sung and danced when people let go of their worries and grievances, the relaxed atmosphere often leads to love affairs. Awiakay people say that *Kaunjambi* is like an aphrodisiac: "Hey, how many marriages have their start in *Kaunjambi*!" Referring to Kambras, who was so impressed by men singing that she decided to give the songs to them, the Awiakay say that all women find men particularly attractive when singing *Kaunjambi*, and that it is even more so when they go and perform in another village, as women from other places are not aware of the power of these songs. It is evident from *Kaunjambi*, as well as from other aspects of

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12 On one occasion, when my village ‘father’ Aymakan decorated me with his shell necklaces and rooster-feathers pendants, he halted me before going to the house where Kaunjambi was just starting. He took some cooked fragrant leaves and attached them to one of the pendants. “*Numba wakanji ana.*” ‘Go find a man now,’ he laughed, proud of his work.
Awiakay social life, that Awiakay men are “far more interested in impressing women than in maintaining hostilities with them”, as Feld (1984: 402) observed for the Kaluli. Likewise, Awiakay women carefully attach the branches of *Polyscias fruticosa* behind their sago skirts in a way that makes the branches bounce attractively, as they know that men will be carefully observing the women dance and will comment on them.

### 6.2.1 PREPARATIONS FOR SINGING

Even for the casual singing of just a few songs, singers do not feel right to perform them without at least a few decorations, such as some fragrant leaves stuck in their *konmay* ‘armbands’ and some bird feathers or flowers in their hair. For a proper all-night *Kaunjambi*, decorations are prepared a day or two in advance. Men take their shell decorations and head-dresses made of cassowary feathers and pig tusks out of old rice bags, and bird-of-paradise and cassowary feathers out of bamboos that are stored in the roofing. Women check their grass skirts and if they have started falling apart, they go and collect new sago shoots to make new skirts. All the leafy decorations, *Bixa orellana* and different colours of clay for body painting are collected no more than a day before the performance. On the day of the performance, people start with preparations early in the morning. Men find leaves of a variety of Araliaceae, pack them in a leaf and cook them on fire to enhance the fragrance. They tie them together and hang them on their neck, wearing them as a pendant often next to another popular pendant made of rooster’s feathers, called *supuk*. Those who have mirrors tend to paint faces by themselves, while others will have the painting done by a same-sex classificatory sibling. Mothers paint their babies’ faces.
Plate 6.2: Kaunjambi face paintings
Plates 6.3 and 6.4: Cross-cousins decorating each other for *Kaunjambi*.

(above: Len Tukan and Dolf Kawasar; below: Kenedi Kanggam and Joel Ambiwa)
*Kaunjambi* is often referred to as *yao endinga*, ‘the song(s) of the house’, as the all-night performance is supposed to be carried out inside a house. As it is always attended by a great number of people in the village, it is essential that the house is strong and big enough, and that the flooring is neither rotting nor has holes in it, as the singers and dancers would be unable to avoid them. Although the community might have been planning to sing *Kaunjambi* for weeks, it is often not clear till the last moment which house will host it. When the house is finally chosen, it often happens that some men will hasten to carry in new pieces of *limbum* (TP) ‘areca palm bark’ to fix the flooring while the participants are already entering the house. The person for whom *Kaunjambi* is performed will have to reciprocate for the house and singing with a few plates of sago or rice topped with some other food, and provide betel nut for the lead singers.

6.2.2  **Kaunjambi endipla ‘Singing Kaunjambi’**

In late afternoon some men will start singing in a *haus win* ‘roofed shelter’ in order to ‘get hungry for singing’ and get in tune.

\[
\text{Mae mak-a emep e-ye.} \\
\text{first limit(TP)-DEF well get.IMP2PL}
\]

‘You have to tune-in first,’ big men tend to give advice to the singers who one by one start murmuring the words of *Kaunjambi*.

\[
\text{Elak amgon pokopokope, yapaj elak amgon. Kalak amgoy kaping aka yapam.} \\
\text{You can’t be beating [drums] just like that and standing like a carved wooden spirit,’ they scold younger men who appear clumsy singing and dancing at the same time. *Kaunjambi* is text, melody, rhythm, singing, dancing, beating drums, bodily decorations and face painting, as well as chewing betel nut and smoking – all inseparably merged into totality. Should any of these elements be missing from a *Kaunjambi* performance it would no longer be considered proper.}
\]

*Kaunjambi* starts around sunset, and the singers/dancers sometimes make a procession along the village before entering the house. The song cycle is divided into three main parts: (1) *Aiwa kundia*, [name of the first song in this section; non-translatable] (2) *Yao endinga* ‘Songs of the House’ and (3) *Tem endinga* ‘Songs of the Sun’. These will be discussed in the following three sections.
As well as naming the first part of the song cycle, ‘Aiwa kundia’ is also the name of the first song and can be referred to as *kopa*, the ‘head’ of the songs. This first part consists of two songs: ‘Aiwa kundia’, which is sung outside, and ‘Aykmari pambalo’, which is sung upon entering the house. When they sing ‘Aiwa kundia’ the singers are about to enter the house. Singing this song they have danced around the house in procession and are about to start climbing the ladder pole (as can be seen in video K-V04_Song 02, which you will later be invited to see). People say that the spirits are singing now. The woman who has been grieving (Kambras) is about to see her deceased brother. The spirit of the dead will now come up into the house. In case of a village procession, the song is repeated several times.

The second song, ‘Aykmari pambalo’, is an announcement: ‘I’m now coming up into the house.’ I’m coming up to the *yumbun* ‘female post’. I’m coming to *pasit*, ‘the diagonal post’, I’m coming to *makam* ‘the main post’. In the past these were not ordinary, but spirit posts, who needed to be informed of people’s actions. When the singers and dancers are climbing the ladder pole, people say that the spirits are singing now and ‘the song’ is entering the house. The person for whom *Kaunjambi* is being performed provides a few branches of betel nuts and hangs them on the main post in the house. If it is the whole community’s celebration, there is always someone to donate betel nut. The singers make a short pause to chew. Betel nut will keep them awake throughout the night and later there are several chewing and smoking pauses in between different songs. A large slit drum, *umbuj*, is placed next to *makam* ‘the main post’. This is often beaten by a boy and the drummers change after every betel-nut chewing break.

When other people have also entered the house, after having chewed a couple of betel nuts, the lead singers start with the second, main part of the song cycle, *Yao endinga* ‘Songs of the House’, which comprises about 36 different songs. Referring to this part, the main body of *Kaunjambi*, the Awikay sometimes call it *menggea* – ‘the meat’. The house is now full of people and the floor is sagging with their weight. The songs of the house start. The dancers dance clockwise around the *makam*, ‘the main post’ of the

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13 I am following the convention of writing names of songs in single quotes and in roman, hence, ‘Aiwa kundia,’ ‘Kambiakmay, tumbiakmay’ etc., in order to differentiate the names of songs from those of genres or parts of the cycle, for which I use italics.
house, or around the centrally placed slit drum (*umbuy*), starting with the lead singers with hand-drums in their hands, followed by boys, women and finally girls.

The third song (following the two in *Aiwa kundia*), ‘Kambiakmay, tumbiakmay’, is about the house which shakes when ‘the song’ enters. By using ‘song’ (*endinga*) as an animate entity, I am reflecting the Awiakay way of speaking when they refer to *Kaunjambi*. The ‘song’ in this case stands for all active participants.

Although there is a general preferred order of the songs, it is not absolutely fixed, and in particular the order of the songs in the middle part of *Kaunjambi* may vary slightly between different performances, depending on the lead singers. The order of some (but not all) elements within songs is more flexible. While it is important to start with an element of a higher order, e.g. the main creek, it is not important in what order its tributaries will follow, as long as they are all included in the song. This feature, which will be discussed later in the chapter where it will be called the ‘betelnut template’ (6.3.2.4: iv), also reminds of the mountain analogy from the thesis title (v). In many of the songs an important mnemonic for the lead singer is landscape. Mentioning sago stands, hills or creeks, the lead singer travels in his mind along Awiakay land and thus makes sure that all verses are sung. Song 8, for example, mentions hills with sago stands surrounding Amongao, one of the ancestral places, and continues with the tributaries of the Tawim creek. Song 16 mentions important spirit places on the Amwi creek in the vicinity of Mayna, a settlement where the Awiakay lived till mid-1960s before moving downriver to Kanjimei. Song 24 includes names of the creeks that mark the border of Awiakay land in the South and in the North, etc. (see Map 6.1). As Telban observes for the neighbouring Ambonwari oral traditions, “‘space’ (not as an abstract or symbolic entity, but as a series of named places with characteristic trees creeks, ponds, events and activities) used to be the main mnemonic device. In song poems, especially in the longer ones, there was usually no sequential order between stanzas; they were organized around places. In short, spatial layout organized the songs” (Telban: 2008: 232). The use of place names in *Kaunjambi* will be further discussed in 6.3.2.4 with

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14 Landscape prominently features in Kaluli songs as well, particularly in the genre of *gisaro* (Schieffelin 1976; Feld 1982, 1988, 1996). Mapping the landscape and reciting place names is an important element in various Duna song genres, such as *pikono* (Stewart and Strathern 2002: 135; Gillespie 2010: 30; Gillespie and San Roque 2011: 52-3), and many other narrative song traditions of New Guinea Highlands (Rumsey and Niles 2011: 6), as well as in Aboriginal songs of Central Australia, as described by Strehlow (1971). A highly elaborated example of listing place names is Tibetan Bon *rabs*, ‘ritual antecedent narratives’, chanted by bon priests. In these song narratives the priests, flying like birds, often search for ritually important items or beings, which they need for their rites. Some of their journeys are only horizontal, overland, others go vertical at a certain point and end up on the top level of a multi-level sky world above.
reference to parallelism.

Even if other men do not know the words of a song, they are always able to sing after hearing the lead singer. Throughout the night the dancers in the house alternate, while the lead singers, who eventually become tired of dancing around the main post, sit around it next to the slit-drum. As it becomes late, small children go to sleep, many of them cosily packed in the corners of the house, and only adults dance. Some women will only come to dance later, after their children are already asleep. Many dance with sleeping babies on their shoulders, while others sit in the corners of the house, nursing their sleeping children. The loud playing of the hand-drums (punjim) and slit-drums (umbuy), the enthusiastic singing, overlapping voices and the constant gentle swinging of the house combine to have a hypnotic effect that makes it particularly easy to fall asleep. However, it is mainly only children who sleep in the house during Kaunjambi. Adults sustain themselves through the night with betel nut and tobacco or intermittently go and have a nap or even some sago pudding in their houses and then come back. Late at night the person in whose honour Kaunjambi is performed is taken on his or her same-sex classificatory sibling’s shoulders and carried around with the dancers, which the Awiakay call takay ‘he/she is being carried on the shoulders’. The person is thus being treated like a baby or a small child: with greatest care and respect. He/she is carried on the shoulders during the most tender song in Kaunjambi, ‘Mangisat’ (song 24; video 6-3). This person is usually not carried around for only one song, but is picked up several times before the morning. In the following days, the person who has been carried reciprocates for this honour with food.

Around three in the morning, when the dancers start becoming tired, ‘Asi mek, mek, mek, mek’ (Appendix J: song 31) is sung. This is a song with the fastest rhythm, which always brings about laughter and wakes up the tired dancers. Singers, however, are not particularly fond of it. They say that it is so fast that their breath gets short when they sing it. It is indeed the song with the fastest tempo. In one performance I recorded

Place names are listed for the horizontal part of the journey, and levels of sky world for the vertical one (Toni Huber, pers. comm. by email Oct. 2013).

Kaunjambi had a similar effect on me when I was in the village. Not being a chain betelnut chewer, I couldn’t sustain myself throughout the night with only a few buai, and in the end I always dozed off in some corner of the house in company of the little children, making sure that somebody would wake me up before too long, so that I could keep following what’s going on and checking on my recording equipment. Even the large amounts of coffee that Alan and I drank during his visit in Kanjimei in order to stay awake throughout the night could not compete with the hypnotic effect of Kaunjambi and we both ended up sleeping during some of the performance on the shaking limbim at the feet of the dancers.

Being treated like (the youngest) child is a sign of great honour and care in Awiakay society.
it starts at 167 beats per minute, while the average for Kaunjambi songs in general is 125bpm (for more on tempo see section 6.4.2).

Depending on the frequency and length of pauses between the ‘Songs of the house’, a number of them are always repeated once this cycle comes to an end, as it is essential for the last part of the song cycle, Tem endinga ‘Songs of the sun’, to start no earlier than at sunrise.

6.2.2.3 Tem endinga ‘Songs of the sun’

One of the men comes and tells the lead singers when the sun is about to rise, whereupon they sing ‘Yaytan yayt yayt’, which introduces the last part of the cycle (songs 38-42 in the transcript). While they always start with ‘Yaytan yayt yayt’ (song 38), songs 39 and 40 are sometimes reversed or even merged into one. As we can see from the transcript, there is no clear boundary between them. A similar thing happens in songs 41 and 42. However, the melody of the last song, ‘Sipin gari’ (42), changes back into the melody that was used earlier in the cycle. The concluding song in Kaunjambi also has a distinctive rhythm, the same as the one which marks the end of the Aiwa kundia (introductory) section (more about the melody and rhythm in Kaunjambi in section 6.4). After the completion of the songs, the singers and dancers all turn in the direction of the sun and bow to it, bending from the waist. This signals the finish of the Kaunjambi performance. Upon leaving the house people will strip off some of their decorations and throw them on the floor, and the owner of the house or one of his sons or residing sons-in-law will hang them on the main post. While some of the women who left the dance early and joined their sleeping children are already awake, some of the all-night dancers will join them in the haus win to have a last cigarette before going to sleep.

I was told that, in the past, Kaunjambi would sometimes continue for two or even three successive nights, and during the daytime in this period the village looked as if it had been abandoned. As enough sago had been pounded, and meat and fish had been smoked in advance, most participants could afford to sleep during the day.

Before moving on to linguistic and musical analysis of Kaunjambi, I would like to invite you to watch an introductory video.

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17 Some older Awiakay men remember that this same practice was used in Supim, the song cycle performed during male initiation, in which the singers paid honour to the spirits by bowing to the main post in the men’s house, which itself was a spirit.
In the following sections I will discuss features of *Kaunjambi* as a linguistic register. Like several other song texts in New Guinea (Telban 2008, Rumsey and Niles 2011), Kaunjambi makes use of highly poetic language which is very different from everyday speech.

### 6.3 THE LANGUAGE OF *Kaunjambi*

The Awiakay maintain that *Kaunjambi* is a song-cycle that has been composed by spirits in the distant past. They say this explains why certain parts of it are in an untranslatable ‘spirit language’. Other untranslatable parts include traces of other neighbouring languages such as the related Imanmeri language, the unrelated Karawari of the neighbouring Ambonwari, and in a couple of examples even the unrelated Miyak, a Yuat language spoken in Asangamut (see Map 1.6). The Awiakay recognise some parts of *Kaunjambi* as *nasepamgoy menda* ‘the language of the past’ or what I will later refer to as ‘archaic Awiakay’. In one of the many discussions we had about *Kaunjambi*, this mixture of codes was explained to me in Tok Pisin in the following way:

> Ikanjiemi AUDIO recordings/2012/Kaunjambi/0311

**AKANDAO:**

1. *Darja, mipla tok ia: i no olsem mipla man yet komposim na... Em bilong spirit ia. Displa spirit em mas i gat planti tang bilong em – em i tanim bilong Imanmeri, Ambonwari o bilong wanem ples...*  

   Darja, let us explain: it wasn’t us men who composed [these songs] ... It was the spirit. He must have had many languages – he used [the languages of ] Imanmeri, Ambonwari, who knows what else...

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18 Theodore Strehlow, who studied songs of Central Australia, notes that “in every part of the globe it has been the practice of poetry to preserve old words and old forms because of their literary associations and memories long after they have been dropped out of everyday speech” (Strehlow 1971: 200). We have to note, however, that what people describe as ‘archaic language’ cannot necessarily be taken at face value and assumed to correspond with earlier stages of the language as might be established, e.g. by linguistic reconstruction. In other words, such claims are instances of linguistic ideology, whatever might be the historical facts of the matter. When I use the term ‘archaic’ in this chapter, I am referring to such speakers’ perceptions of archaism in Awiakay.
These men’s explanations are consistent with the conversation I had with Borut Telban (pers. comm., Dec. 2012) who works with the neighbouring Karawari speaking Ambonwari. He was able to confirm that some of the words that the Awiakay identify as ‘spirit language’ do indeed strongly resemble Karawari words, but we were still unable to produce a meaningful translation. Used only in a special register, by the speakers of a different, non-related language, most of whom were not fluent in Karawari, the endings of these words have often been distorted. Their meaning as used in Kaunjambi today has thus become ambiguous and it is impossible to guess what they may mean without a relevant context. Parallels to this can be found in other New Guinea languages (Voorhoeve 1977: 27; Wassmann 1982; Niles 1991: xii, Rumsey and Niles 2011: 11), as well as in Australian song languages (cf. Strehlow 1971, Merlan 1987, Curran 2010). There are, however, some cases in which ‘spirit words’ are juxtaposed in a parallel set, which helps identify aspects of their meaning even if the word sounds slightly different than the one commonly used in the language where it comes from (e.g. 24.10-14 or 42.5-15; both discussed below in the section about parallelism). It is likely that some ‘spirit words’ have their origin in the latmul area in the Middle Sepik, as some other (not Kaunjambi) words are known to have come from this area into Awiakay via Karawari. This is in line with Awiakay men’s explanation that the spirits have been using the languages of other places from the mountains, the river (i.e. the Sepik) and the coast. As we cannot identify the original meanings of these
words, it will probably also remain impossible to identify all the languages from which Awiakay ancestors borrowed material for *Kaunjambi*.

### 6.3.1 ON THE UNTRANSLATABILITY OF THE SPIRIT LANGUAGE

As indicated above, a large part of *Kaunjambi* is untranslatable. In the transcript (Appendix J) I have used blue type for words which come from what people identify as ‘spirit language’ and green for the words which are recognised as neighbouring languages. Black type is used for Awiakay. We can thus visually follow switching between different codes just by having a glimpse of the text.

In the introduction to Wassmann’s *The Song to the Flying Fox* (1991) Don Niles points to the difficulties that researchers in Papua New Guinea encounter when attempting to translate song-texts from local languages. He states that texts are often “said to be in an old and/or unknown language. Even if word-by-word translation is possible, it is very likely that song-text structure differs from the structure of spoken text, making a grammatical translation difficult. (Niles, 1991: x; see also Strehlow 1971: 200-201). Nigel Fabb argues that mixing ordinary language with archaisms or borrowed terms [in Awiakay case non-understandable spirit language] is a feature of poetic language (2009a: 55). In the paper *Why is Verse Poetry?* he states:

> The covert structures of language are enormously efficient ways of producing meaningful text, so we must ask why they are avoided in poetry. One possible answer is immediately suggested by the notion of difficulty itself: aesthetic experience has something in common with epistemology, the process of discovery. In verse, language and linguistic form must be discovered in new and often explicit ways: our linguistic abilities do not automatically answer our questions about the linguistic form of the poem [...] (Fabb 2009b: 6-7).

The Awiakay are not at all puzzled by the fact that some parts of *Kaunjambi* ‘do not have a meaning’. *Aunda endinga*, ‘just singing’, they say. Just as not everybody knows the (meaning of) magic formulae, and hardly anyone but prayer leaders understands what verses of the Bible mean, the spirit language in *Kaunjambi* is another case of incomprehensible language which needs to be exactly where it is if *Kaunjambi* is to be performed properly. Although words are often just indicated rather than fully articulated (cf. Telban 2008: 219) the lead singers have often quarrelled about the

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19 It is not only a matter of ‘Spirit Language’ in *Kaunjambi* being untranslatable into other languages besides Awiakay, but also unglossable within Awiakay, or between Awiakay and ‘Spirit Language’.  

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pronunciation of the spirit words and phrases in *Kaunjambi*. But nobody, to my knowledge, has ever complained about their untranslatability. Much more important than the meaning of the words is thus their proper pronunciation, showing continuity with ancestral traditions. When they are sung, it is the rhythm, both types of drum and the echoing of the singers who sing one after another and at the same time mumble because their mouths are full of betelnut and lime mixture, that make even the parts in modern Awikay language difficult to understand. However, this is what *Kaunjambi* is supposed to sound and feel like. Moreover, *Kaunjambi* is not one long epic, but consists of a number of ‘snapshots’ forming a whole that is indigenously recognisable as coherent, as these individual ‘snapshots’ all have an imprint of Awikay lifeworld in them.

### 6.3.2 Parallelism in *Kaunjambi*

While featuring in all Awikay song genres, and, as we could see in 3.2.1.7, also appearing in other linguistic registers, parallelism in Awikay appears in some of its most canonical forms in *Kaunjambi*. The whole song cycle abounds with several different varieties of parallelism, sometimes in combination with one another, with its parallel sets ranging all the way between parallel couplets and parallel octuplets.

From what we know from the existing studies, parallelism is widely employed in New Guinea Highlands (Rumsey 2007, Rumsey and Niles 2011); it features in the songs of the Kaulong in West New Britain (Drüppel 2009), in the Middle Sepik it is found in Iatmul (Wassmann 1991) and Manambu songs (Harrison 1986, Aikhenvald 2010) and, closer to the Awikay, it plays an important role in Karawari song traditions of the neighbouring Ambonwari (Telban 2008). However, most of these parallelistic traditions favour binary parallelism. Long parallel sets, like the ones we encounter in *Kaunjambi*, are less common, but can be found in Iatmul (Wassmann 1991) and in Kaulong songs (Drüppel 2009).

Before I go into the discussion of parallelism *per se*, I will make some introductory remarks about other aspects of the structure of *Kaunjambi* songs.

The Awikay divide individual songs, *endiŋga*, into *kopa* ‘head’, indicating the first line of the song, (utterance till the first pause), which is also used as the name of the song, *męngrea* – ‘the meat’ referring to the body of the song, and *kumma* ‘tail’,

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20 A basic introduction to parallelism is given in 1.3.4.
referring to the last part of the song that winds out (often the part that is sung in downward modulation).

While transition from one song to another is clearly marked by a longer pause, transitions between lines are not. Most songs start with a vocable, i.e. a word that is regarded as a sequence of sounds, rather than as a unit of meaning, such as 'o-ya', 'o-o', or 'o'. This is only used in the first line and even if this line is repeated, the vocable is normally not, as can be seen, for example, in Song 7.

Please watch

![VIDEO 6-2: Song 7: Mala ari mala](https://vimeo.com/84737091)

**Password:** K

1. **O-o, mala ari mala**
   - O-o, betel pepper, give me betel pepper
2. **mala ari mala** (x7)
   - betel pepper, give me betel pepper
3. **o-o, takwi ari takwi**
   - betel pepper, give me mountain pepper
4. **takwi ari takwi** (x7)
   - betel pepper, give me mountain pepper

When the vocable appears again in the same song, it either marks the beginning of a repetition of the whole parallel set.

The most common vocables at the end of a line are '-e' or 'e-e' and '-a' or 'a-e', as in the text above. These are repeated from line to line within a parallel set and are, in addition to parallelism followed by a short pause, the most common markers of line breaks.²¹

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²¹ For the importance of vocables in defining a line of text see Rumsey 2005: 53, cf. also Merlan and Rumsey 1991: 98-99 and Fabb 2002: 205. In sung tales from PNG Highlands, vocables normally appear only at the end of a line or section (Rumsey and Niles 2011: 13). According to Fabb (2009: 53) linguistic theory cannot explain how lines are formed, because they are not linguistic units (although they are made of linguistic units). He emphasises that particularly in oral traditions parallelism of linguistic structure or meaning is 'a pervasive characteristic of the verse' and thus a marker of a line (Fabb 2009b: 54; see also Fabb 2002: 205).
In Kaunjambi we can find some cases when a parallel set – a couplet – occurs within one line (e.g. 2.1, repeated in 2.3). In such a case there is no pause between the two elements. Later in the song, however, the two elements are broken up and occur in separate lines (2.9, 11 and 13). Other lines feature another parallel set. In the example below I marked the variables in parallel sets with capital letters and the repeated elements with lower case letters (both shaded in blue) e.g. (1.7-12), or a new parallel set.
When the vocable appears again in the same song, it either marks the beginning of a repetition of the whole parallel set, as in lines 7 – 12 of the song text below, or marks the beginning of a new parallel set, as in lines 13-20 of that text.

Although I did not divide the songs into stanzas, each new parallel set clearly has the same function. This becomes obvious in song 1 (above) in which I shaded different parallel sets with shades of the same colour. While I have written out all the repetitions in this particular song, I normally mark repeated lines with e.g. (x3), as in song 2 above. Although the number of repetitions varies between performances, and people say that it depends solely on the mood of the singer, they are an essential part of the songs and always appear to be structured. I discuss this aspect of *Kaimjamhi* in the next section.

22 Following the same conventions as in the full transcript of *Kaunjambi* (Appendix J), blue type represents the untranslatable ‘spirit language’.

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6.3.2.1 Repetitions of parallel collocations

A parallel set can be extended by a number of repetitions of its respective lines, which I refer to as *parallel collocations*. In 8.1-7 this means that some variables of the quadruplet are repeated, as seen in Tables 6.1a and 6.1b.

**Table 6.1a: Repetitions of parallel collocations within a parallel set**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE A</th>
<th>repeated word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLE B</td>
<td>repeated word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLE C</td>
<td>repeated word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLE D</td>
<td>repeated word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLE A</td>
<td>repeated word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLE C</td>
<td>repeated word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLE D</td>
<td>repeated word</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6.1b: Repetitions of parallel collocations within a parallel set (transcript of song 8)**

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td><em>O-ya,</em></td>
<td><em>aym</em> mother</td>
<td><em>kumiña</em> mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>yanjam</em> python</td>
<td><em>kumiña</em> mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>o,</em></td>
<td><em>nuggulan</em> gigantic python</td>
<td><em>kumiña</em> mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>memban</em></td>
<td><em>night [nocturnal snake]</em></td>
<td><em>kumiña</em> mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>aym</em> death adder</td>
<td><em>kumiña</em> mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>nuggulan</em> gigantic python</td>
<td><em>kumiña</em> mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>memban</em> night [nocturnal snake]</td>
<td><em>kumiña</em> mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A parallel collocation is often repeated several times before the song goes on to the next line in a parallel set. Although the number of repetitions varies between performances, it always follows a certain structure. In *Table 6.2a* we can follow the repetition pattern of the first 15 lines of song 8. The table is divided into three parts, corresponding to the first three parallel sets in the song. Capital letters represent parallel collocations, and the columns show changes in the way of singing.
Table 6.2a: Repetition patterns in song 8

PARALLEL SET 1
A = aym kumua 'death adder's mother'
B = yanjam kumua 'python's mother'
C = nungulay kumua 'gigantic python's mother'
D = memban kumua 'mother of night' [nocturnal snake]
shaded part = lower melody (G'-C')

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>line</th>
<th>sung primarily by lead singer</th>
<th>others join the lead singer</th>
<th>last element fades out or is omitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AAAA</td>
<td>AAAA</td>
<td>AAAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BBBB</td>
<td>BBBB</td>
<td>BBB-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-7</td>
<td>CCDD</td>
<td>AAAA</td>
<td>CCDD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first part (line 1), parallel collocation A (aym kumua) is repeated four times by the lead singer before others join in. There are two more sets of four repetitions, but in the second set the last repetition either fades out, is hardly pronounced or is even omitted, thereby announcing the start of the next line with another parallel collocation (B), which is repeated in the same way as the previous one. The last group of repetitions, which comprises lines 4-7, does not consist of 4+4+4 of the same collocation set (as is the case for A and B), but of (2+2) + 4 + (2+2), combining different collocation sets. Line 3 was sung quietly only by the lead singer, and does not fit into the pattern. The shaded part in the table marks downward modulation of the melody, which announces the end of a parallel set. Melodic structures will be discussed in more detail in section 6.4.3.

The first parallel collocation of the second parallel set, malay wapuk (E) is repeated six times; twice by the lead singer alone, twice by other singers joining in and twice by other singers only, as the lead singer fades out to breathe in for the next line. The next parallel collocation, tay wapuk (F), is repeated ten times, while the last one, line 10, is a combination of the previous two parallel collocations, sung in downward modulation coinciding with the end of the parallel set.
Table 6.2b: Repetition patterns in song 8: PARALLEL SET 2

E = *malay wapiik* ‘I pounded wild sago’
F = *tay wapuk* ‘I pounded sago’
shaded part = lower melody (G’-C’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>line</th>
<th>sung primarily by lead singer</th>
<th>others join the lead singer</th>
<th>lead singer stops singing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>EE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>FFF</td>
<td>FFF</td>
<td>FFFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>EF</td>
<td>EF</td>
<td>EF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2c: Repetition patterns in song 8: PARALLEL SET 3

G = *Akiak kopay yumbunuk taway ende-wakapainua*
‘They’ll pick yumbunuk-sago shoots at Akiak and put them into [your bilum]’

H = *Usupiay kopay wapgopenik taway [kopay] ende-wakapainua*
‘They’ll pick wapgopenik-sago shoots at Usupiay and put them into [your bilum]’

I = *Panjiijjay kopay yamok taway ende-wakapainua*
‘They’ll pick yamok-sago shoots at Panjiijjay and put them into [your bilum]’

J = *Amgapoyn kopay kambamuk taway ende-wakapainua*
‘They’ll pick kambamuk-sago shoots at Amgapoyn and put them into [your bilum]’
shaded part = lower melody (G’-C’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>line</th>
<th>all sing</th>
<th>x2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>J</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, the lines of this third parallel set are much longer, and there are no repetitions within the parallel set itself; however, once finished, the whole set is repeated. The number of repetitions of whole parallel sets (such as this one; 8.11-15) varies greatly between performances and, as singers say, mostly depends on the current mood of the lead singer(s).

I now turn to a discussion of how different parallel structures can be intertwined in a single song.
6.3.2.2 Complexity of parallel structures in a song

In individual songs, different parallel sets often run parallel with one another. An example is the triplet *ende-wakapainua // wakapainua // yambukainua* in song 8. Each of these verbs is in the future tense (marked by -iniu) and takes a third person plural subject (marked by -a); this is FUT-3PL -iniu-a. The variables in this parallel set are verb stems *ende-wakapa* ‘pick and put something into’ // *wakapa* ‘put something into’ // *yambuka* ‘hang something [such as a bilum] on the neck’. For the Awiakay, these actions are closely related, signifying the most important part of a hunting/gathering trip to the forest, and yet not the same, as they normally follow one another.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8.11-15</th>
<th><em>ende-wakapa-inu-a</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pick-put.in-FUT-3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they’ll pick it and put [it] into [the bilum]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16-26</th>
<th><em>wakapa-inu-a</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>put.in-FUT-3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they’ll put [it] into [the bilum]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>27-33</th>
<th><em>yambuka-inu-a</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hang.on.the.neck-FUT-3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they’ll hang [the bilum] on their neck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In *Kaunjambi*, repetitions of individual collocation sets of this kind of parallelism usually run through a number of lines. In this case *ende-wakapainua* is repeated through lines 11-15, followed by *wakapainua* through lines 16-26, and finally by *yambukainua* through lines 27-32. Each of these three sets as is demonstrated in Table 6.3. In this table the variables in parallel sets are highlighted; parallel sets are framed with bold lines and numbered from 1-8.
Plates 6.5 and 6.6: Preparations for Kaunjambi
### Table 6.3: Parallel sets in song 8

#### AYM KUMUNA

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>O-ya,</td>
<td>aym kumuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>o,</td>
<td>yanjam kumuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nungulan kumuna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>memban kumuna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>aym kumuna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>nungulan kumuna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>memban kumuna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>o-ya,</td>
<td>malay wapuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tay wapuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>malay wapuk, tay wapuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Akiak Akiak</td>
<td>kopay sago stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Usupiay Usupiay</td>
<td>kopay sago stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kulakap Kulakap</td>
<td>kopay sago stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Panjirjay Panjirjay</td>
<td>kopay sago stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Amgapoyn Amgapoyn</td>
<td>kopay sago stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>aiwa white cockatoo</td>
<td>pepep they’ll have shot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>kaykwia hornbill</td>
<td>pepep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ambay crown pigeon</td>
<td>pepep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>angiljan black cockatoo</td>
<td>pepep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>opum-ba pigeon</td>
<td>pepep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>pangasay big brown bird</td>
<td>pepep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>wanggay small pigeon</td>
<td>pepep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(x4 + x4 + x4 last one fades out)

(x4 + x4 + x4 last one omitted)

(x2)

(x2)

(x2 last one fades out)

(x6)

(x10)

(x3)

They’ll pick them and put them into your bilum

They’ll have shot

They’ll put it into your bilum

They’ll put it into your bilum
Parallel set 1 (lines 1-7) features the quatrain ‘death adder // python // gigantic python // nocturnal snake’, in which all variables refer to deadly or fearsome snakes. That set is followed by parallel set 2 in lines 8-10 which features the pair wild sago // sago. While these two parallel collocations first appear separately in lines 8, (with six repetitions) and 9 (repeated ten times), they follow one another in line 10 and are together repeated three more times.23

Lines 11-15 are the most complex ones in this song, with three different parallel sets running through them simultaneously. Parallel set 3 is in formal terms a quintuplet, and in functional ones a ‘topogeny’24 listing names of different hills with sago stands around the ancestral place Amongao (see Map 6.1). There is no fixed order to these places and the Awiakay say that it is only important to enumerate them all. Parallel set 3 is further paralleled with parallel set 4, which features another quintuplet listing five different types of sago. This is an interesting case of a distributive parallelism in which

23 All the variable words in this parallel set end in nasals, but as I haven’t come across such examples in other parallel sets I assume it is a coincidence, rather than motivated phonological parallelism.
24 Fox defines topogeny as ‘an ordered succession of place names’ (Fox 2006: 89) and compares the recitation of topogeny to the recitation of a genealogy. ‘Both consist of an ordered succession of names that establish precedence in relation to a particular starting point — a point of origin’ (ibid.). As listing place names in Kaunjamhi is ordered only to certain extent (the reason for this will be discussed later), I am using Fox’s term ‘topogeny’ in inverted commas.
each place name is paired with a different type of sago. The order is not important here either, as the types of sago which appear in the same line with the names of ancestral sago stands do not necessarily grow there. However, the lead singers say that ‘the song sounds better’ if each name of sago stand is paired with a different type of sago. The combinations may therefore vary between performances, while the structure itself is not random. An additional kopay ‘sago stand’ in line 12 is most likely a mistake, as it does not fit anywhere and does not appear in another recorded version. The endings of those same lines (11-15) comprise another (part of a) parallel set, consisting of five repetitions of the verb parallelism mentioned above: ende-wakapainua ‘they’ll pick them (sago shoots) and put them into [your bilum]’. Sago shoots are considered a delicacy and people often give them to children already while processing sago, or eat them by themselves before they come back to the village. Picking sago shoots and putting them into someone’s bilum reflects great care for the person for whom they are intended.

Seven different types of birds are paralleled in lines 16-22 (parallel set 5). Apart from being game they are all birds that frequently appear in myths. Again, shooting any game animal and putting it into a bilum for someone else is a sign of great care for that person. The beginning of this quintuplet is a boundary for the other parallel set running through these lines: In parallel set 8 the variable which was repeated through lines 11-15 now changes into wakapainua ‘they’ll put it into [the bilum]’ and is repeated through lines 16-26.

The variables in parallel set 6 are all referring to a bilum. While the first one, taman, can itself be used as a generic term for a bilum, others are adjectives describing shapes of different types of string bags that the Awiakay use. As we shall see later in (6.3.2.4: iv), this kind of template applies to several parallel sets across different semantic domains.

The septuplet in parallel set 7 starts with the names of hills at an ancestral place called Amongao (lines 27-8) and continues with the Tawim creek and its tributaries (lines 29-33). Lead singers sometimes disagree about the choice of place names, in this case they may omit the first two, Akiak and Usupiay, which are the names of the hills at Amongao (already mentioned in parallel set 3 in lines 11 and 12), but as mentioned
above, they would always agree that the name of the main creek, Tawim, comes before its tributaries.  

It is clear from the representation of song 8 in Table 6.3 how parallelism divides songs into sections and thus serves as an ‘organising principle of the text’ (cf. Fabb 1997: 142). We can say that in Kaunjambi each parallel set represents the boundaries of a stanza (in the transcript in Appendix I. I marked them with dividing lines). In song 8, parallel set 8, in which the variable elements are different verb stems, thus runs across three stanzas, i.e. throughout five different substantive parallel sets (3-4, 5+6 and 7). The boundaries of these parallel sets are the boundaries within which respective collocation sets of parallel set 8 are repeated. Parallel sets 3 and 4 (lines 11-12) correspond with the beginning and the end of the repetition of ende-wakapa-inua, which I marked as 8a. Wakapa-inua, marked as 8b, is repeated throughout two parallel sets, i.e. parallel sets 5 and 6 (lines 16-22 and 23-26), while the repetitions of yambuka-inua, (8c) run through parallel set 7, i.e. through lines 27-33.

Another complex example of this type is song 21 in which some parallel sets run through several lines of other parallel sets.

This section has touched upon the associations between the variable elements in individual parallel sets. I now turn to the ways in which these associations illuminate our understanding of Awiakay lifeworld and their cultural concepts.

6.3.2.3 Types of parallelisms according to the association among the variables in parallel sets

As mentioned in the earlier discussion of parallelism in the introduction (1.3.4), the non-repeated elements, i.e., the parallel terms or variables, are placed in focus. They are intensified by appearing in the company of previously uttered words. Their grouping, however, is not random, as there is always some indigenously recognised association between them. The logic of these associations is opaque if we look only at the most literal senses of the words/phrases compared. They carry symbolic implications which

25 As James Weiner (pers. comm, Nov. 2013) points out, the difference with Foi is that the place names are not ancestral or mythological, they are actual and historical, so that a man’s life-span is re-totalized (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1966) as a sum of places he has occupied and made use of.
are ‘infused by cultural assumptions’ (in the sense used by Roger Keesing 1979), and can only be understood in reference to other aspects of Awiakay lifeworld. In other words, the choice of variables and the associations between them reflect the way people think, act and feel. These elements are specifically indexed and they themselves index specific values in culturally specific knowledge schemata. In this section I will thus discuss the associations between juxtaposed elements in parallel sets.

In his discussion of lexical parallelism, Fabb points out that “words may be paired [...] by having various kinds of semantic relation to one another” (Fabb 1997: 152). In Kaunjambi they are mostly associated because they (i) belong to the same semantic field (the relationships between them are often those of hypernym/hyponymy); (ii) relate to one another as part to whole (meronymy/holonymy);26 (iii) are synonyms or near-synonyms (but there are no antonyms); (iv) are place names that contribute to a ‘topogeny’.

(i) Variables that belong to the same semantic field can be divided into several subgroups. There are several examples in the songs where the variables are

(a) animals or plants of the same class, but of a different order or family. Such cases reflect ethno-taxonomy, i.e., the classification which exists within the society, as well as the local importance of the paralleled animals/plants. Parallel set 1 of song 8 (see above Table 6.3: 8.1-7) groups together the snakes the Awiakay are most afraid of. Aym ‘death adder’ (New Guinea death adder, Acanthophis laevis) is responsible for most deaths caused by snakebites. Although non-venomous, yanjam ‘Amethystine python’ (Morelia amethistina) and nuggum ‘gigantic python’ (most likely Papuan olive python Apodora papuana) are feared for their size. There are no stories in the living memory of the Awiakay of anyone having been attacked by any of them. However, they both appear in a number of myths in which they harm people. Memban kumuña, ‘mother of night’ is a metaphor referring to a nocturnal species called ondomboy ‘small-eyed snake’ (Micropechis ikaheka), which is highly venomous and is the second deadliest snake in the area.

In song 8, lines 12-18, the variables are different kinds of birds.

26 A hypernym is a word that names a broader category which includes several hyponyms. The word ‘dog’, for example, is a hypernym for ‘poodle’, ‘labrador’, etc., which are its hyponyms. A meronym is a constituent part or a member of something. The word ‘finger’, for example, is a meronym of ‘hand’, which, in turn, is a ‘holonym’ for finger.
Different kinds of birds also appear as sets of parallel terms in song 21.61-64. In 27.12-24 pandombao ‘brown-collared brush turkey’ is paired with kayma ‘cassowary’. Though they both represent highly desirable game, neither is classified as tiñe ‘bird’ in Awiakay taxonomy.

The dwelling places of the biggest and thus most important hunting game animals, pig and cassowary, are paralleled in 12.1-2. Being closest in their size to man, these animals are ascribed most human characteristics and hunting for either of them is considered by the Awiakay equal to a duel (cf. Bulmer 1967: 12) According to an Awiakay myth, man used to live like a pig, that is in simple bush shelters on the ground, before he was taught by a bird how to make a proper house (a stilt house made of bush materials).

Other examples in this category include different types of mosquitoes (12.3-5), small mammals that people hunt (22.15-23), or fish (21.21-25 and 38.2-7) – these are all ‘ancestral fish’, i.e. native fish as opposed to more
Examples of plants being used as parallel terms include different types of sago. Table 6.3 shows that seven out of fifteen different types of sago that grow on Awiakay land appear in parallel sets 2 and 4 in song 8.8-15.

Other plants appearing as parallel terms in Kaunjambi parallel sets are different types of trees (30.5-9). Some types of trees and palms are paired together as parallel terms according to their use. In 17.5-7 the wood of the trees mentioned is good for firewood, in 21.45-55 the bark of these trees and vines are used for making string out of which hand-nets are made, while other types of trees and grasses are paired according to the use of the seeds they produce (2.52-54).

(b) Song 33 features an example of using Awiakay terms for colours (33.8-11): kandukya ‘white’ // imbia ‘black’ // tolia ‘yellow’ // pawia ‘red’ are all co-hyponyms of misim ‘colour’/‘decoration’ or kaway ‘colour’/‘pattern’ (although neither of these two terms is used in the song). The colour terms are used with the word mamay ‘stinging nettles’. While the white nettles (Laportea Sp., line 8) are ones that are distributed widely in the lower parts of the Awiakay land, and the red ones (unidentified sp., line 11) are said to be extremely painful and only found in the mountains (in Awiakay land this is considered to be the area between 70m and 1,200m a.s.l.), the black and yellow ones (lines 9 and 10 respectively) do not exist at all. The Awiakay say that these terms are only there for the sake of the structure, hilong bilasim singsing ‘to decorate the song’, as some lead singers put it in Tok Pisin. It is, however, not just a coincidence that terms for stinging nettles are combined with colour terms. The whole song alludes to boys’ initiation. The colours mentioned are at the same time the colours of clay, which is used in face painting, whereas young boys who were entering men’s house to be initiated were first beaten up by stinging nettles.

27 Several new types of fish were thrown into lake Virginia from a helicopter at the beginning of the new millenium and populated Konmei creek (cf. Telban 2009: 136).
Some other parallel sets that belong to the same semantic fields are:

(c) names of ancestral spirits or bush spirits (10.5-8; 16.1-7 and 29.5-11). The latter being closely associated with their dwelling places, their association is similar to a ‘topogeny’ (6.3.2.4).

(d) different types of bilums, associated according to their shape and function (8.23-26 and 21.26-31) and different types of baskets (25.8-10 and 32.5-26. Song 32 is often referred to as ‘the basket song’).

(e) ‘cooking utensils’ (3.6-10)

Although it is not unusual for Awiakay men to do the cooking – even for the whole family – if their wife is sick or away, the words juxtaposed in this parallel set all denote objects which are strongly associated with women. They are bracketed between the two uses of an archaic term for the ‘spoon made of coconut shell’ (lines 6 and 10), while the modern Awiakay word for the same object comes in the middle (line 8). The pattern is thus A b a c A in which upper case letters represent archaic words and lower case letters modern Awiakay

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kaunjambi line} & \quad \text{parallel term} \\
3.6 & \quad \text{kañima isopon, kañima ee} \\
& \quad \text{the coconut shell spoon is shaking, ee} \\
7 & \quad \text{palandem isopon, palandem ee} \\
& \quad \text{the coconut cup is shaking, ee} \\
8 & \quad \text{ipi isopon, ipi ee} \\
& \quad \text{the coconut spoon is shaking, ee} \\
9 & \quad \text{wako isopon, wako ee} \\
& \quad \text{tongs are shaking, ee} \\
10 & \quad \text{kañima isopon, kañima ee.} \\
& \quad \text{the coconut shell spoon (arch.) is shaking, ee} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{parallel term} & \\
& \quad \text{kañima} \\
& \quad \text{spoon made of coconut shell [ARCH Awiakay]} \\
& \quad \text{palandem} \\
& \quad \text{coconut cup} \\
& \quad \text{ipi} \quad \text{[short for ipikapa]} \\
& \quad \text{spoon made of coconut shell} \\
& \quad \text{wako} \\
& \quad \text{tongs made of bamboo} \\
& \quad \text{kañima} \\
& \quad \text{spoon made of coconut shell [ARCH Awiakay]} \\
\end{align*}
\]
In song 22.5-9 the variables are verbs denoting a dog’s vocalizations (the repetition is in the same grammatical form, whereas the variation is in different verb roots). The first line in the parallel set starts with a non-repeated element, which is not part of the parallel set, *im yongopon* ‘he’s cutting the rope’ (cf. song 1.1.), and continues with variables: barking threateningly (while hunting, dogs often intimidate an animal by barking in this way, so that it feels trapped and can’t escape) // barking excitedly (when they smell an animal) // barking in an ordinary way // whining with joy // barking and jumping with joy (because they have killed an animal). The terms denoting dog’s vocalisations not only point at the importance of recognising dogs’ behaviour, but at the same time reflect people’s own feelings and level of excitement when hunting. As in my other transcripts of Awiakay songs, line breaks in this parallel set are determined on musical grounds.

(ii) Association among the variables based on holonymy / meronomy

The relation between the variables in some parallel sets is that of a whole : part. In song 7.6-7, the two elements in the parallel pair *wi* ‘quicklime’ // *komboij* ‘shell’ are in a meronymic relation: shell is a meronym for lime, as the latter is made from mussel shells, *Microdontia andontaeformis*, collected from the river (the example of parallelism in 1.3.4).

Examples of the type ‘whole : part’ include 2.3-5 and 3.3-5 – house and house posts (house // diagonal post // female posts in 3.3-5.)
3.3 *yawt andanupon*, (x2)
house is shaking/moving
4 *pasilin andanupon*
diagonal post is shaking
5 *yumbunun andanupon*
women’s posts (ground posts) are shaking

While the semantic association between the first and the second two variables is that of whole to part (posts are parts of a house), in this context all the elements compared are animate nouns. In the past, the house and the two types of posts were all considered to be spirits and had names. That is why they needed to be informed when the song started entering the house, as mentioned in 6.2.2.1.

A more complex example of semantic relationships between the variables in a parallel set is 28.4-12, in which the compared elements are different types of spears or spear accessories. [Fig. 6.5]

**Kaunjambi line**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig. 6.5)</th>
<th>parallel term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tamandin tiaj, numbuk alay,</td>
<td>taman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twin that holds spears together, my husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masandin tiaj, numbuk alay,</td>
<td>masan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bundle of spears tied together, my husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ena tianjiij tiaj, numbuk alay,</td>
<td>en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spears tied with a twine, my husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toroka tianjiij tiaj, numbuk alay,</td>
<td>toroka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toroka</td>
<td>spear made of bamboo or wild betel nut for shooting pig, in the past also people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masay tianjiij tiaj, numbuk alay,</td>
<td>masay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bundle of spears tied together, my husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enemwug tianjiij tiaj, numbuk alay,</td>
<td>enemwug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the split in the top of the bamboo arm where the spear is attached and tied together, my husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaykot kaykola tianjiij tiaj, numbuk alay,</td>
<td>kaykot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaykot</td>
<td>hooked deadly spear made for killing man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ena tianjiij tiaj, numbuk alay,</td>
<td>en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spears tied with a twine, my husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusukupa tianjiij tiaj.</td>
<td>kusukupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusukupa</td>
<td>spear tied with a twine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

233
In this case, the variables, which all belong to the same semantic field, can be represented in a pattern \( aA_b_cA_d_e_bf \). They are all semantically associated with a ‘spear’: \( a \) taman ‘a twine that holds spears together’ is a metonym of spear (it is associated with a spear, but not in a part/whole relationship with it); \( A \) masan/masay ‘a bundle of spears’ is a holonym of spear (individual spears are parts of a bundle of spears); \( b \) en, an archaic Awiakay word for ‘spear’ is thus a synonym of ‘spear’; \( c/ e// f \) are types of spear and thus its hyponyms; \( d \) enemuq ‘the split in the top of the bamboo arm which allows the spear head to be inserted firmly into the handle and held in place by thinly cut rattan’ is a part of a spear and therefore its meronym. All these elements have further semantic relations among each other.

(iii) **Synonyms or near-synonyms**

(a) in 12.6-8, the triplet *panjam* // *kangakum* // *kamiayn* features synonyms denoting a ‘rubbishman’, a useless man who doesn’t go hunting, doesn’t kill anything and thus doesn’t provide any food.
(b) near-synonyms are expressions denoting a similar state, but with nuances in meaning, as in 18.5-7. In this case, *ayngas* // *pokombak* // *payingan* describe slight nuances of features of a worn-out or improperly chipped stone axe, the result of which is the tool’s malfunction. The closest English translations I could find would be ‘wonky // skewwhiff // off-kilter’.

(c) There are several cases in which variables in parallel sets are a combination of (near-) synonyms and words denoting the same thing in different codes. Apart from ordinary, modern Awiaj, these codes may be either (i) ‘archaic’ Awiaj words, referred to by the Awiaj as *nasepamgoy menda* ‘the language of the distant past’, which is still understood by some of the present speakers of Awiaj; (ii) *tasia menda* ‘the language of the spirits’. The meaning of spirit words can sometimes be guessed due to their relation with the commonly recognised words;28 (iii) borrowings from the neighbouring languages (the related Imanmeri, or the unrelated Karawari of Ambonwari, or Miyak of Asangamut). It is worth noting that Tok Pisin does not occur at any stage in *Kaunjambi*. In song 24, lines 10-14 feature such a parallel set. While all the variables in a parallel set mean ‘(spirit) crocodile’, the variation among

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28 Wilfred G. E. Watson, who studied classical Hebrew poetry, notes that rare, ‘esoteric’ terms are often paralleled with more commonly recognized terms. An understanding of these esoteric words derives from their relation to their more common partnered terms (Watson 1984; cf. Fox 2014.).
them is as follows: ordinary Awiakay // synonym A // Miyak borrowing // archaic Awiakay // synonym B.  
To stay as close to the original as possible and to convey the feeling of Awiakay speakers, and at the same time not to confuse the English speaker, I chose to translate the archaic Awiakay *awai* with the Middle English ‘cocoдрille’, and the Miyak borrowing *asin* with the Slovenian ‘krokodil’. In the subtitles of the video of this song, which I will shortly invite you to watch, these terms appear in italics.

```
Kaurjambi line
24.10 kamanj epop, papaka-imbuk-e
    I thought you were a crocodile and I went and threw you
    [into the water]
11 tasiam epop, papaka-imbuk-e
    I thought you were a spirit and I went and threw you
    [into the water]
12 asin epop, papaka-imbuk-e
    I thought you were a krokodil and I went and threw you
    [into the water]
13 awai epop, papaka-imbuk-e
    I thought you were a cocoдрille and I went and threw you
    [into the water]
14 Papuap epop, papaka-imbuk-e
    I thought you were spirit Papuap and I went and threw you
    [into the water]
```

Now please watch

![Video](https://vimeo.com/84734804)

Similar cases occur in 42.5-15, where the ordinary Awiakay term for ‘sun’, *tem*, is paralleled with an archaic Awiakay *asapi* and a Karawari word *simari*, or in 16.3-17, where the ordinary Awiakay term *tasia* ‘spirit’, is paralleled with a Meakambut term *takia*, which the Awiakay also described as an archaic Awiakay term.

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29 A combination of terms in which there is one common and another/ the others ‘rare and esoteric’, i.e. in some way unusual, as it may originate from another language, is of frequent occurrence in in several traditions of semantic parallelism (Fox, 2014).
Place names. About one third of all Kaunjambi songs (7, 8, 9, 16, 21, 24, 27, 34, 38) include parallel sets in which the variables are place names. Names of creeks (8.25-29, 21.9-16, 28-40; 27.10-75; 38.2-7), sometimes interchanged with hills (34.8-15), and names of pools, which are common spirit places (16.8-11; 24.15-17), commonly appear as sets of parallel terms.

Map 6.1 shows parts of AwiaKay land that are sung about in different songs.

Map 6.1: Representation of places in AwiaKay land in different songs of Kaunjambi

I translate the AwiaKay word goa (TP basis) as a ‘pool’ or ‘river pool’. These ‘pools’ are formed on the outer side of a stream bend (opposite the slip-off slope on the inside of the bend), under the eroded cut banks, which often expose the roots of nearby trees and other plant life. It is a place where one can dive for fish that come to feed on these exposed roots. A goa is also the area of a stream where the water is flowing the fastest and the deepest, making it rather dangerous at times of high water, particularly if there are fallen tree trunks in the stream. Geologically speaking, this is known as an area of high-energy. Speaking in AwiaKay terms, a goa is a dwelling place of water spirits. Each goa on AwiaKay land has a name. Note that there is a lot of regional variation in the use of Tok Pisin word basis and it is only used in this sense in the wider Karawari area.
We can include in this group different types of landscape (9.2-7), *palakay* ‘plains’ // *mujam* ‘lake’ // *andaj* ‘swamp’. As well as being general terms for lake and swamp, *Mujam* and *Andaj* are also proper names, referring to a specific lake and swamp on the Awiakay land.

Connected with land are also spirit places, which are named for their typical vegetation (16.12-17). Spirits are known to live in the water of thorny sago swamps (line 12), in the water around the roots where one would go and cut into a fallen sago trunk to prepare it for sago grubs (line 13), in the water underneath the floating broad-bladed grass, in the water around *tendem*, a type of vine with edible leaves, in the water around the roots of pandanus trees, as well as in the water in which kunai grass grows. The association of the variables in this sextuplet is thus based on Awiakay understanding that the water around the roots of these plants is a dwelling place of spirits, who are invoked by calling these places.

```
16.12  tao kanja yomba, takia ke
       spirit of thorny sago swamp water, oh, spirit
13    wao kunda yomba, takia ke
       spirit of the water of the sago-grubs trunk roots, oh, spirit
14    kongonoj kunia yomba, takia ke
       spirit of the broad-bladdered-grass roots water, oh, spirit
15    tendem kunia yomba, tasia ke
       spirit of *tendem* roots water, oh, spirit
16    kiakay kunia yomba, takia ke
       spirit of pandanus roots water, oh, spirit
17    awe kunia yomba, takia ke
       spirit of kunai grass roots water, oh, spirit
```

In *Kaunjambi* variables in the largest parallel sets (septuplets and octuplets) are always place names. However, unlike the topogenies discussed by Fox (1997: 89), these place names are only ordered to the extent that the place name of a ‘higher order’ comes first and the others follow. The example below (8.27-33) starts with two hills, and continues with Tawim, the main creek, followed by its tributaries Kukay, Mumiam, Kumbikin and Amiam. This resembles a holonymic relation between the ‘whole’ (line 29) and its parts (lines 30-33). While the main part, ‘the whole’ needs to come first, the order of the equally important parts is not crucial – in this case the order of the tributaries is not necessarily the same as their
This kind of pattern, which I have not found in the literature about parallelism, occurs in a number of parallel sets with three or more variables. The first variable in the parallel set, A, is a hypernym or a holonym to the other variables, b // c // d // e // f // g // ..., which are either its types (hyponyms) or its parts (meronyms), respectively. While a parallel set always starts with (A), the order of the other variables that follow (b, c, d, e, f, g...) is not important. This kind of a parallel set is like a branch of betel nuts that is hung on the main post in the house where Kaunjambi is performed: While the branch itself (A) needs to be hung first, it is then not important in what order the betel nuts (b, c, d, e, f, g...) are picked. For the purposes of this thesis I will thus call it the ‘betelnut template’ (Figure 6.1).
Not all Kaunjambi songs were composed in the faraway or mythical past. The Awiakay — men, women or young teenagers — most often compose songs when they are out in the bush. It is commonly their hearing a song of a bird that evokes strong emotions in them, such as sorrow, longing or nostalgia (cf. Feld 1990, Weiner 1991). A bird’s song often reminds people of their dead relatives or makes them long for their romantic interests. Some of these songs are never repeated, others, composed by women who long for a man, belong to a special song genre, called *nam endinga* ‘women’s songs’. They are

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31 I have noticed on several occasions that the Awiakay do not favour linear order of elements over any other possible order. One such occasion was when a new teacher arrived in the village to teach Grade 3 of the Primary school. As he did not realise that the students who had completed two years of Elementary schooling in their vernacular and Tok Pisin would find it hard to start their education in English without a proper bridge, he started teaching them in English. None of the students understood the sentences that were written on the blackboard. When I was checking the notebooks of those who came to ask me for help with their homework, I noticed that many have copied sentences from the blackboard without paying attention to the (linear) word order. They did, however, copy all the elements, which is reminiscent of the “betelnut template” employed in *Kaunjambi*. 

---

*Figure 6.1: Betelnut template*
composed in order to seduce a man and indeed most often end up in marriages. It has happened recently that one such composition has been taken up and eventually become a part of Kaunjambi. Song 9 was composed in mid-1990s by Ambruš Ambukan (now deceased) and Koni Wandak who is now about 38. Koni says that they were out on the lake when they heard the kumbyyn bird, and they composed this song. It had become so popular that the lead singers started including it in Kaunjambi.

Table 6.4: Parallelism in song 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kumbuyyn</th>
<th>momoy</th>
<th>kumbuyyn (x4)</th>
<th>Kumbuyyn bird is singing, (x4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A palak</td>
<td>mamba-η entrance-LOC momoy is.singing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>singing at the mouth of the plains, [plains between the riverbank and the hills]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>B Mungam</td>
<td>mamba-η entrance-LOC momoy is.singing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mungam [lake]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>singing at the mouth of the lake,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>C Andaŋ</td>
<td>mamba-η entrance-LOC momoy is.singing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andaŋ [sago swamp]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>singing at the mouth of the sago swamp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>C Andaŋ</td>
<td>nambun the.woman eke heard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andaŋ [sago swamp]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The woman in the sago swamp has heard it,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>B Mungam</td>
<td>nambun the.woman eke heard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mungam [lake]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the woman at the lake has heard it,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>A palak</td>
<td>nambun the.woman eke heard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the woman in the plains has heard it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This song is an example of a very orderly parallelism. There are some more cases in Kaunjambi (songs 4, 18, 26) in which the first line (or the first few lines) does not participate in parallelism.32 Each of the following lines features three different parallel sets. In the first triplet, ‘plains // lake // swamp’, there is a (vertical) chiasmus,33 the reversal of word order when the variables from lines 2-4 are repeated in lines 5-7: ABC-CBA. The point where the first parallel triplet turns around (line 5) is also a point at which the repetitions of the

---

32 This either marks the beginning of the text (Fabb 1997: 143) or is used to emphasize a key idea at the beginning or end (Jakobson 1987: 156), which is hard to establish in songs that are in spirit language.

33 As a rhetorical reversal of the second of two parallel phrases, chiasmus normally occurs horizontally, within a line, such as in 32.1/4. Examples of chiasmus can be found in Ku Waru sung tales (Rumsey 2011: 253). Watson (1984: 201-213) points out that chiasmus is a common device for poetic composition in Hebrew. Fox (2014) brings about several examples of chiasmus being used in other parallelistic traditions such as K’iche and some Mayan groups.
first terms in parallel sets 2 and 3 turn into introducing a new element, which is coupled with the existing *mamba* ‘entrance/mouth’ in parallel set 2 and with *momoy* ‘is singing’ in parallel set 3. Plains, lake and swamp represent Awiakay land. They are three out of five Awiakay terms for landscape; the other two being *pondo* ‘mountain’ and *tumbun* ‘mud-filled swamp’, an area which is hard to walk across. In parallel set 2, ‘the entrance’ is coupled with ‘woman’, and in parallel set 3, *momoy* ‘sang’ is paralleled with *eke* ‘heard’. The two verbs are both in the past tense and both take third person singular subjects although these features are expressed with different suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>momo-0-y</th>
<th>e-ke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing-PST-3SG.SUBJ</td>
<td>hear-PST3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sang’</td>
<td>‘heard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although they at first seem to be semantically different, there is a kind of semantic connection between them (i.e. singing is heard). Such pairings can reflect logical relations such as cause – effect (e.g. giving // receiving; wanting // getting).

***

What, then, can we make of parallelisms in Kaunjambi? The parallel terms may superficially seem to be just collections of words: names of different animals and plants, of house posts and spears, baskets and bilums, spirits and spirit places, ways of hunting and fishing, as well as different ways of saying one and the same thing. To the Awiakay though, elements in each of the parallel sets reflect a closer relation than that. Names of birds are not ‘just birds’. As Feld observed for the Kaluli, they are ‘voices in the forest’ (Feld 1982: 45). Although the Awiakay do not maintain that birds are their dead ancestors, their songs remind people of their deceased relatives, of longing for their lovers, of their hunting trips and staying in bush-camps – and about everyone talking about all this back in the village. Each parallel term is thus not only culturally significant, it also brings about memories of people’s personal experiences, it carries an imprint of a social memory.

Given the abundance of parallelisms in *Kaunjambi*, it is no surprise that the most proficient *Kaunjambi* singers, as well as middle-aged and older women who are well familiar with *Kaunjambi*, frequently use parallelisms in other linguistic registers, such as public speeches or fights, as we could see in the examples in Chapter 3.

Despite the insights we get when looking into the parallelisms of *Kaunjambi*, we should bear in mind that dissecting these songs into text, melody, rhythm, etc. feels
unnatural to the Awiakay. For them, sound and sensation of Kaunjambi are “cognitively and emotionally integrated in the deepest sense [...] as a felt iconic wholeness”, as Feld (1988: 107) observed for Kaluli groove. When I asked some Awiakay men to help me with transcription of the songs, they immediately asked children to go and fetch their hand-drums, some reached into their bilums to take out their arm-bands and stick some leaves into them for decoration, yet others sent the children to the river bank to get some clay for face painting, while the girls who were hanging around immediately broke off some branches of the sañe bush (Polyscias fruticosa) to hold in their hands, in order to be ready to dance. Kaunjambi is not only a set of texts and melodies, but a larger whole which also includes dancing, decorations, and a shared knowledge of the cultural background discussed above. Just like its numerous parallelisms, it comprises the Awiakay lifeworld as a whole and is only possible as such. Having treated its textual features, and in order to provide a somewhat fuller picture of the larger whole that is Kaunjambi, I now turn to a consideration of some of its musical features.
6.4 SOME MUSICAL FEATURES OF Kaunjambi

In this section I will describe some basic features of the music in Kaunjambi and indicate how these are intertwined with the language.

6.4.1 INSTRUMENTS

The instruments used in Kaunjambi are punjim ‘hand drums’ (TP kundu) and umhuti ‘slit drum’ (TP garamut). Flutes, which were in the past used to represent spirits’ voices, were only used in the men’s house during male initiations and, as in many other parts of PNG, women and children were not allowed to see them. The sound of the flutes was a warning for women and children not to approach the men’s house, the place where, according to the Awia-Kay, tremendous powers gathered at the time of initiation. In Kaunjambi, however, ancestral spirits sing through the voices of men, but because the songs were originally passed to a woman and were not part of a secret ritual, there is no taboo connected with them.

6.4.2 TEMPO AND PULSE/RHYTHM

Almost all songs in Kaunjambi have an average (mean, mode, and median) pulse of approximately 125 beats per minute (bpm), which varies between 118 and 132 bpm. The one exception is song 31 ‘Asi mek, mek’ which always begins very fast, with 167 bpm, but then slows down to a more usual pulse of 127 bpm later in the song.

Usually the metre appears to be set in unison by the umhuti ‘slit drum’ and the punjim ‘hand drums’. They play together on each beat. In the first two songs, which are sung outside, only hand drums are used, but they are joined by the slit drum as soon as ‘the song’ enters the house. There are only two songs (2 and 42) in which the rhythm of the drums is other than a simple pulse.

In song 2, the rhythm begins with \( \text{x-x-x-x} \) (with hitting the drums on 1, 2 and 3 but then not for the fourth beat; in visual representation \( \text{x} \) stands for hitting the drum on a beat and \( \text{-} \) for resting on a beat). This rhythm is only used for the first line, \( \text{O-yo, aymkari pambalo, waromaman pambalo} \), which is sung in the spirit language. With the shift to ordinary Awia-Kay, the rhythm changes to \( \text{x-x-} \) \( \text{x-x-} \) ... (with hitting the drums on 1 and 2, but then resting on the third beat) and remains the same during the repetitions of line.

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\(^{34}\) I kindly thank Don Niles for his generous help with the musical analysis of Kaunjambi. While I would not have been able to write this section without his input, any shortcomings are entirely my fault.

\(^{35}\) Interestingly, a pulse of 125bpm matches a fast heart beat, as if when the organism is under stimulants.
2 ‘I’m coming up to the house’. There can be several repetitions of these two lines, with the rhythm alternation as described. With the start of the parallel set in lines 3-7, in which each of the lines may be repeated several times, the rhythm changes to normal pulse xxxx ... (striking the drums on each beat). At the time when this occurs, the singers and dancers start entering the house (Table 6.5).

Before consulting Table 6.5, please watch

**VIDEO 6-4: Song 2: Aykmari pambalo [1:04] [https://vimeo.com/84740427 PASSWORD: K](https://vimeo.com/84740427 PASSWORD: K)**

Table 6.5: Language, rhythm and action correspondences in song 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song 2</th>
<th>Kaunjambi line</th>
<th>rhythm</th>
<th>language</th>
<th>action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>O-yo, aykmari pambalo, waromaman pambalo ??</td>
<td>XXX-</td>
<td>spirit language</td>
<td>sung outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yao wambopalik [repeated many times] I’m coming up to the house</td>
<td>XX- XX-</td>
<td>Awiakay</td>
<td>sung outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yao wambopalik, e-e I’m coming up to the house</td>
<td>XXXX</td>
<td>Awiakay</td>
<td>starts moving into the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yumbunuy wambopalik, e-e I’m coming to the female posts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>makanbuy wambopalik I’m coming to the main post</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pasituy wambopalik I’m coming to the diagonal post</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>yao wambopalik I’m coming up to the house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In song 42, the first four lines (as seen in the transcript in Appendix J), which include spirit language combined with words from the Karawari language or with ‘archaic’ Awiakay words, differ greatly between performances, and are sometimes not sung at all. However, the line that is always there is temun yakandi ‘the sun’s about to rise’ (line 5 in Appendix J / line 2 in Table 6.6), which is repeated several times. The initial xx- xx- ... rhythm (with hitting the drums on 1 and 2, but then not for the third beat) changes to normal pulse xxxx ... (striking the drums on each beat) in line asapi konganjinbon ‘the sun is giving light’ (line 6 in Appendix J / line 3 in Table 6.6). This marks the beginning of a new parallel set, as well as a change in theme (the sun, which

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36 I translated the ‘archaic’ word asapi as ‘the orb’, rather than ‘the sun’, to mark its quaint character.
was about to rise, now starts giving light). If a person is being honoured by carrying, it is at this point that he or she is hoisted onto the shoulders again (Table 6.6).

Now please watch

![VIDEO 6-5: Song 42: Sipin gari](https://vimeo.com/84739263) [1:08]  
Password: K

Table 6.6: Rhythm and language in Song 42

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song 42</th>
<th>Kaunjambi line</th>
<th>rhythm</th>
<th>language</th>
<th>action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>O, asapi munda konan, ani kunjapoplam O, fiery orb ...</td>
<td>XX- XX-</td>
<td>archaic + spirit language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>temun yakandi [repeated several times] the sun’s about to rise</td>
<td></td>
<td>modern Awiakay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>O, asapi kononganbon O, the orb is giving light now</td>
<td>XXXX</td>
<td>archaic Awiakay + modern Awiakay</td>
<td>the honoured person hoisted onto the shoulders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yongon yamba kononganbon the fiery carapes is giving light</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>temun yakandi [repeated several times] the sun’s about to rise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>O, asapi kononganbon, asapi – e O, the orb is giving light now</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>temun kononganbon, temun – e the sun is giving light</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>yongon yamba kononganbon, yongon – e the fiery carapes is giving light</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>temun kononganbon, temun – e the sun is giving light</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both songs with the change of rhythm are ones that close the bracketing sections in Kaunjambi. Song 2 closes the Aiwa kundia section, when the singers and dancers start entering the house, whereas the last song, 42, closes the Tem endingga section (in a couple of places one can hear a man hiss to indicate that the rhythm should change—a common cue) after which everybody leaves the house. All the songs in the Yao endingga section use the simple pulse rhythm.

The transcript in this table slightly varies from the transcript of Song 42 in Appendix J, as it follows the video which features two performances: one from 2012 and one from 2009. The variations between performances are marked in the text.
There appear to be two basic melodic structures used for all the songs in the corpus:

(a) one in which the melody descends from D to G, with the last pitch being the
tonal centre (D–G melody);

(b) one in which the melody descends a shorter distance, from E to C, this time
with C (the lowest pitch) as tonal centre (E–C melody).

Table 6.7 shows which songs use which melody.

Table 6.7: Musical features of Kaunjambi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>song no.</th>
<th>pulse (bpm)</th>
<th>D-G melody</th>
<th>E-C melody</th>
<th>lower pt</th>
<th>distinctive rhythm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D B A G</td>
<td>E D C</td>
<td>G’ E’ D’ C’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiwa Kundia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xxx- -&gt; xx- xx- -&gt; xxxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao Endirga</td>
<td>'Songs of the house'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>167 -&gt; 127</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>(✓)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tem Endirga</td>
<td>'Songs of the sun'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 42       | 123         | ✓           |             | ✓       | xx- xx- -> xxxxx ...

The actual pitches heard are variable; the names used here are for convenience to specify the pitch
intervals between the notes and their general range.
Before explaining the relations between melody and text I would like to invite you to watch the video of Song 24, which uses the D-G melody.39

Please watch

PASSWORD: K

Table 6.8: Transcript of Video example K-V06 with pitches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kaunjambi line</th>
<th>pitch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24.1 O, Manginsat - o, Manginsat - o (x6)</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manginsat - o (x6)</td>
<td>B -&gt; A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manginsat - o (x6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O, Imasinay, Imasinay (x4)</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Imasinay (x12)</td>
<td>B -&gt; A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imasinay (x2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo, Pambalomay, Pambalomay (x5)</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pambalomay (x4)</td>
<td>B -&gt; A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pambalomay (x4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 kamay epop, papaka-imbuk-e</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I thought you were a crocodile and I went and threw you into the water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasiam epop, papaka-imbuk-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I thought you were a spirit and I went and threw you into the water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asin epop, papaka-imbuk-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I thought you were a krokodil and I went and threw you into the water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awai epop, papaka-imbuk-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I thought you were a cocodrille and I went and threw you [into the water]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Pupuap epop, papaka-imbu-ke</td>
<td>A -&gt; G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I thought you were spirit Pupuap and I went and threw you [into the water]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>several repetitions of the parallel set in lines 10-14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 kolok mamgoy piakainbuk-e</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I let you go from my hands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 nangauk mamgoy piakainbuk-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I let you go from my arms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repetitions of the parallel set in lines 15-16</td>
<td>A -&gt; G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 tambuka-imbepep, piakainbuk-e</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'd been nursing you [like a baby], and I let you go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isaimbepep, piakainbuk-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'd been holding you like at breastfeeding, and I let you go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39 In the subtitles, the blue type indicates spirit language, italics represent 'archaic' Awiakay or words from other languages, whereas ordinary type stands for ordinary Awiakay. The pitch is marked above the subtitles.
me-imbepep. piakainbuk-e
I’d been kissing you, and I let you go
20 wambik-mangoy. piakainbuk-e
[holding you] on my thighs, and I let you go

[repetitions of the parallel set in lines 17-20]
[repetitions of the previous parallel set; lines 15-16]

21 Yayput wangiay piakainbuk-e
I let you go into Yayput river-pool
Wagandem engay piakainbuk-e
I let you go into the froth of Wagandem pool

23 Kisipangum engay piakainbuk-e
I let you go into the froth of Kisipangum pool

In the case of the D–G melody thus, a number of repetitions of a line in a parallel set is first sung on D (lines 24.1, 4 and 7 in Table 6.8). The subphrases, which are further repetitions of the same line, are sung using B → A, with these subphrases ending on A. When the spirit language shifts to ordinary Awiakay, the whole parallel set is first sung on D, whereas the subsequent repetitions are sung using A → G, and then finally only G is sung. Each subphrase ends on the lowest pitch used in the subphrase, hence there is a constant descending movement. These changes of melodic subphrases are not done in unison, hence there is a lot of overlap in the transitions, often resulting in two different pitches being sung simultaneously (which is represented in Figures 6.4 to 6.5 as a single X on a lower pitch). They gradually resolve to a unison on the lowest pitch, the tonal centre. These are not errors, but rather the way Kaunjambi is sung. It also happens that different singers change text at the same time, so at any moment there are overlapping bits of melody and bit of text, but with an underlying, clear, and constant pulse rhythm. A new melodic phrase begins with a unison start on D again, followed by the gradual descent. So, the phrase looks as shown below, with each subphrase gradually descending:

Figure 6.2: A musical phrase in D–G melody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pitch</th>
<th>1st subphrase</th>
<th>2nd subphrase</th>
<th>3rd subphrase</th>
<th>final subphrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D:</td>
<td>XXXXXXXXXXXX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B:</td>
<td></td>
<td>XXXXXXX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XXXXXXX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XXXXXXXXXXXX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The E-C melody is quite similar to that described above, except that in the beginning subphrase using a higher pitch is omitted (see Figure 6.3). A more detailed comparison of the two melodies might prove the E-C melody to be a version of the D-G melody (e.g., simply omitting the 1st subphrase above).

In the vast majority of cases that use the E-C melody, in addition to the main section of the song, sung in full voice, there is a second part that follows the conclusion of a full-voiced melodic phrase with the text sung at a lower pitch level and quite a bit more softly. This is always the last round of repetitions of a line or a parallel set, the part when the lead singer becomes silent in order to start a new parallel set in full voice. Interestingly, this lower part usually uses the same melodic movement as in D-G melodies. Before going on, please watch a video example of Song 10, which uses the E-C melody.

Now please watch

VIDEO 6-7: Song 10: Ekay tum tum [1:34] https://vimeo.com/85131842  PASSWORD: K

In the main part of this song the E-C melody is used and this is followed by a part that is sung on D-G but in the lower octave, i.e. G'-C' (e.g., songs 9, 10, 15, 16, 19, 25, 31-41; see Table 6.1).

**Figure 6.3: A musical phrase in E-C melody**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pitch</th>
<th>1st subphrase</th>
<th>2nd subphrase</th>
<th>final subphrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>XXXXXXX</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XXXXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XXXXXXXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XXXXXXXXX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then the following part is sung an octave lower than the above. Note that it is very similar as the D-G melody, but sung much more quietly:

**Figure 6.4: A part of the song that is sung in a lower octave after E-C melody**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pitch</th>
<th>1st subphrase</th>
<th>2nd subphrase</th>
<th>3rd subphrase</th>
<th>final subphrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G'</td>
<td>XXXXXXXXXX</td>
<td>XXXXXXX</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XXXXXXXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E'</td>
<td>XXXXXXXXXX</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XXXXXXXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XXXXXXX</td>
<td></td>
<td>XXXXXXXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C'</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>XXXXXXXXX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In a few places, this lower part is not very clear because not all the pitches are easily heard (e.g. song 31), but they are probably implied. Only in song no. 1 is the E-C melody used without the lower part also being present.

Regardless of which melody is used, the melodic movement of phrases in a song is from the higher pitch (D or E, respectively) descending to the tonal centre (G or C, respectively). The relations between these phrases and text will be discussed shortly, here just to mention that a new element in the text commonly lies at the beginning of a phrase.

A musical phrase of *Kaunjambi* begins on a high pitch. The initial words are usually sung solely on this higher pitch (D or E, respectively), with subsequent words incorporating lower pitches, with final words in the musical phrase being sung on the tonal centre only. The text is mostly set syllabically, with a single syllable per pitch.

Rising pitch and an increase in volume marks the repeat of the melodic phrase. Such factors indicate: a change of theme (e.g., between lines 14 and 15 of song 22 [in video example VIDEO 6-8 marked with # above the subtitles]) or change to quoted speech (e.g., lines 10–12 of song 22 when addressing the dog [marked QS in the video example]), or the introduction of new textual material. In all cases, the boundaries correspond with the boundaries between parallel sets. For examples of this, please watch and listen to the video of Song 22:


Song 22 is a combination of all the elements that have been listed above that provides an important synergy: all these parts come together to create the greater whole that is *Kaunjambi*.
6.5 CONCLUSION:  
*Kaunjambi* AS AN INDIGENOUSLY COMPOSED AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHY

In this chapter I introduced *Kaunjambi*, looked at its language, analysed its parallelisms and music and tried to convey some of the feeling of this song/dance cycle with the film and audio samples. I will conclude with some thoughts on why the Awiakay have come to identify themselves so closely with this song/dance cycle.

*Kaunjambi* does not analyse, nor does it moralize or provide explicit models for life. There is no dialogue in any of the songs, and direct speech appears only once (when addressing a dog in 22.10-12). There is hardly any mention of people, let alone any verbal interaction between humans, animals or spirits. Instead, *Kaunjambi* is like multitudinous thoughts and feelings, which pass through the mind of an Awiakay being (a person or a spirit) travelling along their land between the present and the distant past. While the songs of *Kaunjambi* on first exposure to them seem unorganised, as there is no narrative, a closer look at the songs reveals that a *Kaunjambi* performance consists of a highly organised collection of snapshots depicting the Awiakay lifeworld, snapshots that appear in the shape of parallel sets which are indigenously recognised as iconically Awiakay.

Through the extensive use of different types of parallelism the Awiakay (spirits) subtly disclose the Awiakay lifeworld. All the themes we encounter in Kaunjambi are what people connect with ‘Awiakayness’. Snapshots of animals, plants and places in their land remind the Awiakay of their daily interaction with the environment; names of ancestral and bush spirits and kin relations point to the complexity of social relationships in Awiakay society, as well as to the relationships between people and spirits, and between the present and the past. The presence of the past in the present is also felt in the parallel sets featuring names of netbags and baskets, house items, tools and weapons, as well as head decorations. Some of these are no longer used or are being largely replaced by new items, bought in town. However, many of them distinguish the Awiakay from neighbouring groups: making and using netbags distinguishes them from the Ambonwari and other Karawari groups, using certain types of cooking utensils distinguishes them from both Ambonwari and Asangamut, the types of spears they use also places them into a particular setting. An abundance of parallel sets featuring synonyms and near synonyms, as well as the figures of speech that define relationships...
among the variables within parallel sets all point to the importance of the creative use of language in Awiakay society, a premise that has been central to all chapters in this thesis.

Just like drum beats, the loudest parts of the music in Kaunjambi, would not even be audible without the silences between them, nor could we hear them as music without the voices and the melody that connect them. In the text it is the variables of numerous parallel sets that attract our attention, but they would not be felt prominent without the bits of repeated, seemingly unimportant or non-understandable text around them. It is thus this whole that illuminates the important elements.

Besides that, we should bear in mind that Kaunjambi is not meant to be fully understood, but fully felt by its participants. It is the common ground that the Awiakay share that makes them identify themselves as a group with Kaunjambi, and it is their individual experiences and memories that makes them feel the songs more profoundly.

It is in view of the above that I refer to Kaunjambi as an indigenously-composed auto-ethnography, one consisting of a collection of snapshots from the Awiakay lifeworld, sung by the Awiakay themselves, or, in the Awiakay view, by their ancestral spirits who created this song cycle, and sing through the voices of men every time Kaunjambi is performed.
Chapter Seven:

Conclusion

In previous chapters I have discussed seven linguistic registers as used and named by Awiakay speakers: (1) *kay menda* 'mountain talk', which used to protect people from mountain spirits, (2) its continuation, or modern version, which I refer to as 'hidden talk', which is used in town in order to conceal one's intentions from potential robbers; (3) *kandej momba* 'big talk' or 'the language of public intra-village fights', which is closely connected with (4) *oupla* 'the language of domestic quarrels'; (5) *wanjaym momba* 'obscured talk', used by the spirit through its medium in spirit possession; (6) *pukupuku kanapla* 'grief-crying' or the sung-texted melodic weeping of laments, and (7) the language of an all-night song/dance cycle called *Kamjambi*. Each of these registers is used in a particular context – in connection with particular social practices – and with specific functions. Let us now reconsider these registers in terms of the following questions:

• What are the features that remain relatively constant from one performance to another and make a register recognisable as such?

• What makes performances within a given linguistic register understandable to the 'insiders', and so what is it that we need to learn in order to understand the meaning of these registers?

• In turn, what can we learn about a society through studying linguistic registers?

• More concretely, what do we learn about Awiakay society through the study of its registers – and, does this apply to other (small-scale) societies?

• And finally, what is the function of these Awiakay registers?

In his famous *Concluding statement* to the Sebeok (1960) volume *Style in Language* Roman Jakobson cites literary theorists Wimsatt and Beardsley, who state that "a performance is an event, but the poem itself [...] must be some kind of enduring object" (Jakobson 1960: 365-366). I have treated linguistic registers with reference to both, *objects* (texts) and *performance*, thus allowing their respective analyses to complement each other.

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Working from verbatim transcripts I analysed particular instantiations of various linguistic registers as texts, examining their structure and their relationships to the socio-cultural context in which the texts were produced and received. In other words, I analysed these instantiations of registers as performances. I treated each performance as an object, and studied it as such.

The next few paragraphs will show how the nature of the ‘enduring object’ in different Awiakay registers varies in relation to various aspects of ‘text’ and ‘performance’.

7.1 Text as enduring object

Linguistic registers are the multiple frameworks within which discourse takes place, embedded in a particular social context. When discourse is taken out of its context (decontextualized), it becomes a text, i.e. an ‘enduring object’.1 This process has been called entextualization (Bauman and Briggs 1990). Entextualization in turn enables recontextualization, which happens when a particular text is reused in a new context. Each new performance brings with it a fresh context, which means that a text is continually being recontextualized.

There are considerable differences among the Awiakay registers in the extent to which they are – or are not – associated with fixed texts. In Kaunjambi, fixed texts in given melodies comprise everything that can possibly be ‘said’ in the register, whereas in other registers the role of enduring object is realised in different ways: by fixed words and phrases in ‘mountain talk’ and ‘hidden talk’, formulaic expressions in fights and in laments, and vague sentences and instances of glossolalia in ‘spirit talk’ (see Table 7.1).

When we examine what it is that endures from one performance to another within a register, it becomes clear that it is often not the ‘text’ as the verbal component of the source text, but a certain part of the context (which I call ‘non-text’ in order to differentiate it from the rest of the context) that is conventionalized and repeated (Table 7.1). Apart from Kaunjambi, this is rather typical of all other registers.

---

1 The usage of the word text as referring to an enduring object should not be conflated with the ‘text of the verbatim transcripts’ (which Silverstein and Urban (1996) refer to as ‘text-artifact’) or text in the sense of ‘source text’. I therefore use the term ‘fixed text’ when referring to text as enduring object.
7.2 Non-text as enduring object

Non-textual aspects of performance can thus also be seen (and studied) as the enduring object that indexes a particular register. Gregory Bateson, who drew attention to the term *metacommunication*, i.e. 'communication about communication' (Bateson 1951: 209), suggested that meta-messages conveyed by paralinguistic features such as facial expression and bodily comportment generally take priority over literal discursive content as determinants of what is actually communicated. Framed by different types of metacommunication, the same verbal message can mean something entirely different, even its very opposite. Angry talk in Awiakay, for example, is recognised as such more from the accompanying facial display – the ‘angry gesture’, as I called it in Chapter 3 (VIDEO 3-5) – than from the words spoken. Without that display, and without some other aspects of the accompanying context, the same utterance could be considered joking. The same can be said of laments. Apart from the formulaic expressions (conventionalized text), it is the melodic weeping that makes everyone understand that the text involved is to be framed as ‘grief-crying’. Rather than by text alone, a domestic fight is marked by loud abuse coming from inside the house, often combined with repetitive rhetorical questions, by one of the partners breaking the sago-stem or thatch walls of the house, or by a wife chasing her husband through the village with an axe. Glossolalia and vague sentences that index ‘spirit talk’ (Chapter 4) are accompanied by a bodily comportment that is characteristic of spirit possession, such as a raised and shaking hand, intent gaze and sweeping movements (VIDEO 4-1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>register</th>
<th>ENDURING OBJECT</th>
<th>CONTEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>text</td>
<td>context of situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-textual features</td>
<td>(social practice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOUNTAIN TALK</td>
<td>specific words and phrases</td>
<td>travelling to the mountains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIDDEN TALK</td>
<td>specific words and phrases</td>
<td>travelling to town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIG TALK</td>
<td>formulaic expressions</td>
<td>bodily comportment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intra-village fights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMESTIC FIGHTS</td>
<td>canonical insults</td>
<td>loud abuse in the house;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>destroying the house;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife chasing her husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>through the village with an axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPIRIT TALK</td>
<td>glossolalia, vague sentences</td>
<td>bodily comportment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>formulaic expressions</td>
<td>Catholic charismatic activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lamenting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRIEF-CRYING</td>
<td>formulaic expressions</td>
<td>melodic weeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAUNJAMBI</td>
<td>fixed texts in given melodies</td>
<td>all-night singing/dancing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1: Enduring object and context in Awiakay registers
However, to grasp the whole context necessary for understanding the meanings produced in various registers it is useful to go beyond the traditional notions of ‘text’ and ‘performance’ and follow Bauman and Briggs who suggested that “[i]nvoking a genre [...] creates indexical connotations that extend far beyond the present setting of production and reception, thereby linking a particular act to other times, places and persons” (Briggs and Bauman, 1992: 147-148). I turn now to exploring such links in Awiakay registers.

7.3 Context and common ground

Every register is embedded in a context of social practices/situations. In the Awiakay case these include travelling to the mountains or to the town, intra-village or domestic fights, spirit possession, lamenting, and all-night singing and dancing (see Table 7.1). These contexts can be experienced by everyone who is present during the time of the discursive event in which the register is being used, and correspond to Malinowski’s (1935 [v.2]: 73) concept of the context of situation – as opposed to what he labels as context of culture, which is less accessible to ‘outsiders’, even if they do participate in the discursive event in which the register in question is being used. The context of culture is based on the shared cultural knowledge and beliefs, which are common to ‘insiders’. For the purpose of analysing Awiakay registers, I replace this concept with the partly overlapping, yet broader notion of common ground, which Herbert Clark defines as “the sum of [...] mutual, common, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions” (Clark 1996: 93). When based on membership in cultural communities, common ground “includes facts, beliefs, and assumptions about objects, norms of behaviour, conventions, procedures, skills, and even ineffable experiences” (1996: 112).

Common ground comprises what Clark (1996) calls communal common ground, which is at least partially shared by all community members in advance of any particular speech events in which the registers are used (and thus roughly corresponds to Malinowski’s context of culture), and personal common ground, which may be shared between people regardless of their background and is not necessarily shared by all members of the community. Clark defines a cultural community as “a set of people with a shared expertise that other communities lack” (1996: 102). However, this expertise is graded. While some information is assumed to be central, and thus very likely to be part
of every member's repertoire, other information is only peripheral (1996: 103). Some common ground can thus be only partially shared, and may be built up in the course of interaction. This is often the case with respect to personal common ground, and can in the Awiakay case be seen in fights when some people learn about the history of the events that led to that particular dispute, or in laments when they learn about the wrongs done to the lamenter, which they may not have known about before, etc.

The common ground may include knowledge of some prior discursive event that has been jointly experienced by the speaker and his/her audience or passed to them by others. The text of a discursive event can thus be likened to a literary text which refers or alludes to other, prior texts. In reference to a complex interrelationship between a text and other texts, whereby the meaning of a text can be derived from interdependent ways in which texts stand in relation to each other, Julia Kristeva coined the term *intertextuality*. In that she followed Bakhtin, who suggested that "literary structure does not simply exist but is generated in relation to another structure" (Kristeva 1980: 64). The reader thus produces the meaning in relation to: (a) the text in question; and (b) the complex network of texts invoked in the reading process – just like the hearer in a discursive event produces the meaning in relation to: (a) the text of the discursive event in question (i.e. what is being said at the time); and (b) the complex network of prior discursive events invoked in the process.

However, the prior event included in common ground does not necessarily have to be verbal discourse: it can just as well be the shared knowledge or experience of a place, an animal, a smell, a birdcall, as well as an emotion, a state, a belief, etc. It is through this common ground that what is said in a given speech event often refers to ‘other times, places and persons’.

To return to Awiakay registers discussed in previous chapters, communal common ground is perhaps most essential for understanding the cryptic spirit's speech (Chapter 4). Listeners could only interpret the spirit’s words on the basis of their shared knowledge of everyday village gossip. Crucial for understanding the event were also shared beliefs, i.e. that the woman was possessed by a spirit, that a spirit can speak through the mouth of its medium, that the spirit is familiar with the current (political) situation in the village, etc. (See Table 7.2).
Table 7.2: Common ground in Awiakay registers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>register</th>
<th>shared experiences</th>
<th>shared beliefs</th>
<th>shared suppositions</th>
<th>shared knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mountain talk</td>
<td>fog in the mountain; fear of becoming lost</td>
<td>spirits can harm people; using 'mountain talk' will prevent the spirits from harming people</td>
<td>mountain spirits are listening</td>
<td>myth about mountain spirits; avoidance vocabulary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidden talk</td>
<td>(fear of) being robbed by bandits in town</td>
<td>using 'hidden talk' will prevent the potential bandits from understanding what the Awiakay are talking about</td>
<td>bandits might be listening</td>
<td>avoidance vocabulary based on Awiakay landscape, flora, fauna, daily life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big talk</td>
<td>if a person holds a resentment, his/her spirit is detached from their body; such a person is open to sickness; a person who has a grievance must take it out</td>
<td>a person who holds a resentment may turn to sorcery</td>
<td>past events; land ownership; Awiakay genealogies; moral norms; social obligations; village politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic fights</td>
<td>being alone is not normal; a person who is alone is allowed to complain; shaming can harm a person</td>
<td></td>
<td>Awiakay kinship and genealogies; exchange marriage; moral and behavioural norms; social obligations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirit talk</td>
<td>spirits can possess people; a spirit can speak through the mouth of its medium</td>
<td>the spirit is telling the truth</td>
<td></td>
<td>village politics; public gossip;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grief-crying</td>
<td>the lamenter's spirit is detached from his/her body; the wronged person should be placated so as not to develop a resentment</td>
<td>the lamenter is sincere</td>
<td>instances of wrongdoings; social obligations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaunjambi</td>
<td>everyday life in Awiakay landscape with its flora and fauna</td>
<td></td>
<td>Awiakay lifeworld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Mountain talk' (Chapter 2) is based on the fear of becoming lost in the mountain when the fog descends, and on a belief that spirits can harm people. The use of avoidance vocabulary has roots in shared knowledge of the myth about how mountain spirits taught people to protect themselves from their rage. Similarly, 'hidden talk' used in town is based on shared fear of being robbed when far away from home, and on the belief that using this register will prevent potential bandits from understanding what the Awiakay are talking about. Avoidance terms refer to items that are not present at the moment of speaking. If it weren’t for the shared knowledge of avoidance vocabulary, the conversation would seem to become nonsensical, as if shifting to a different physical and social setting. For example, when using the Awiakay
word *yomoy* ‘large bamboo for carrying water’ in place of Tok *fotifo* ‘a 44-gallon petrol drum’, the setting of town seems to shift back to AwiaKay land.

In shaming her husband (Chapter 3), Maman relies on the shared belief that being alone is not normal and that such a person has the right to complain about his/her state. She repeatedly draws the audience’s attention to unreal occurrences of shameful situations (she invokes these situations in the minds of the audience even though she repeatedly negates them), which are in conflict with the moral and behavioural norms of the society. In constantly repeating that her brother(s) did not marry Wayk’s sister she is making reference to kinship relations and the institution of exchange marriage. Both of these are also common knowledge to members of AwiaKay society.

In public fights (Chapter 3) the disputants keep referring to events that took place in the past – often in ancestral times or even in the mythical past. References to these past events and genealogies reflect the knowledge of oral history, which is often of crucial importance to the outcome of fights.

In laments (Chapter 5) the lamenters subtly air their grievances by indirectly pointing at the wrongs done to them or to the deceased. The targeted audience might have acquired knowledge of those incidents on prior occasions, or have learned about them in the course of the lament in question. While lamenting for her deceased dog, Kununda at some point stops weeping melodically and quietly adds some additional explanation on how her son’s family failed to help her reciprocate for the acquisition of the dog (*video 5-6*). When she points the audience to some prior occasion that she feels they need to be familiar with, she even shifts out of the lament register and into narrative.

What makes *Kaunjambi* (Chapter 6) so hard to interpret – even for the AwiaKay – is that in being unfamiliar with the ancestral ways of speaking and not having been multilingual in local languages for several decades, the AwiaKay themselves lack all the necessary background knowledge, i.e. the necessary common ground that would enable them to fully understand what is being said in the songs. However, most of the culturally shared background details are known to all adult members of the society, often even to small children, and are perceived by the AwiaKay as ‘snapshots’ of their lifeworld. Every ‘snapshot’ refers to another place in AwiaKay land, another animal or situation, and thus creates links to various shared experiences and sentiments, as well as to a vast store of shared cultural knowledge. The relationship between musical and verbal modalities, along with dance and decorations, evokes and creates a wide range of
links to all spheres of the Awiakay lifeworld. It is this invisible part of the context in *Kaunjambi* that cannot be easily comprehended by ‘outsiders’ – but is shared by the Awiakay – that makes the Awiakay identify with this song cycle.

It is important to note that links to common ground and intertextual relations are not established by the speakers alone. Briggs and Bauman emphasize that “a crucial part of the process of constructing intertextual relations may be undertaken by the audience” (Briggs and Bauman 1992: 157), as was the case after the spirit possession event discussed in Chapter 4. The audience kept discussing the words uttered by the spirit and thus creating their meaning. I shall discuss this further by turning to participation structure in Awiakay registers.

### 7.4 Participant roles in Awiakay registers

While the notion of participation has been briefly touched upon in section 1.3.3 of Chapter 1, let us now reconsider it in relation to the range of registers I have discussed. **Table 7.3** shows a typical distribution of participant roles in Awiakay registers.

**Table 7.3: Typical distribution of participant roles in Awiakay registers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
<th>MOUNTAIN TALK / HIDDEN TALK</th>
<th>DISPUTES</th>
<th>SPIRIT POSSESSION</th>
<th>LAMENTS</th>
<th>KAUNJAMBI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRINCIPAL/AUTHOR</strong></td>
<td>Awiakay men</td>
<td>disputants</td>
<td>spirit</td>
<td>the bereaved</td>
<td>spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANIMATOR</strong></td>
<td>Awiakay men</td>
<td>disputants</td>
<td>possessed person</td>
<td>the bereaved</td>
<td>all Awiakay (men as singers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RESPONSIBILITY</strong></td>
<td>Awiakay</td>
<td>disputants</td>
<td>all villagers</td>
<td>the bereaved</td>
<td>spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ADRESSEE</strong></td>
<td>other Awiakay co-travellers</td>
<td>the other party</td>
<td>person scolded</td>
<td>the deceased</td>
<td>all people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TARGETED OVERHEARER</strong></td>
<td>mountain spirits / potential bandits</td>
<td>the other party / other villagers</td>
<td>other villagers</td>
<td>other people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BYSTANDER</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td><em>emgon</em> ‘outsiders’</td>
<td>other villagers</td>
<td>all villagers</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EVAESDROPPER</strong></td>
<td>mountain spirits / potential bandits</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IMMANENT PARTICIPANTS</strong></td>
<td>mountain spirits / n/a</td>
<td>ancestral spirits</td>
<td></td>
<td>the deceased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of ‘mountain talk’ or ‘hidden talk’ (Chapter 2) the usual addressees are other Awiakay co-travellers, whereas the utterances in question are actually targeted at the mountain spirits or potential robbers. In disputes the addressee is the other party, while
the targeted audience often comprises other villagers who are not necessarily involved in the fight (Chapter 3). In spirit possession events, the addressee is the person whom the spirit is scolding, advising, etc., while the targeted overhearer is, in fact, all villagers (Chapter 4). Laments are wept for the deceased person whose spirit is the addressee, but are intended to be heard by the living fellow mourners (Chapter 5). Furthermore, the hearers can also be bystanders (or onlookers). In Awiakay intra-village fights these are the ‘outsiders’, called emgon, those who are not related to either of the fighting parties and thus have no right to participate in a fight. They are openly present, and (at least for a time) follow the talk, whilst not being part of the conversation.

_Eavesdroppers_ are, by definition, those who listen to the talk without the speaker’s awareness (Clark 1996: 14). In the Awiakay case it is a bit different. I have added this category to my analytical framework because the Awiakay assume that mountain spirits and/or potential robbers (Chapter 1) might overhear their conversations in the mountains or in town. This role is thus always present in the speakers’ minds as a possibility, and as such influences the way they speak to each other.

In addition to these participant roles I have added a category of _immanent participants_, who are either spirits in nature, or ancestral sprits. Although they are passive (in cases when they are the authors, i.e. in spirit-possession events and in _Kaunjambi_, they fit into a different category), the awareness of their presence in the speech events changes the way the speakers use their language or relate to one another.

The distinction between the speaker and the hearer becomes problematic in the all-night song-cycle (Chapter 6). No one is treated as an addressee in any of the _Kaunjambi_ lyrics by any of the usual categories that are otherwise commonly used for referring to addressees, such as 2SG/PL person reference, being treated as subjects of imperative verbs, etc. The performers and the hearers are merged in one – they are all people who participate in the song-cycle.

Although the distribution of roles shown in Table 7.3 is the default one, it is by no means invariant, as participant roles may change from one instantiation of a register to another.


7.5 Functions of Awiakay registers

Both participant structure and common ground are essential components of Awiakay registers, which facilitate their respective functions or the effect of the practice involved (Table 7.4). Shaming a spouse, for example, would not be possible without targeting (but not directly addressing) the audience, which has gathered underneath the house. At the same time, it is the fact of its being communal common ground that enables shaming: Mamanj knows what is moral and morally acceptable in Awiakay society – and what is not. She also knows that shaming one’s husband is in general not viewed favourably. However, because of the shared belief that a person who is in some respect alone is pitied and thus allowed to slightly cross the boundaries, she, through continuous repetition, tries to establish that she is ‘alone’ (ambla) and ‘one-sided’ (TP wansait), that is, that her marriage to Wayk has not been properly reciprocated with a suitable exchange. Another example is the subtle airing of grievances in laments, which would not be possible if the grieving person were not believed to be in a state wherein he/she needed to be viewed favourably, felt sorry for, indulged, etc.

While various functions of the practices in which respective registers are used were on several occasions pointed out to me by the Awiakay themselves, I have made a more general analysis of the functions of Awiakay registers, which is shown in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Some functions of Awiakay registers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Register</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mountain talk</td>
<td>protection from dangerous entities; sense of security and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>connectedness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidden talk</td>
<td>protection from dangerous entities; sense of security and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>connectedness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big talk</td>
<td>airing one’s (or entire village’s) grievances; reconciling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and mending torn relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic fights</td>
<td>airing one’s (or entire village’s) grievances; reconciling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and mending torn relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirit talk</td>
<td>subtle airing of grievances, indirect call for help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grief-crying</td>
<td>celebration of ‘good times’; sense of connectedness,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>belonging and identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaunjambi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Mountain talk’ and ‘hidden talk’ are believed to protect the Awiakay from being harmed by dangerous entities when in an unknown territory. While ‘mountain talk’ is believed to have been ‘given’ to the Awiakay by the mountain spirits, the subterfuge of
‘hidden talk’ is being created in the present. Coining new words and phrases is a social pastime enjoyed by everyone present. The all-night song-and-dance cycle, *Kaunjambi*, is a celebratory event, indexing good times and benevolent relationships in the village. Singing about crucial aspects of the Awiakay lifeworld creates a sense of connectedness and belonging. While the social practices and the language of these registers are benevolent or at least benign, this is not the case in other registers. Domestic and village fights, as well as spirit possession, are highly confrontational events employing provocative and heated language. Grief-crying also includes complaints and could be perceived as highly irritating if it weren’t for the weeping melody which makes people deeply empathise with the lamenter. However, although conflictual in nature, these registers (shaded orange in Table 7.4) are perceived as positively constructive, since ultimately they all aim at mending torn relationships and (re-)establishing the equilibrium in the community. *Pait em i gutpela*, ‘Fighting is good,’ people used to explain to me in Tok Pisin, *em bai streitim tinktink bilong yu* ‘it straightens one’s thoughts.’ Fights are, initially, even encouraged, as a person who holds a grievance must let it out, and the expectation is that it will end in reconciliation. ‘Spirit talk’ always directs people towards doing what they should do, or prompts them to discuss what should be discussed to solve certain problems, and the grievances aired in grief-crying are made known to the villagers in a comparatively gentle way, in the hope that the wrongs will be righted.

Studying these various forms of talk and their functions in the very different social situations in which they occur provides us with a clearer picture of the underpinnings of Awiakay society, which despite numerous everyday tensions between its members nevertheless continually strives to remain cohesive and keep living together in the same place. Although people in general like spending time in bush camps, away from the ‘noise of the village’, as they put it, they will not consider going to the bush just after a quarrel, as that would make them prone to accidents. Being alone, eating alone, or enjoying any kind of goods alone is considered wrong – one needs always to share. A small endogamous face-to-face society with strong and closely intertwined kinship relations thus shares a great deal of common ground. Apart from small children, everyone possesses almost all the common ground they need to understand or to participate in various registers. Any gaps in the relevant background – which would mostly consist of past events that one might not be familiar with – are immediately identified and filled in over discussions – and gossip – in a *haus-win* shelter.
Robert Bell and Jonathan Healey, who studied personal idioms used between partners and intimates in the Midwestern United States (Bell and Healey 1992), found that such ritualized private codes are linked to interpersonal solidarity, feelings of closeness, and perceptions of “we-ness” in close relationships. Moreover, they have been shown to promote cohesiveness between social partners. We can observe a similar process in Awiakay society, which, by actively building ‘hidden talk’, at the same time builds greater solidarity among its members. Alex Namay’s words, casually uttered after the Inaaktay fight, when the parties involved were getting ready for the final reconciliation, highlight Awiakay feelings of solidarity when outside the village.

Gutpela taim bung aka ambaluj. Taunuj aninangoy tok pukuninaj.

‘In the village we tend to quarrel and fight. But when we go to the town we stick together as one and take care of each other.’

All this points to a possible explanation for the tight connectedness of Awiakay society, and underlies their continual striving to mask their language from outsiders. In the past, all groups in the Arafundi area, including the Awiakay, had to stick together in order to protect themselves from neighbouring enemy groups or local bush spirits (Hoenigman 2007: 32-36; Roscoe 2005). They found intimacy and security only when in the settlement together with other members of their own group. This still resonates in the phrase I often heard when we went into the bush or to town: Aka kumbi. ‘It’s not the village’ i.e. ‘Be careful out there, it is not our place.’

While an underlying sense of solidarity can be one possible explanation for the thriving variety of forms of talk, this model of society and linguistic registers cannot be universally applied to all small-scale societies. For example, in being so closely connected, the Awiakay society seems to be fundamentally different from the Korowai of Papua, Indonesia, whom Rupert Stasch (2009) labelled a ‘society of others’. Like the Awiakay, the Korowai live in a dense lowland tropical forest and practice similar modes of subsistence. They are clan-exogamous and tend to practice exchange marriage. Numbering about 4,000, they are a much bigger group than the Awiakay, but rather than living in nucleated settlement(s) they are sparsely dispersed over their land, with nuclear or extended families living in isolated tree-houses on patrilineally-owned patches of

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2 A process whereby the members of a community who have few ties with other communities, and whose language is unknown to outsiders, use it as an in-group code from which outsiders are consciously excluded has been called esoterogeny (Thurston 1989; Ross 1996; 1997). In some areas of New Guinea such a process has further contributed to linguistic diversification, and Foley (2005) believes it must have been significant in the Sepik-Ramu basin.
cleared forest. Missionary attempts since the 1970s to establish villages have met with continual refusals. For the Korowai, a permanent, centralised village is considered “socially unworkable” (Stasch 2009: 66). They feel they could not possibly live in one because everybody would fight all the time, and in general Korowai feel highly uncomfortable having ‘others’ around. For the Korowai, their society consists of “large numbers of unreliable, largely anonymous others” (2009: 2) whom it is best to avoid. This is consistent with another major contrast between the Awiakay and Korowai societies, namely that the Awiakay never accuse or suspect anyone from their own group of being emay, ‘assault sorcerer’, whom they fear as much as the Korowai fear their xaxua ‘witches’. Awiakay believe that emay always come from outside, attack in the bush or in bush camps, but will not come near when people are together in the village. The Korowai, however, believe that witches live amongst them; they can even be their own family members, living in their houses, so people are constantly suspicious of one another. The Korowai linguistic registers analysed by Rupert Stasch (2002; 2003; 2008) do therefore not enhance connectedness in the society, but rather reflect avoidance and ‘otherness’, which, according to Stasch, underpin the society. However, the linguistic registers nevertheless do mark – and build – relationships between individuals (Stasch 2002).

Here I would like to remind the reader of the introductory film in which we see Kangam reflecting upon the language use and speaking skills of the younger generation. [You can watch VIDEO 1-1 Kangam [8:57] again at https://vimeo.com/112989908.]. In their everyday conversations, the Awiakay keep talking about talk, pondering it, interpreting other people’s words, gossiping, creating new expressions, comparing them with ones learnt from other languages and in various ways making their talk uniquely theirs. The fact that, as the Huli say, ‘talk never dies’ (Goldman 1983) creates a fertile environment for a variety of thriving linguistic registers, and at the same time closely connects members of the society. This underlying attitude of society may be something that contributes to the vitality, and indeed, the power of Awiakay despite the strong presence of Tok Pisin.

In his chapter on multilingualism in Papua New Guinea, Don Laycock (1979) suggests there are two kinds of situations which occur at language boundaries of multilingual communities. In the first one, a language has practically no monolingual speakers: all adults are bilingual in the language of their community and in the larger language. He calls this situation swamp (Laycock 1979: 93). In the other situation,
called wash, the two or more languages involved do have monolingual speakers, but at their boundaries there is a bilingual community, and it seems as if the two languages washed into each other like watercolours (ibid.). According to Laycock, maintaining two separate languages in both wash and swamp situations can only be achieved with some effort. While it is obvious in a wash situation that the speakers benefit from knowing both languages, as this enables them to move freely between the two monolingual communities, Laycock believes that small swamped languages are doomed, and he associates the swamp situation with language decay and language death. Maintaining both languages in a swamp situation requires special circumstances, the most crucial being a sufficient number of speakers and a strong sense of linguistic identity (1979: 94). Awiakay and neighbouring languages are clearly ‘swamped’ by Tok Pisin. The number of speakers is relatively small, and the Awiakay do not identify themselves directly with their language, but rather with their land. What is it then that keeps Awiakay vital?

What Laycock seems to have overlooked is the direct relation between the extent of functional differentiation within a given language and its chances of survival. The inverse relation has certainly been well attested: language death tends to take place as the end result of a process of increasing functional domain restriction, whereby the originally dominant language tends to be displaced by others (in the PNG case mostly by Tok Pisin or English) in certain kinds of contexts until it comes to be used only in special ones, e.g. in certain kinds of rituals, or with close kin only (cf. Crystal 2000: 21). Conversely, as Peter Mühlhäusler has documented in great detail in his book Growth and Structure of the Lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1979), the rise of Tok Pisin as an increasingly dominant language has been accompanied by a growing functional differentiation within the language, as it has come to be used in a wider variety of contexts (1979: 161-68). While sociolinguists have tried to model ways in

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3 “A language dies when nobody speaks it any more” (Crystal 2000: 1). Several authors have dealt with the issues of language death and survival, most notably Dorian 1989; Grenoble and Whaley 1998; Crystal 2000; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Dalby 2003; Harrison 2007; and Evans 2010. In light of Laycock’s theory, in the late 1980s the linguistic anthropologist Don Kulick predicted the imminent demise of Tayap, a language that at the time had approximately 100 speakers in northeastern New Guinea, in favour of the national lingua franca, Tok Pisin. Around the same time, the linguist Bill Foley made a similar prediction about Yimas, then spoken by about 250 people. Twenty-five years later, the Yimas language is still alive, though not spoken by children, and Kulick (pers. comm. 2012) reports that Tayap is more actively spoken than he had expected. On his return field trip in 2009 he found several of what he called ‘passive-active’ speakers, who could tell entire stories in Tayap.
which small languages will die, this thesis offers a perspective on what possibly keeps them alive.

* * *

With the registers discussed here the number of Awiakay ways of speaking that could be framed and analysed in a similar way is not exhausted. The scope extends to ‘avoidance talk’ between taboo relatives, ‘joking’ between joking partners, ‘public speeches’, ‘gossip’, and many more that will have to be discussed elsewhere.

Applying different forms of analysis to the language as it is used in a variety of social situations allows us to learn about processes of social reproduction and sheds light on the nexus between continuity and change.

Thus, in the chapter on ‘mountain talk’ and ‘hidden talk’, we have seen how a given speech register and people’s perceptions of danger and dangerous entities have been reproduced and transformed in the interaction of an inland village with the provincial capital. A change in their relationships with the local spirits, triggered by the Catholic charismatic movement, led to an abandonment of the mountain talk register, which was transformed into one with a similar function, but in a different social setting, to which people had adapted it.

Likewise, the analysis of parallelisms in the chapters on fighting and Kaunjambji gives us an entree into implicit cultural categories whose transformation can be observed through the patterns of this linguistic and para-linguistic phenomenon. This is particularly the case in the ad-hoc composed parallelisms in fights, which bring together elements whose association reflects people’s perception of sociocultural changes.

As a third case, the analysis of participant roles in the chapters on spirit possession and laments shows how a particular event can change existing power relations in the society, and casts light on the continuity of a pre-given type of behaviour (i.e. the way Awiakay women scold men) applied to an introduced figure (i.e. Mama Maria when she scolds the village leaders). Continuity and change is also reflected in people’s behaviour towards the possessing Christian spirit, who is perceived as being like a local bush spirit, only more powerful.
All of these phenomena involve complex interactions between previously established ways of doing things and more recent ones. Close examination of them thus helps us to understand how those tacit categories whereby people structure their lives are reproduced and transformed, and so contributes to our understanding of sociocultural continuity and change.

While this thesis builds on aspects of the *ethnography of speaking* tradition — in that it does not separate linguistic form from its function, but rather analyses Awiakay registers with respect to the sociocultural contexts of their use, their functions and the meanings conveyed — the insights into the Awiakay lifeworld that can be gained through a detailed study of their ways of using language are such that I prefer to shift the focus and think of this thesis as an ‘ethnography *through the study of speaking*’: an ethnography of a small face-to-face society as viewed through the prism of language use.
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Appendices
Appendix A:

Notes on Awiakay grammar

1 PHONOLOGY

1.1 Phonemes

Awiakay has twenty-four segmental phonemes. There are twelve consonants and twelve vowels, of which five are simple vowels or monophthongs and seven diphthongs.

1.1.1 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table A1: Awiakay consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral approximant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Awiakay has four stops (plosives) /p/, /t/, /j/, /k/ and their corresponding nasals for four places of articulation /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ŋ/. It has an alveolar fricative /s/, palatal approximant /j/, labiovelar approximant /w/ and the lateral alveolar liquid /l/. Note that these are phonetic descriptions of ‘basic’ allophones. Some of the phonemes have variable realisations.

In medial position, after nasals, the voiceless stop phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ are realised by their voiced counterparts [b], [d] and [g] respectively. In this position the voiced and voiceless stops are in free variation for certain speakers. The palatal stop phoneme /j/ is always voiced (it always occurs after nasals), while all the other stop phonemes are primarily realised as voiceless.

The stop with the greatest range of allophonic variation is the velar /k/, as it may be realised by seven different allophones: [k], [g], [kʰ], [kʷ], [gʰ], [gʷ] and [ɣ]. Foley (1986: 55) mentions that “the realization [ɣ] for [k] is extremely widespread in those

1 This grammar sketch is included to help the reader go along in the thesis. It does not pretend to be a detailed analysis of Awiakay phonology and grammar.
Papuan languages which do not have a phoneme /g/ or /y/", which is also the case in Awiaakay.

Awiaakay has a single distinctive liquid; an alveolar flap [r] and a lateral continuant [l] being the variants of the phoneme /l/. There is only one fricative phoneme in Awiaakay – voiceless alveolar /s/. The voiced velar [y] does appear phonetically, but only as one of the possible realisations of /k/.

Awiaakay has four nasal phonemes, bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, palatal /ɲ/ and velar nasals /ŋ/. Nasals therefore appear at four places of articulation – just like the stops. Nasals can occur before oral stops in word-medial positions. Pairs like [mango] ‘female name’ : [maqgo] ‘mango fruit’ show that the nasal + stop combination does not need to be homorganic.

1.1.2 Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure A1: Awiaakay vowels*

Awiaakay has five simple vowels: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/. While all the neighbouring languages (the related Arafundi languages and non-related Karawari and Miyak) have the close central unrounded vowel /i/, even if it only appears as a transition vowel between consonants, Awiaakay does not.

1.1.3 Diphthongs

/ay/ /ey/ /oy/ /ɔy/ /aw/ /ew/ /ow/

There are seven diphthongs; the mid-rising /eʊ̯/, /ɛw/, /ɔy/, /ɔy/ and /ɔy/, and the low-rising /aʊ̯/ and /aw/. Each diphthong is a single syllable and carries a single stress.

In contrast to diphthongs, true vowel sequences always belong to two syllables and each vowel carries separate stress.

---

2 In this section I sometimes use angled brackets <x> to mark transcription in practical orthography where this differs from phonemic representation.
The minimal pair [wái] ‘stomach, belly’ : [wá·i·] ‘wind’; ‘string bag’ (TP *bilum*) proves that there is a phonemic contrast between the diphthong /ai/ and the vowel sequence /ai/. [wái] <way> ‘stomach’, ‘belly’ is a monosyllabic word, while [wá·i·] <wai> ‘wind’; ‘string bag’ has two syllables, the first one carrying the primary, the second one the secondary stress.

1.2 Orthography

I have developed a ‘one grapheme for one phoneme’ orthography.

/p/ is thus written as n. It was chosen instead of ny or ni, for two reasons: (a) writing ny or ni would work when /o/ appears medially followed by a vocalic phoneme, but would most likely be read as /ni/ when followed by another consonant and in word final position. (b) people are generally reluctant to write two symbols for one sound, so <n> will better serve the purpose.³

/ŋ/ is written as η (rather than <ng>, which is commonly accepted in English and TP spelling), as there is a phonemic difference between /ŋ/ and /ng/.

/j/ is written as j

The diphthongs are written using <y> and <w> rather than <i> and <u> for the off-glide in order to make a clear difference between a diphthong and a vowel sequence.

e.g. /wai/ wai ‘wind’; ‘string bag’, and /wai/ way ‘stomach’, ‘belly’, thus:

/ai/ ay
/ei/ ey
/oə/ oy
/oɪ/ oy
/aʊ/ aw
/eʊ/ ew
/oʊ/ ow

As mentioned above, when they occur after a nasal the phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ are realised as [b], [d] and [g] respectively. In the orthography devised and adopted here they are written as <b>, <d> and <g> respectively when they occur after a nasal. These graphemes are used in addition to <p>, <t> and <g>. I decided to add them as

³ This grapheme has also proved to be efficient and has been accepted by the Manambu in the East Sepik, who called it “n with a snake on top” (Aikhenvald 2004: 134).
the literate members of Kanjimei community received their education in Tok Pisin and English, and always use graphemes \( b, d \) and \( g \) for the corresponding phones [b], [d] and [g] when I asked them to write something in Awiakay.

2 NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

2.1 Nouns

2.1.1 Common nouns

Common nouns are lexical items that can be possessed or inflected for case. Nouns loosely correlate, in their reference, with the class of things as opposed to actions, processes and states. They fall into two main classes, alienable and inalienable, according to whether the possessive pronoun is a separate word or is suffixed to the possessed noun.

Awiakay common nouns are inflected for (1) case (nominative, locative, instrumental, comitative) and (2) possessor. They are not inflected for gender, noun class or number.

2.1.1.1 Case markers

2.1.1.1.1 The nominative case marker for nouns is -(a)n. It marks the most active participant in a clause, which may be the actor or the experiencer (cf. Foley 1991: 8 for ‘optional nominative case marker in Lower Arafundi languages’). It is used after a common noun, a personal name, noun or a third person pronoun.

\[
\begin{align*}
Taypay-an & \quad \text{injaka-pep.} \\
\text{Taypay-NOM} & \quad \text{get.up-3SG.PAST} \\
\text{‘Taypay got up.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
Wayk-an & \quad \text{tui} \quad \text{paka-pep nan Aŋgwaj sakay.} \\
\text{Wayk-NOM} & \quad \text{quiet} \quad \text{take-PERF} \quad ? \quad \text{Aŋgwaj} \quad \text{POSS} \\
\text{‘Wayk stole it from Aŋgwaj.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
Kopoñ-a-n & \quad \text{anda} \quad \text{nambakonj-a} \quad \text{may} \quad \text{o-pe.} \\
brother-POSS-NOM \quad \text{too} \quad \text{younger.sister-3SG.PAST} \quad \text{now} \quad \text{see-3SG.PAST} \\
\text{‘And the brother saw his younger sister.’}
\end{align*}
\]
2.1.1.1.2 The **locative case** marker -(u)ij is added to a noun to denote location or direction (being at / going to some place).

```
yao kulamba-η kolo-p-on
  house hole-LOC s-it-PRES-3SG
  ‘She’s (sitting) inside the house’
Kay enda-η ani-na-η.
  another path-LOC go-PRES-1PL
  ‘We’ll go along another path.’
```

2.1.1.1.3 The **instrumental case** marker -muj / -(b)ujj / -uj marks an instrument or the means by which an action is accomplished.

```
nokomgu-k-muj aka opia-i-na-k
  eye-1SG.INAL POSS-INST not see-2SG.OBJ.FUT-1SG.SBJ
  ‘I won’t see you with my eyes’
awam-buj pikisi-pali-k
  rattan-INST tie-PRES-1SG
  ‘I’m tying it with a rattan rope.’
monayuj pokai-na-k
  paddle-INST hit-2SG.OBJ.FUT-1SG.SBJ
  ‘I will hit you with a paddle’
Nan ambla lukautim-bapo-ndim-an nomhem-buj
  you alone take.care.of-AWK-0BJL-2SG.OBJ.PST food-INST
  ‘Only you were looking after me with food.’
```

2.1.1.1.4 The **associative case** marker -anjnj indicates that the noun it inflects is (perceived to be) a person’s inalienable part or extension. It is glossed ‘with’ in illustrative examples. While -anjnj is commonly applied to nouns to denote a directly observable xx being attached to its carrier, e.g.

```
kunjajanjnj namba-y
  child-with woman-DEF
  ‘the woman with a [suckling] child’
pumb-anjnj
  muscle-with
  ‘with muscles’ i.e. ‘strong’
way-anjnj oluk-a
  bilum-with man-DEF
  ‘the man with a bilum’
emu-anjnj oluk-a
  lice-with man-DEF
  ‘a man who has lice’
```
It is also used to denote a physically separate entity that is perceived as being closely associated with that entity. This often pertains to rightful ownership, e.g. the dog and its owner, the land and its owner.

\[\text{tam-b-} \text{anji} \text{g} \quad \text{olu} \text{k-a} \]
\[\text{dog-BV’with} \quad \text{man-DEF} \]
‘the man who owns a dog’

\[\text{Map-anji} \text{g} \quad \text{nan?} \]
\[\text{land-with} \quad \text{you} \]
‘Do you have land?’

Phrases like the following can often be heard in fights about land (Appendix xx; line 60):

\[E, \quad \text{map-anji} \text{g} \quad \text{ko} \text{j} \quad \text{kaka-po-n?} \]
\[\text{INTERJ land-ASSOC so.that talk-PRS-3SG} \]
‘Hey, is he with-land so that he thinks he has the right to talk?’

i.e. ‘Is this his land so that he thinks he has the right to talk?’

2.1.1.2 Possessive markers

2.1.1.2.1 Inalienable nouns, such as nouns denoting body parts or kinship and affinal relations, are inflected for their possessors by suffixes.

Singular possessive suffixes contrast for all three persons (-k 1SG.POSS, -n 2SG.POSS, -a 3SG.POSS), while there is one plural possessive suffix for the first person and another for the second and third persons (-nuj 1PL, -niij 2PL = 3PL). Possessive pronouns (see Table A4) must be added in the plural to distinguish between 2nd and 3rd person (Table A2).

In the case of compound nouns, the possessive affix appears after the first part of the compound:

\[\text{kop-} \text{ok-tuma} \quad \text{kop-on-tuma} \quad \text{kop-a-tuma} \]
\[\text{head-1SG.POSS-hair} \quad \text{head-2SG.POSS-hair} \quad \text{head-3SG.POSS-hair} \]
‘my hair’ ‘your hair’ ‘his/her hair’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table A2: Possessive Suffixes in Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my elder sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAL / PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our elder sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inalienable possessives also apply to dogs when they are spoken about in a way that emphasises that they are perceived as their owner’s extensions.

\[
\text{tam-bay-k} \\
\text{dog-DEF-1SG.INAL.POSS} \\
\text{‘my dog’}
\]

2.1.1.2.2 **Alienable nouns** take free form possessive pronouns (Table A4 in section 2.2.2), which can appear before or after the noun. Most often they are used in their shorter versions (the part that is left out is marked in brackets).

\[
kum \quad \text{tun}(gum)\text{goy} \\
sago.pudding \quad 1SG.POSS \\
\text{‘my sago pudding’}
\]

\[
tun(gum)\text{goy} \quad kum \\
1SG.POSS \quad sago.pudding \\
\text{‘my sago pudding’}
\]

2.1.1.3 **Adpositions**

Adpositions are used to denote two kinds of semantic relations: (a) possession and (b) accompaniment (going to/being in the company of xx).

2.2.1.3.1 **Possessive adpositions** denote a possessive relation between two nouns. In the case of a personal name, the adposition is sakay.

\[
\text{Aymakan sakay kolokot} \\
\text{Aymakan POSS.ADP clothes} \\
\text{‘[These are] Aymakan’s clothes.’}
\]

After a place name, an animal or any other noun, the adposition is mamgoy or bamgoy. bamgoy occurs after a possessor noun that ends in /m/, mamgoy occurs elsewhere.

\[
tasia \quad \text{Mungam-b-amgoy} \\
\text{spirit lake.Mungam-BV POSS.ADP} \\
\text{‘the spirit of Lake Mungam’ i.e. ‘the spirit belonging to Lake Mungam’}
\]

An optional -ay can be added either to the possessed noun, if this follows mamgoy, e.g.

\[
tisa \quad \text{mamgoy su(-ay)} \\
\text{(TP)teacher POSS.ADP (TP)shoe-(ay)} \\
\text{‘teacher’s shoe’}
\]

or to mamgoy itself, if the possessed noun comes before its possessor.

\[
su \quad \text{tisa mamgoy(-ay)} \\
\text{(TP)shoe (TP)teacher POSS.ADP-(ay)} \\
\text{‘teacher’s shoe’}
\]
While I have not found any special function for -ay, and the Awiakay say one can just as well leave it out and the meaning would not change at all, everyone I discussed it with agreed that ‘it sounded better’ if we use it.

The following two sentences each contain three different types of possessive markers each: (a) both types of possessive adpositions, (b) a possessive pronoun and (c) inalienable possessive suffix.

\[\text{Akrumbayn sakay tam-bon tungoy tisa mamgoy su(-ay) kumbraka-y.}\]
Akrumbayn POSS.ADP1 dog-DEF 1SG.POSS (TP)teacher POSS.ADP2 (TP)shoe-(ay) bite-PSI3SG

‘Akrumbayn’s dog chewed up my teacher’s shoe.’

\[\text{Akrumbayn sakay tam-bon su nambokonji-k mamgoy(-ay) kumbraka-y.}\]
Akrumbayn POSS.ADP1 dog-DEF (TP)shoe y.sister-INAL.POSS1SG POSS.ADP2(ay) bite-PSI3SG

‘Akrumbayn’s dog chewed up my younger sister’s [shoe].’

2.1.1.3.2 Comitative adpositions are otjga and amiñ. They both express ‘in the company of’ or ‘together with’. While otjga can be used with any noun, amiñ is restricted to personal names and needs to be added to both persons involved.

\[\text{Kay temai Aulalak amiñ Paulalak amiñ map am-iñ.}\]
another time Aulalak COM Paulalak COM bush go-PST3DL

‘Some other time Aulalak and Paulalak went to the bush.’

\[\text{Paka -otjga ani-nm-an?}\]
who-COM go-FUT-2SG

‘Who are you going with?’

2.1.1.3.3 Comitative-directional adposition -aniij-isinuij is a compound of anij denoting someone’s ‘folks’ (one’s lineage, close family or people in someone’s house)

\[\text{Motañij anij-isinuij kolopo-ŋ-am-bali-k}\]
Motañij her.folks-COM.DIR sit-LOC-go-LSG/PRG-LSG

‘I’m going to sit down with Motañij’s folks.’

2.1.2 Proper nouns

Proper nouns consist of names with unique reference: personal names (Imbisay, Palomay), place names (Pasok, Mayna) and the interrogatives pakan? ‘who?’. They cannot be possessed (apart from adding a possessive pronoun), but they can be inflected for nominative and locative case, and can take adpositions.

\[\text{Pasok-uŋ ang-e}\]
Pasok-LOC go-1DL/PL.HORT

‘Let’s go to Pasok.’

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-say is used instead with proper nouns (names), e.g. when we want to say that somebody is going to a person or to a dog

Mesia-say amba-li-k
Mesia-LOC GO-PRES-1SG
‘I’m going to Mesia’

When a personal name is followed by -angen, the phrase refers to all people who somehow ‘belong to’ that person. They are not necessarily their relatives, nor only friends, so the closest translation I can think of is ‘X and company/and associates’.

Wapisay-angen pek-u-a.
Wapisay-ASSOC come.down.from.up-river-PST-3PL
‘Wapisay and his gang came down from up-river direction.’

When the name takes –angen, the resulting noun becomes plural and takes a plural verb form.

The corresponding interrogative is

pak-angen-im?
who-ASSOC -Q
‘Who[PL] with?'; ‘Who are the ones with you?’

The neutral question for ‘who with’ is paka-o]ga?

2.1.3 Locative nouns

These consist of place names, the interrogative kanjaj? ‘where’ and terms for spatial relations.

2.1.3.1 Nouns expressing location, direction and spatial relations

In Awiakay, location and direction are often expressed by location/direction nouns, inflected with a location/direction marker –ŋ. Locations/directions, in relation to a house, are thus expressed in the following way:

yapukamba-ŋ ‘underneath the house’
yao-kulamba-ŋ ‘inside the house’
yao-angomba-ŋ ‘on top of / at the back of the house’
yao-kondemba-ŋ ‘at the side / next to the house’
yao-tawaykamba-ŋ ‘at the back of the house where the fireplace is’
yao-poka-ŋ ‘in front of the house’

A direction noun that has no connection with a house is

waimba-ŋ ‘underneath’
It can be used to say that we put something under a tree or under a canoe, but not if the latter is turned upside down. In that case we have to use kulamba-ŋ ‘into the hole’.

In talking about spatial relations Awiakay is an absolute predominant language, with the river as the speakers’ reference landmark. They keep this layout in mind wherever in their territory they are. In town they refer to the sea as the corresponding landmark.

The main location/directional words warn-, pek-, enje-, imbu- can be inflected with a directional/locational marker -ŋ, or they can take verbal inflections and become directional verbs.

**warn-**  ‘(go/come) up [to/from the downriver direction]’

*Imanangay-n warn ba.*

*Imanmeri people-LOC come up-PST3PL*

‘The Imanmeri came from downriver’

*Pisikanda warn!*

*quickly come up-PST3PL-Q*

‘Come (up), quickly!’

**pek-**  ‘(go/come) down to/from the upriver direction’

**enje-**  ‘(go/come) to/from the bush direction (coming towards / going away from the river)’

*Momay-n enje wa.*

*Asangamut people-LOC come from across-PST3PL*

‘The Asangamut came from over there’

**imbu-**  ‘(go/come) to/from the side, diagonally onto / away from the river’

---

An absolute-predominant language is one in which speakers use – and encode – an absolute system of spatial orientation, i.e. they have a primary absolute frame of spatial reference, which is often a landmark (cf. Evans 2010: 167; Levinson 2003) might code spatial arrays for non-verbal memory in terms of absolute coordinates.
A question ‘Where did they come from?’ can thus have several forms, already implying that the speakers know which direction the visitors arrived from, but are asking for more specific information.

**Kanjam-gon wam-ba-m?**
*where-loc come.up-PST3PL-Q*

‘Where did they come up from? [from downriver direction, e.g. from Ambonwari (cf. Map 1.2)]

**Kanjam-gon pek-ua-m?**
*where-loc come.down-PST3PL-Q*

‘Where did they come down from? [from upriver direction, e.g. from Mayna]

**Kanjam-gon enje-wa?**
*where-loc come.from.over.there-PST3PL*

‘Where did they come over from? [from the direction across to the river, e.g. from Asangamut]

Going to the mountain, one can

(a) go up in the direction ‘away from the river’, *enje-*y, and go down, back ‘towards the river in the direction of its flow’, *pek-*y.

![Figure A3: Directionals (a).](Awk2008-9_1/196)

(b) ‘go up against the stream’, *wam-*y, and down on the same side, in the direction of the stream, *pek-*y. But one can go down on the other side of the mountain, which is in the direction away from the river, thus *enje-*y. If one intends to go up that side again, one can say *kon enje-nak* ‘I will go up in the direction towards the river (but not with or against the flow).’

![Figure A4: Directionals (b).](Awk2008-9_1/196)
If the mountain we are going up to has a stream on the other side, and we decide to go down on that side, we will say

\[ \text{kana-} \eta \quad \text{peke-}na-k \]

the.other.side-dir go.down-fut-1sg

‘I’ll go down in the downstream direction on the other side of the mountain.’

Figure A5: Directionals (c). A snapshot from my fieldnotes Awk2008-9_1/196.

Speaking of someone who walks first in the forest, the Awiakay use the noun \text{kopa} ‘head’ and inflect it with directional \text{-\eta} to mean ‘at the front’. Note that what can be translated as ‘first’ has a spatial reference, meaning ‘at the front’, not a temporal one.

\[ \text{Nan kopo-} \eta \quad \text{an-a, ni\eta \quad okoko-i-na-k.} \]

you head-loc go.2sg.imp I follow-2sg.obj-fut-1sg.sbj

‘You go first [at the front], I will follow you.’

Some other location nouns / directionals are:

\text{konda} ‘here’, ‘at this place’ \text{LOC}
\text{kay} ‘right here, to this place’ \text{DIR}
\text{kem(-bum)} ‘down(-wards)’ \text{LOC(-DIR)}
\text{koy} ‘up’
\text{kos-\eta} ‘up-wards’
\text{ki\text{-}na-\eta} / \text{ka\text{-}na-\eta} ‘across, over, on the other side’
\text{waymba-\eta} ‘underneath’
\text{kwi} ‘over there / away from here’

\[ \text{Kwi \quad enme-} \eta \quad \text{ana!} \]

over.there defecate-loc go.2sg.imp

‘Go poo over there [away from here].’

\text{anygo-\eta} ‘across a grassland, water or swamp’

a path, road, tree or anything that must be stepped over’
umblek ‘through a bush or any natural space that one enters and comes out again’

Is-pandatjga umblek a-mbo-pep kele koŋ Yapan alay ope-na-k.

‘When I have gone through the tree branches I will [be able to] see Yapan.’

Mayngom ‘right’ and yoy ‘left’ are adjectives and are not used as location nouns or directionals.

2.2 Pronouns

In addition to subject and object affixes, there are several sets of free form pronouns: independent personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and locative pronouns and, possibly, a relative pronoun.

2.2.1 Independent personal pronouns

Awiakay independent personal pronouns have different forms depending on the case; nominative, dative and accusative (Table A3).

Table A.3: Independent Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nŋ̄</td>
<td>nan</td>
<td>an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>tay</td>
<td>nanday</td>
<td>alay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>tay</td>
<td>nanday</td>
<td>alay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAL</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>neŋ̄</td>
<td>neŋ̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>asumgaynuŋ</td>
<td>neŋ̄ kondamiŋanda-maŋ</td>
<td>neŋ̄ kondamiŋanda-maŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>asumgay kondamin</td>
<td>neŋ̄ kondamiŋanda</td>
<td>kondaminjay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>neŋ̄</td>
<td>neŋ̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>aŋgaynoŋ</td>
<td>komgaymaŋ</td>
<td>komgaymaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>aŋgay</td>
<td>nongay</td>
<td>komgay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Awiakay has an ‘intensive quasi-reflexive marker, *kopōnan*, which is added to a personal pronoun when we want to emphasise that someone did something by themselves. It is not strictly reflexive, as it marks sole responsibility for performing an act. It is used in the same way in the third person.

\[
\text{\textit{Nil} kopōnam palo-k.} \\
\text{I IR shoot-PST1SG}
\]

‘I myself shot [it].

### 2.2.2 Possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person Number</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>\textit{tugumgoy}</td>
<td>\textit{nangumgoy}</td>
<td>\textit{anamgoy}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAL</td>
<td>\textit{asumgoy}</td>
<td>\textit{nunangumgoy}</td>
<td>(\textit{neň kondamin}) \textit{amgoy}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>\textit{angumgoy}</td>
<td>\textit{nunangumgoy}</td>
<td>\textit{komgumgoy}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that when speaking naturally the Awiakay usually leave out the middle part -\textit{gum-} (which is marked with a lighter colour in the table) in 1/2SG, 2DL and 1/3PL.

When -\textit{n} is added to a possessive pronoun, the pronoun can function as a noun, denoting someone (often a kin; possibly plural) who in some way belongs to the possessor. It is often followed by \textit{hay} ‘some’ (indefinite), but this is optional. This usage occurs when it is clear from the context who we are talking about, even though the person(s) has not been explicitly mentioned.

\[
t\textit{ugumgo-n kay aka haim-ha-pii-a} \\
\text{my [whoever] some not buy-AWK-PST-3S6}
\]

‘Mine [whoever] did not buy it.’

### 2.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are

- \textit{kalak} ‘this here’
  - \textit{kalak kasanga} \\
  \text{this.here tree.leaf}
  ‘This (here) is a tree-leaf.’
- \textit{elak} ‘that there’
- \textit{elok} ‘that over there’
Inflected with –ay / -oy they function as nouns

kalak-ay ‘this one here’
elak-ay ‘that one there’
elok-oy ‘that one over there’

Demonstratives can be further inflected with a question marker –m. The following is an example of a context where this occurred.

Imbisay was sitting on my veranda and talking to Yumbunak who was standing some five metres away next to a coconut palm.

IMBISAY: Yumbunak, nangoy koy elok-oy.
Yumbunak your coconut.palm that.one.over.there ay
‘Yumbunak, that one over there is your coconut palm.’

YUMBUNAK: [standing close to the coconut and nearly touching it] Kalak-ay-m?
that.there-ay-Q
‘This one?’

IMBISAY: Elak-ay.
that.one.there-a
‘That one there.’

Note that elakay is also used frequently in Awiakay conversations, with a meaning similar to the English ‘that’s it’ or Tok Pisin em nau.

kiay is an anaphoric pronoun, referring to what was said before

Ya kiay kaka-pali-k.
And this.An talk-PRS-1SG
‘And this [referring back to what was said before] is why I’m talking.’

Added to a demonstrative pronoun it makes the demonstrative refer to what was said before:

Pasin bilong saspek,
kolim natink nem bilong man o meri, anda niŋ ele-kiay kaka-pali-k.
only I this.DEM-AN talk-PRS-1SG
‘The habit of suspecting and falsely accusing others, this is what I’m talking about.’

In this case ‘this’ refers back to the first part of the sentence.
It seems that -(k)oy means something like ‘look, the one in location X’ [usually in the sight of the speaker, or there is some other visual/audible evidence of the person’s thing’s proximity in space and time]. When added to a locative noun it derives a demonstrative pronoun meaning it makes the word become ‘the one’ [it is usually in the sight of the speaker].

kem-bo-koy ‘look, that one downriver’
kulu-koy ‘look, that one on the other side of the river’
koso-koy ‘look, that one there upriver’

2.2.4 Locative pronouns

Locative pronouns are

kala-ŋ ‘here’
kulu-ŋ ‘there’
yo-k ‘right here’
yo-ŋ ‘over there’

2.2.5 Relative pronouns [just some notes; more research needed]

(1) Kunjakanta map moko-y-ke kala-kiay munga-im mae.
‘The one who holds the land/earth [God] is looking now.’

In (2) kalakiay refers to the underlined clause – so in this case it could be a relative pronoun, referring back to ‘the leader’.

(2) Niŋ lida kala-kiay amba yangombalik.
‘I’ll – what – tell you about this leader.’

(3) Mae niŋ koɲ yaňangumbukoy anda kiyay mokoyapeŋ yok.
Now I’ll call [the name] and tell you and you should remember this.
‘You should remember what I will tell you now.’

(4) Aunda nokomgunj pakayaplakay kiyay opepla...
They only know how to be jealous, that’s what/which is all they know ...
i.e. ‘All they know is how to be jealous.’

→ kiyay and kala-kiay each appears to have two uses: (i) as an anaphoric pronoun ‘that (previously mentioned)’, as in examples (2) and (4), (ii) as a relative pronoun, as in (1)
and (3) [reorder these examples]. However, further research is needed to confirm their use as a relative pronoun.

2.2.6 Articles

2.2.6.1 Indefinite article

**kay** ‘another’, ‘different (kind of)’ sometimes adopts a function of an indefinite article, when it precedes a noun that has not been mentioned before

\[ \text{kay nambay} \]
\[ \text{some woman} \]

2.2.6.2 Definite article

The definite article is expressed by a suffix -\( a(y) \) added to a noun when this is preceded by an adjective modifying it.

\[ \text{kas} \] ‘banana’
\[ \text{kas mundia} \] ‘(a) ripe banana’
\[ \text{mundia kas-a} \] ‘the ripe banana’

The definite article has the form -\( ba \) after a noun ending in a nasal, otherwise it is -\( a \) or -\( ay \).

\[ \text{koy yom-ba} \] ‘the coconut water’
\[ \text{us yom-ba} \] ‘the dirty water’

2.3 Adjectives

When an adjective is used attributively, it can either precede or follow the noun it modifies and it is normally used in its short form. In the predicative form it takes the suffix -\( kay \), which is the definite article.

\[ \text{kandukya om-a} \rightarrow \text{kandukyakay} \] ‘white’
\[ \text{white body-DEF} \] ‘white man’

\[ \text{Kalak (om-a) kandukya-kay.} \]
\[ \text{this.here (body-DEF) white-DEF} \] ‘This is the white one.’

\[ \text{kas mundia} \rightarrow \text{mundiakay} \] ‘ripe’
\[ \text{banana ripe} \] ‘ripe banana’
Kalak (kas-a) mundia-kay.
this.here (banana-DEF) ripe-DEF
‘This is the ripe one.’

Followed by -(k)an, an adjective may assume a role of a noun.

tapuka oluk-a → tapuk-an
old man.DEF the.old.one
‘old man’ ‘the old one’
pawia tam-bay → pawia-kan
red dog.DEF the.red.one
‘red dog’ ‘the red one’

Pawia tam-bay imbian-bay an.
red dog.DEF forest.LOC go.PST3SG
‘The red dog went to the forest.’
Pawia-kan imbian-bay an.
red-NOM forest.LOC go.PST3SG
‘The red one went to the forest.’

When it follows a noun, an adjective is inflected for locative or instrumental case.

Map mola-ŋ aka isasim.
ground wet-LOC no play
‘Don’t play on the wet ground.’

Kanuj punjaŋe-ŋ yay pe-k.
bow long-INSTR pig shoot-PST3SG
‘I shot the pig with the long bow.’

Ewey tenja-ŋ tĩnuŋ ende-k.
string.net little-INSTR fish scoop-PST3SG
‘I scooped the fish with the small umben string net.’

2.3.1 Numerals and other quantifiers

The Awiakay counting system is a descriptive one. Numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ are used very often, while others are nowadays replaced (and upgraded) by Tok Pisin borrowings.

1 kunja(kanta) ‘one’
2 kond-amin ‘another with it’
here-with
3 kay neñ-amin ‘another with the two’
another two-with
4 kay neñ-amin kay neñ-amin ‘two different twos’
another two-with another two-with
5 kiña kola-nda ‘the one side hand’
one.side hand-DEF
10 kondamin kola ‘two hands’
I glossed *neñ*- as ‘two’, *-eñ*- or *-iñ*- is a verbal infix, functioning as a dual subject marker (see section on verbal infections).

An expression *kunja-kunja*, literally ‘one-one’ means ‘only a few’ (corresponding to Tok Pisin *wan-wan tasol*).

Traditionally the Awiakay used a more extensive counting system, which consisted of the names for body parts, starting with the fingers on the one hand, going over the head, including the teeth, and going down another hand. I was told that this counting system was only used for counting warriors. After one side of body parts is finished, they go to another side. There was no repetition after the first round. One man still remembers all the parts, while the younger generation does not know them any longer.

2.3.1.1 **Order terms for sequencing** comprise ‘the first’ and ‘the last’

- **kopa-nja** ‘the first’ (lit. ‘the head one’)
- **kimma-nja** ‘the last’ (lit. ‘the tail one’)

These terms are also used for the first-born and the last-born child.

### 2.4 Adverbs

Adverbs often have the same form as their adjectival counterparts.

- **tui** ‘quiet’:
  - **tui momba** ‘quiet talk’ (also ‘gossip’)
- **tui** ‘quietly’:
  - **Tui kak!**

`quiet.ADV  speak.2SG.IMP`

‘Speak quietly!’

Some adverbs are reduplicated forms of nouns or adjectives. The former are ordinary adverbs. Adverbs formed by reduplicating adjectives indicate that the adverb is intensified.

- **Tema-tema an tajan pokon-di-mb-on.**

  `day-day  he  like.this  hit-1SG.0BJ-X-PR53SG.SBJ`

  ‘He often hits me like this.’

- **Tui-tui kak!**

  `quiet-quiet.ADV  speak.2SG.IMP`

  ‘Speak very quietly!’
2.5 Temporals

Most Awiakay temporals are based on the word for ‘sun’ *tem*, which also means ‘day’. In its definite form, *tema*, its meaning extends to ‘season’, or ‘time’ particularly when modified by a noun, e.g.

- *enj tema* ‘rainy season’ / ‘time of rain’
- *yalom tema* ‘the time of high water’ (independent of the season, as it depends on the rain in the mountains)
- *kakuk tema* ‘dry season’
- *inja tema* ‘good times’, ‘good weather’
- *kay temay* ‘another time’
- *kunja temay* ‘once’
- *kunja kunja tema* ‘very seldom’
- *wakon tema* ‘many times’, ‘often’

The question for ‘when’ or ‘what time’ is *amba temay*?

While Awiakay has separate words for one day remote from the present, it uses other expressions to distinguish three days into the past or three days in the future. Anything beyond that is either ‘far away past’ or ‘some other (indefinite) time in the future’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Awiakay phrases denoting place in time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>nase</strong></td>
<td>far away past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nae</strong></td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>onga</strong></td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kendenda</strong></td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>unja</strong></td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ponde</strong></td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mae</strong></td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kay</strong></td>
<td>another day-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tema-ŋ</strong></td>
<td>later some other day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table A5: Awiakay phrases denoting place in time**
Temporals referring to months are based on the word for ‘moon’, tepa.

*tepa* ‘month’

*tepa-tepa* ‘month after month’, ‘many months’

*kay tepa-ŋ* ‘next month’

### 2.6 Interrogatives

There are the following interrogatives. Some are inflected with the locative -ŋ, others often take the question marker suffix -m.

- *amba-m?* ‘what?’
- *amba imba-m? / amb-amba?* ‘why?’
- *amba tema-ŋ?* ‘what time?’
- *amgam?* ‘how?’
- *amga-amga?* ‘how come that ...?’ / ‘why?’
- *ape?* ‘where?’
- *kanja-ŋ?* ‘where (to)’?
- *kanja kumbia-ŋ?* ‘where?’ / ‘to what place?’
- *paka-koy?* ‘who’s here?’
- *paka-koy-m?* ‘who’s here?’ [EMPH]
- *paka-sakay?* (who + POSS) ‘whose?’
- *paka-sakay-m?* (who + POSS) ‘whose?’ [EMPH]

### 2.7 Interjections

Awiakay has various interjections, for example

- *koj* ‘that is why; so as to; in order to’ [ANAPHORIC]
- *aunda* ‘just’ / ‘no’, ‘none’
- *tok* [emphatic]
- *koj* ‘oh look, here it is’ (I can see/hear/sense its near presence)
- *aunda uñi* ‘just so (for no reason)’ / ‘it doesn’t matter’
2.8 Adverbial particles

There is a small class of adverbial particles that precede/follow the verb.

kambanjanda – not at all, not in the slightest
anda – also, as well
kend(en)da – again

3 VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

Awiaakay word order is predominantly SOV. Verbs have complex morphology. All verbal inflections are suffixes. Verbal suffixes indicate the person and number of the subject, tense, aspect and mood of a verb, and the object of a transitive verb.

3.1 Tense, person, number

Portmanteau suffixes indicate tense and person and number of the subject.

niŋ taygan yañ-ŋugu-mbi-l-ŋ
I so tell-2PL.OBJ-PRS-1SG.SBJ
‘this is what I’m telling you (PL)’

ponge omgusanda ope-ngu-na-k musuayŋ
tomorrow all see-2PL.OBJ-FUT-1SG.SBJ work-LOC
‘tomorrow I will see you all at work’

aka palo-nman
not shoot-2SG.NEG.IMP
‘don’t shoot’

niŋ pok-a-i-na-k
I hit-BV-2SG.OBJ-FUT-1SG.SBJ
‘I will hit you’

So far I have identified four different tenses:

(1) Present
(2) Past
(3) Future
(4) Immediate Future.

---

5 According to Foley (1991: 8) extensive verbal inflection is a feature of the Arafundi group and is also common in the Lower Sepik family.

6 The buffer vowel (BV) functions as an epenthetic vowel.
Immediate Future refers to an action that is about to happen intentionally. It is formed in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>LOC (\eta)</th>
<th>go</th>
<th>NEAR FUTURE infix</th>
<th>present tense suffix</th>
<th>person ending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\(isi-\eta\)-ambe-mba(po)-pali-k
pee-LOC-GO-NF-PRS-ISG

‘I am going to pee [to a place further away].’

The locative \(\eta\)- implies that I am not at the place where the action will take place yet and I have to go at least some five metres away to go there. If the doer of the action is at the place where the action is going to take place already, the locative is dropped out.

\(isin\)-ambe-mba(po)-pali-k
pee-GO-NF-PRS-lSG

‘I am going to pee [right here or very close to here].’

In this case the root of the verb regained its original final \(-n\) (\(isi\)-\(n\)), which was in the previous case lost because of the following locative \(-\eta\).

All tenses have distinctive first, second and third person singular and plural suffixes (see Table A7 in section 3.2). Only the Future has a distinct dual suffix \(-nm\), which is used only in the first person. However, its use appears to be optional, as many people tend to use the first person plural suffix \(-naj\) instead. In the case of the Present and Future tenses, the second and third person dual suffixes are identical to the 2PL form. By contrast, in the Past and Immediate Future tenses there is no contrast between dual and plural suffixes (\(2\text{DL} = 2\text{PL}; 3\text{DL} = 3\text{PL}\)).

When its reference is understood from the discourse context, the subject is often not expressed by a noun phrase. The sentence then starts with an object or locative complement. Thus, the subject pronoun is omitted in the following examples:

\(Tam\) ope-pali-k.
dog see-PRS-lSG

‘I see a dog.’

\(Yaw\)-\(\eta\) a-m-bali-k.
house-to go-BV-PRS-lSG

‘I am going to the house.’

---

7 In observing Lower Arafundi dialects, Foley noticed that “person and number suffixes in Arafundi fail to distinguish between 2\text{nd} and 3\text{rd} person in non-singular numbers” (cf. 1991: 8). In Awiekay, this is the case in the dual but only in the Present and Future tenses, and then not in the plural. It would be interesting to compare the data from all Arafundi languages in future research.
3.2 The structure of transitive verbs

An Awiakay transitive verb typically consists minimally of a verb root followed by suffixes marking object (table A6), tense (table A7), aspect (table A9) and subject (table A8) or mood fused with subject (tables A10, A11). These may be followed by a question marker. Then there is negative imperative

\[ \text{root—OBJ—tense—SBJ—Q} \]

Table A6: OBJECT MARKERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-ndi-</td>
<td>-i-</td>
<td>-o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL/PL</td>
<td>-ngu-</td>
<td>-ngu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A7: TENSE infixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRESENT</td>
<td>-(p)ali-</td>
<td>-(p)-</td>
<td>-p-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-po- INTR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-mbu-</td>
<td>-mbo-</td>
<td>-o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-po- INTR</td>
<td>-p(o)- INTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL/PL</td>
<td>-(p)alu-</td>
<td>-p-</td>
<td>-(p)l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>-mb(u)-</td>
<td>-pu- INTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-na-</td>
<td>-nm-</td>
<td>-na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-na- INTR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL/PL</td>
<td>-η-ani-</td>
<td>-η-ambe-</td>
<td>-η-ani-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMMEDIATE FUTURE*</td>
<td>-η-ani-</td>
<td>-η-ambe-</td>
<td>-η-ambe-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* -η- is the locative
Table A8: SUBJECT MARKERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL/PL</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[after p, b]</td>
<td>[after m]</td>
<td>[after p, b]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Aspect

3.3.1 Perfective

While imperfective aspect is unmarked, perfective aspect is expressed by a suffix -pep, usually in clause sequences:

*Is-pandaŋa umblek a-mbo-pep kele koŋ Yapan alay ope-na-k.*

tree-branch through go-PST-PERF and so.as.to Yapan 1SG.ACC see-FUT-1SG

'When I have gone through the tree branches I will [be able to] see Yapan.'

3.3.2 Habitual tense-aspect markers

There are also suffixes marking present and past habitual. While the present and past suffixes are the same for most person-and-numbers, the first and the third person singular have different forms in the past. Interestingly, there is an odd reversal in the formal correspondence between the present forms; 1SG.PRS = 3SG.PST and 1SG.PST = 3SG.PRS (see Table A8).

Table A9: HABITUAL suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>-(k)e</td>
<td>-koy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>-koy</td>
<td>-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>PRS/PST</td>
<td>-koy</td>
<td>-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>PRS/PST</td>
<td>-koy</td>
<td>-ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After nasals k becomes g, which is a general rule of Awiakay phonology.
3.4 Mood

3.4.1 Imperative

Imperatives are formed in one of two different ways:

(a) by adding the imperative suffix to the verb root (Table A10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL/PL</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yom. 
sleep.2SG.IMP
‘Sleep now.’

(b) by adding the imperative form of the verb ‘go’ to the verb (but note that not all verbs can take it).

Yomo-an-a. 
sleep-go-2SG.IMP
‘Go to sleep now.’

In addition, some imperatives are not expressed by verbs, but by interjections, e.g.

uywa! ‘stop that!’; ‘enough!’

kaye! ‘get out of my way!’

3.4.2 Negative imperative

Negative imperatives are formed in two ways:

(a) by the negation marker aka ‘no’ followed by a verb with an ending -em, which is the same for all numbers.

Aka nomb-em!
not eat-NEG.IMP
‘Don’t eat!’

(b) by negative imperative suffixes on the verb: -ŋay (2SG) and -ŋeĩ (2DL/PL) (Table A10).

Yomo-ŋay. 
sleep-go-2SG.NEG.IMP
‘Don’t sleep.’

Isi-ŋay yon. 
urinate-2SG.NEG.IMP there
‘Don’t pee there.’
3.4.3 Hortative

There is a full paradigm of hortative suffixes, fused with subject markers distinguishing 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons singular and plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-ŋaŋ</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-lam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL/PL</td>
<td>-ŋge</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*palo-punga-k-a-ŋ*
shoot-cut-1SG-BV-HORT
‘Let me slash [it]!’

*a-ŋge*
go-1DL.HORT
‘Let’s go.’

3.4.4 Negation

To indicate negation, *aka* ‘not’ is placed before in front of a verb, noun or adjective:

*Niŋ tiñe aka ope-k.*
I bird not see-PRS1SG
‘I don’t see a bird.’

*Kas aka moloy.*
banana not ripe
‘The banana is not ripe.’

*Niŋ aka kumaka.*
I not black.cuscus
‘I am not a black cuscus.’

The negative marker *aka* seems to be the only prefix in Awiakay. As a prefix, *aka-* can be attached to the adjective *inja* ‘good’ to give *akanja* ‘bad’
3.5 Other verbal suffixes

3.5.1 AWIAKAYSER -bapo-
Tok Pisin verbs which are borrowed into Awiaakay acquire a special suffix, -bapo-, which we can call a ‘loan adaptation’, or ‘Awiaakaysers’. It is attached to the borrowing and precedes the normal Awiaakay verb ending. For example, Tok Pisin verb ‘buy’ gets adapted by adding the ‘Awiaakaysers’ -bapo-, as well as Awiaakay tense, number and person endings.

\[
\text{bai mi baim} \rightarrow \text{baim-bapo-na-k}
\]

(TP) buy \hspace{1cm} (TP) buy-AWK-FUT-1SG

‘I will buy’

3.5.2 FRUSTRATIVE infix -laka-
The infix -laka-, added to a verb root and followed by a person/number ending, expresses that something almost happened, but it didn’t, because something else prevented it. The best gloss is therefore ‘almost’, ‘nearly’. This infix is mostly used to express past actions that were nearly-accomplished. Only occasionally does it appear in the present.

Table A13: -LAKA-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>mu-laka-(k)</td>
<td>mu-laka-(man)</td>
<td>mu-laka-(y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL/PL</td>
<td>mu-laka-(h)</td>
<td>mu-laka-(mi(n))</td>
<td>mu-laka-(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{Ti\'nuj moko-laka-}k \quad \text{kele a-n.}\]
fish hold-almost-1SG and go-PST3SG

‘I nearly held the fish, but it escaped.’

3.5.2 FORCE/CAUSE suffix: -pop
The suffix -pop expresses that another party (external force) enabled/caused the action to happen – it was not (only) the patient’s agency or will.

\[\text{Kopo-}\eta\text{-ana-pop.}\]
head-LOC-go-EF

‘I fell.’ (something made me fall – maybe someone pushed me or the land slid under my feet, etc.).

\[\text{Moshi opo-}\eta\text{-a-na-}mbop.\]

\(^8\) The non-standard abbreviation I use for this external force or cause is EF.
Port.Moresby see-LOC-go-FUT-EF

‘She will see Port Moresby (she will be taken there by someone).’

Kandeį kak Alus-an eke-n-pop.
loud speak.IMP2SG Alus-A hear-FUT-EF

‘Speak loud, so that Alus can hear you.’

3.5.3 the (IM)POSSIBILITY construction: (aka) x-em-pisip

When *-em* is added to a verb root for singular, or *-wa* for plural, and followed by *-pisip* 'like; similar', the newly coined word becomes an adjective and expresses that something is do-able. However, it most frequently appears with negated verbs, asserting that something is not possible.

When a person is sick and cannot even sit, they say

_Aka kol-em-pisip._

not sit-ABL-like

‘It is not sittable,’ i.e. ‘I cannot even sit.’

While it occasionally appears in the interrogative form, I have not encountered a positive one in natural speech.

_Nomb-em-pisip?_

food-ABL-like

‘Is this edible?’

3.5.4 QUESTION TAGS: *-piamuy*

Tag questions with the meaning ‘or not?’ / ‘or what?’ are formed by adding the suffix *-piamuy* to the verb root in a sentence. They are neutral in the sense that the speaker is not expressing their expectation in any way.

_Noŋ _mom kaka-piamuy?_

they talk talk-or.not

‘Will they be talking or not?’

_Nan _nombem nombo-piamuy?_

you food eat-or.not

‘Will you eat or not?’
3.6 The uncertainty suffix -ŋay

A suffix -ŋay ‘I think’ can be added either to adjectives, nouns, verbs or adverbs. It is used when the speaker for some reason hesitates, is not sure whether what they are saying is true, is just guessing, or they want to be polite and give in to another’s opinion, etc. It can also be used as a question tag. It can often be translated as ‘I think’ or ‘what do you think?’ The speaker might also be just guessing. It mitigates/reduces the force of an assertion or question, so it is a kind of a politeness device.

Sol agalon-ŋay?
salt none-UNCERT
‘There’s no salt [left], is there?’

One would pose a question like this when one comes to ask for something one needs. As people are usually embarrassed to ask for things, they pose a question in a tentative and negative way, saying ‘You don’t have any salt left, do you?’

ŋay can be added to a verb:

Mumu-po-n-ŋay.
sing-PRS-3SG-UNCERT
‘I think he’s singing now.’

Kombaño-ŋay.
Bixa_Orelana-UNCERT
‘Is this Bixa Orelana?’ or ‘It might be Bixa Orelana’

Mawi-ŋay.
unripe-UNCERT
‘It’s not ripe yet, is it?’

Again, one can say that when one is standing under a betelnut palm when a kid is climbing it in order to get a bunch of betel nuts. If one does not want to ask for them directly, one rather asks in a negative way.

4 CLAUSE TYPES

Clauses can be verbal or nominal.

4.1 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses consist minimally of two noun phrases, a topic and a comment, e.g.

Niŋ alukunja.
I man
‘I am a man.’

Mimbi paka-koy-m?
name what-here-Q
‘What’s his name?’
4.2 Verbal clauses

4.2.1 Basic structure

Verbal clauses consist minimally of a verb, inflected for person-and-number of subject and (in the case of transitive verbs) for object, and tense-aspect-mood.

_Eke-pali-k._
hear-PRS-1SG
‘I understand.’

_Pikiliki-ŋŋu-mb-an._
abuse-1SG.REF-PRS-2SG.REF
‘You’re abusing them.’

They can be expanded by the addition of noun phrases representing subject and direct object and various adjunct phrases denoting place, time, etc.

4.2.2 Word order

Earlier it was mentioned that SOV is the usual order of major constituents in verbal clauses. In certain other respects Awiakay word order is very flexible.

Adverbial adjuncts can occur in initial, medial or final position in the clause, without affecting meaning.

Tom niŋ wam-o-nak yaw-ŋ.
later I go up-2SG.FUT  house-LOC

(Nŋ) tom wam-o-nak yaw-ŋ.
later go up-2SG.FUT house-LOC

(Nŋ) wam-o-nak tom yaw-ŋ.
go up-BV 2SG.FUT  later house-LOC

(Nŋ) wam-o-nak yaw-ŋ tom.
go up-BV 2SG.FUT  later house-LOC
‘I will come to the house later on.’

4.2.3 Serial verb clauses

There are sequences of independent and fully inflected verbs in Awiakay, e.g.

_Nŋ kolo-pelp endi-paliŋk._
sit-PERF sing-PRS-1SG
‘I sat down and am singing.’
Tasia o-ua pende-e-pep numbu-k.
spirit salt-DEF stick.on-take-PERF eat-PST-lSG
'I was licking the salt that had stuck onto my finger.'
as well as **serial verb constructions**. Most such compounds consist of two verbs. Those consisting of three or more occur, as below, but are rare.

\[\text{mom kaka-yombo-kolopa-l-ik}\]
talk talk-sleep-sit-PRS-1SG
'I’m speaking while lying'

\[\text{Mom moko-taka-na-k}\]
talk hold-chew-FUT1-1SG
'I’m going to find out what the talk was about.'

4.2.4 Involuntary experiential constructions

Involuntary experiential constructions express uncontrolled bodily and emotional experiences. When these are visible or audible to others, they are expressed using the verb ‘hit’ added to the noun which expresses the involuntary condition. The verb is inflected with an involuntary experiential suffix, which varies according to person and number of the experiencer (Table A14).\(^9\) These suffixes are similar to, but not exactly the same as object markers in verbs.

\[\text{ipanguk-un pokoko-ndi}\]
hiccups-INST hiccups-1SG.IVA
'Hiccups are hitting me’ i.e. ‘I am having hiccups.'

**Table A14: Involuntary experiential suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATIENT</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>-ndi</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL/PL</td>
<td>-ngoy</td>
<td>-ngoy</td>
<td>-angoy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the involuntary condition or experience is not visible/audible to others, but is only felt by the experiencer, we do not need the verb ‘to hit’, but add an involuntary experiential suffix directly to the relevant word (usually a noun).\(^10\)

\[\text{megge-ndi}\]
hunger-1SG.ISI
'hunger acts upon me’ i.e. ‘I am hungry’

To ask if someone is hungry we simply add the question marker -m at the end.

---

\(^9\) I use the abbreviation IVA (involuntary visible/audible experience).
\(^10\) The abbreviation I use for ‘involuntary state/sensation that is internal or invisible’ is ISI.
Another expression of this kind is

kop-ok nomban-ndi
head-INL.POSS1SG pain-1SG.

‘I have a headache.’

When there is no preceding noun, the involuntary state/experience takes a 3SG form, which is added to the experiential suffix.

nomban-ndi-mb-on
pain-1SG.

‘it hurts’ / ‘pain acts upon me’

In the same way as ‘it hurts’, the word that expresses ‘the pleasant/tense sensation before the orgasm’ is formed.

meme-ndi-mb-on
pleasant/tense.sensation-1SG.

‘it feels pleasant/tense’ ‘xx acts upon me’

In all the above cases, the noun is inflected with a relevant involuntary experiential suffix (Table A14). Some other expressions of this type are

enuan-gun pokondi ‘gooseflesh is hitting me’
embay pokondy ‘sweat is hitting me’
kok-un pokondi ‘cough is hitting me’

Being cold or hot is expressed in a different way, namely, by combining omu-k ‘my body’ with eye ‘cold’, or in the case of ‘hot’, with an idiomatic phrase:

omu-k eye
body-INL.POSS1SG cold

‘I am cold.’

omu-k yam-ba-ŋay
body-INL.POSS1SG fire-DEF.-I.think

‘I am hot.’

4.2.6 Interrogative clauses

Both statements and questions have a preferred SOV word order, but an object in a polar interrogative sentence is pronounced with a rising intonation.

Nan tay no-man-im?
you sago eat-2SG-PST-Q
‘Did you eat sago?’

Nan tay no-man.
you sago eat-2SG-PST
‘You ate sago.’
4.3 Multi-clause sentences

There are multi-clausal sentences in Awiakay, which include conditional and temporal clauses.

Mesia-ŋ tiŋŋŋ palo-pep pokonji-p-on.
Mesia (name)-A fish spear-PERF cut-PRS-3SG

‘Mesia speared a fish (and) is cutting it.’

4.3.1 Conditional and temporal subordinate clauses

Conditional and temporal clauses are formed in a similar way, just with different verbal suffixes.

Table A13: Conditional / temporal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-oy</td>
<td>-goy</td>
<td>-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-goŋ</td>
<td>-ken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL/PL</td>
<td>-goy</td>
<td>-ge</td>
<td>-kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>-goŋ</td>
<td>-gen</td>
<td>-kon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nan tongoy tam pok-on-man pok-ai-nak.
You my dog hit-3SG.OBJ-PRS2SG.SBJ hit-you-1.SG.FUT

‘If you hit my dog I will hit you.’

Niŋ yaki ton-ay-kenŋ koŋ n-ai-nak.
I cigarette  there is-if PREP give-you-1.SG.FUT

‘If there was a cigarette I would have, I would give (it) to you.’

An ponde wamo-na-y-keyŋ, musuay moko-na-k.
he tomorrow come.upriver-FUT.3SG-TEMP3SG work hold-FUT-1SG

When he comes upriver tomorrow, I will work.

Tomi ni-na-y-keŋ, pokon-na-k.
Tomi eat-FUT3SG-COND3SG hit-FUT-1SG

If Tomi eats [it], I will hit him.

4.3.3 Conjoined clauses

Coordinate clauses can be separated from each other by a non-final intonation juncture (i.e. ‘comma intonation’; marked in the example below by a comma) or joined by a conjunction, such as kele (‘and’).

Niŋ tine ope-ke, a-n.
I bird see-1SG.PST go-3SG.PST

‘I saw a bird (and) it went (flew away).’
Niŋ tine ope-k kele a-n.
'I saw a bird and it went (flew away).'

Another conjunction is uŋikanda, 'or else' / 'lest'

Eŋga-ŋ aka isasim, uŋikanda kolo-n punbagaka-nm-an.
Don’t play with the bush knife, or else you’ll cut your finger.

A subordinate conjunction expressing purpose or consequence is koŋ 'and so', 'so as to'

Kumuŋa-n map-a ŋonga waka-y-m koŋ kaka-pon?
‘Did his mother give birth to him together with the land so that he’s talking?’

Yok konda kay.
‘That’s all.’
Appendix B:

An account of the beginnings
of the Catholic charismatic movement in Kanjimei

[a translation of an account given to me by Geoffrey Yukun in Tok Pisin]

[T 2004_005]

I went to Lae in 1988 and stayed there for four, almost five years working for Womo International Security, when I received the light of the spirit. God had planned it; it says so in the Bible. It was God’s plan that I now act as a charismatic leader. I did not know how to do it, but in Lae they had a group called Legion of Mary, and a new one, called charismatic group. Some people from the Sepik and the Biwat said to me: ‘Brother, we have some work to do for the Holy Spirit, it is called charismatic.’ At this time God came into my thoughts and I knew that I had to join them. Brothers from the charismatic group in Lae told me that there were prayer meetings where you really get connected with God. When you devote your life to him at such a meeting, God will enter you and you will receive various gifts [Gifts of the Holy Spirit], like healing power and the like.

We prayed several times. In times of big illness we prayed. There are two types of illness: physical and spiritual. If it comes from the spirit, we can heal it because it is spiritual, it is caused by sin. If it is physical, we cannot help much, but there is still God’s mercy and He can help in some way.

In Lae we saw how God works. I was told about this charismatic group and explained about the work of the Holy Spirit, it was like instructions on how to follow this way and protect oneself from the evil. I accepted it and entered the group. The leaders prayed over me. I got a reeling sensation and I fainted. In sleep, I had a vision. Wonderful birds, the beauty of heaven. All the birds were strong, they looked like the Holy Spirit. While they were praying over me, I received the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The first gift I received was the gift of healing. Other gifts are speaking in tongues or mental visions. God gave me a big gift: healing power. [...]

I attended prayer meetings to share God’s words. This is what all leaders do to strengthen the members of the group. One month, two months, and I felt that I became strong. I avoided bad habits: swearing, anger. Before I had often hung around with rascals. I didn’t steal, fight or kill; I was just friends with rascals and hung out together with them. Once we took the Provincial Governor’s car and drove around with it. The police almost shot me. But that’s another story. With this new life I stopped that. Charismatic group gave me the strength of the Holy Spirit, now I can avoid all sinful habits such as swearing, fighting, anger, rage, stealing, hanging out with rascals... I knew there is no God in such habits. So I attended prayer meetings. We made public speeches, had conversations and strengthened group members. We had five group leaders. I was just an ordinary group member while in Lae. They organised a Holy Spirit Seminar for us at St Joseph Pastoral Centre at Eight Mile [part of Lae], and the Holy Spirit Bishop Henry was to visit this course too. He must be from Germany. A white man. And he is the Holy Spirit Bishop. He is still in Lae. 11 He gave this seminar ‘Life in the Spirit’. [...]

Some other groups in Lae too had prayer meetings, but the Bishop told them to stop, as they prayed and prayed, but did not have any control and just fell down in trance like mad. [...]

11 ‘Bishop Henry’ is a Dutch-born Catholic priest Henry Anthony A. van Lieshout who retired on 15 January 2007 after being the bishop of Lae for 41 years.
But Fr. Chris, our Sepik priest from Bumbu, said that we Papua New Guinean people do not know the work of the Holy Spirit, because we have not changed yet as all the white people did—we are not used to listen to, to obey what someone says. When we fight and somebody wants to stop us, we will continue fighting and the trouble will be big, whereas you white people will all stop when the leader says so. Father saw this and he was scared. We, the people of Papua New Guinea, are very stubborn. I believe that working for the Holy Spirit is a good habit. We Papua New Guineans will receive these strong powers and go, mix them with bad habits. The way of God and the earthly ways together will bring troubles, people will get ill and they will die. That is why Fr. Chris opposed Bishop Henry. He was afraid for us Papua New Guineans to receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit, as many [people] could be destroyed. We cannot control ourselves, as we have many opposing thoughts. It is not our habit to agree with others and to think in the right way. That is why Fr. Chris did not want his parish enter the Holy Spirit [movement], while the Bishop said that they should. In the end Fr. Chris said: ‘All right, you are my superior, I will follow your decision and allow my parish to enter the work and prayers of the Holy Spirit.’

Now the Bishop taught us how to be strong and heal. He told us that we, the Sepik people, are the first in Morobe Province to start a charismatic group. He said that we really had the power of God’s Holy Spirit and that we had used it well. We started with prayer meetings, giving strength to people, teaching them...

When I returned to Kanjimei there had been no charismatic movement, no Holy Spirit in the whole Amboin area. People had heard about it, but they did not know, because they had not attended the course. We made a church, so that we prayed, had Sunday service and charismatic prayer meetings. I will now describe my first charismatic experience.

I was still in Lae when some boys came to visit me. Joseph, Charles, Vitus and Ambros, who is now dead. When we were in Lae, somebody poisoned Joseph. Within a week he was taken ill. He was very sick, but he went around with wantoks from the Biwat. They carried him back when he could not walk any longer. He asked to be taken back to Bumbu to Geoffrey. The Biwat knew the place, as they too stayed there. He was really sick, he nearly died. He did not eat for three days, the fourth day it seemed as if his skin had been burnt by fire. He could shed his skin like rubber and his eyes were as red as fire. The next day he said that this was a sign that he was dying. We all knew he was going to die. He said: ‘Take a needle and shoot my eye with it,’ and everybody took that as a sign that he was dying. The boys were about to cry. I said to them: ‘Don’t cry yet, God is here.’ I prayed over him, I prayed to God the Father: ‘In the name of Jesus I pray. Father, I know you have all the strength and power and I know you have medicines for all kinds of diseases, poison, sanguma and water spirits. I am asking your mercy and putting hand on Joseph in the name of Jesus for this power of medicine.’ When I prayed, I tell you, he vomited as if all his stomach would like to come out. He vomited some yellow plastic. And he fell down, Joseph fell down. Some kind of an insect or worms moved inside his yellow vomit. While vomiting, he was saying: ‘Hold me, I am dying, hold me!’ And I told the boys to hold him strong and let him vomit. When he vomits it all, he will be all right. Then I told Elias to take water, wash him, and put some water on his head. He fell asleep, he needed to rest. I prayed and God heard and answered our prayer. ‘I have put him in God’s hands now, don’t worry, the poison has lost its power – only God has the power now,’ I said. In the

12 Fr. Chris (Christian Blouin, originally from Canada) was a parish priest of the All Saints Parish in the Bumbu settlement (where most of the Sepik people who are in Lae live) for a couple of years. He was also chaplain of the Charismatic Renewal Movement in the diocese. In January 2007 he succeeded Bishop Henry and became the Bishop of Lae.
afternoon I prayed again. He woke up, sat up and talked. The next morning I took him to Angau Hospital. I was queuing to tell the doctor about his illness while Joseph was waiting. When I approached the doctor, I turned around, but Joseph was no longer there. I thought he might have lost his mind and wandered away. I was worried because there was a busy road and he could be hit by a car. I checked the road, but he was not there, I checked behind the hospital and saw him walking with some strangers. I thought they were sanguma. These sanguma made him ill, now they took him to kill him. I was sure they were sanguma, but I was wrong. He was wandering around and these men took him back. I said: ‘Joseph, I thought sanguma killed you. Are these men sanguma?’ I was ready to fight those two men. Joseph said: ‘No, I got lost and they took me back.’ I listened to Joseph. I thought, I am a Christian, I work with the Holy Spirit, if I fought these men it would be wrong and would cause trouble. So I went back into the line to see the doctor and asked Joseph not to go anywhere.

[Geoffrey explained the sickness to the doctor and he gave him an injection and some medicines. Later on Joseph ate for the first time and Geoffrey was happy.]

At night I prayed for him again. The next day he got up, sat and ate.

When he was dying his spirit wandered away during his sleep. He saw brother Jesus who took him to the place of the dead. Not really the place of the dead, it must have been Heaven. He took him there and said: ‘Look down to the Earth.’ He looked down and saw some man who was making poison – it was the kind of poison which you smoke with tobacco. ‘You smoked a cigarette and you were poisoned. But fortunately Geoffrey went into the life of the Holy Spirit. Look,’ said Jesus, and turned a kind of a screen, like a video screen, to Joseph, so that he watched it like TV. ‘You see, you have Geoffrey now. When you vomited he was praying for you. Look, here’s your body.’ Joseph saw it as if it was in front of him. He could hardly believe it. ‘When I saw my body, myself – it was as if there were two men, two Josephs: one of me was up there, and the body was down there,’ he explained. He was looking at me when I was praying for him. Hard work – I did not rest.

At that time I was a strong believer. I did not have a woman or children to disturb me, I was alone. My belief was strong and my gift [of healing] worked very well. It was just before Christmas when Joseph was healed. I had this life of the Holy Spirit now, and God triggered a thought in me. He said: ‘Geoffrey, go back to the village. Go to the village and do the charismatic work there.’ So I went to the boss of Womo International and explained to him why I needed to resign. It was God’s work that I had to do, so he allowed me to resign.

[The next day they bought tickets for the boat to Wewak and from there they took a truck straight to Angoram where they took a canoe up the Sepik to come back to Kanjimei. In Angoram, Geoffrey had another vision.]

God was very happy and Jesus said: ‘I will go first and if you find life hard I will help and change the lives of all people in the village. You should make these words public, and they will have the power to change people’s old habits. All people will change. [Geoffrey told about his vision to the boys and they were all happy.]

We came to the village. The first day we rested, then we told about the kind of work the Church has now: Sunday service, Legion of Mary, charismatic movement. We mostly explained about charismatic movement, as we were now a charismatic group. We talked about the work of the Holy Spirit and everybody listened. Everybody agreed that this was something new. Charismatic movement is the work of the Holy Spirit, you come close to God and you can clearly see his power. You pray for a sick man and you will see how sickness is finished. If you devote your life to it, it will become easier. Don’t bother if you are hungry, if you don’t have food – God will provide it in various ways. (TP Yu hangre – maski; yu hangre – yu pray.) Other people will bring food to you because you pray. When you don’t have food, you should pray, go to the bush and you will kill a pig.
We preached and everybody was listening and they thought it was good. But at the same time they were scared. Because we explained that there were both good and bad things about charismatic work. Next time we held a prayer meeting. We had one charismatic prayer meeting a week. In two or three months everybody was familiar with charismatic meetings and prayers. Some people attended the meetings, others did not. They all saw I had the strength to control it when a man with old beliefs was filled with the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit and old beliefs are not the same – they fight and make men and women insane. A person can jump into the water, the body can shake and twitch or fall down... But I had this gift, God gave me the strength when I left Lae and he said: ‘Go to the village, I will give you the strength and Jesus will go with you.’ I did not find it hard. Even when people went insane, wanted to jump into the water or nearly died, I put hand on them and prayed to Jesus and their madness was gone like nothing. I was happy because God was with me and heard my prayers. I know he is the God of life and he made all life. And I was trying to strengthen the charismatic work in the village.

Some called me when their child was very sick, when they couldn’t pee and their stomach swelled up – I prayed and put my hand on them in the name of Jesus and they peed and they were healed. All people saw it and believed. Truly, this is God’s blessing. And their lives have changed. But before their lives changed, people had changed. Bad talk, fighting, anger, public insulting, swearing – it all stopped. We taught everybody that these habits were forbidden, they were against God and the work of the Holy Spirit. Everybody knew that. When they talked badly, they would get into trouble – some kind of sickness or pain or some other trouble would affect them, so they stopped it. Everybody knew that God works straight. People abandoned many of the old practices. Many of those who kept them got sick and died. Many big men died. Many women who followed old customs died.

At the beginning we held these meetings regularly, we did not leave out a single one, but now we have these problems with Imanmeri, so the leaders do not come together. Many bad habits came back, but we have other worries now and cannot hold prayer meetings. Sorry.
## Appendix C:

### A GLOSSARY OF *kay menda* ‘hidden talk’ TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tok Pisin loan</th>
<th><em>kay menda</em></th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44 gallon drum</td>
<td>fotifo</td>
<td>yomoy</td>
<td>bucket made of a big bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>airplane</td>
<td>balus</td>
<td>naim tandoŋa</td>
<td>eagle-canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amount of money</td>
<td>hamas moni</td>
<td>paypmanja mimbia</td>
<td>name of money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe</td>
<td>tamiok</td>
<td>mundum</td>
<td>stone axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag</td>
<td>bek</td>
<td>yambam</td>
<td>grass basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>bal</td>
<td>papukay manga</td>
<td>orange tree fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>bal</td>
<td>yupim</td>
<td>wild pandanus ball</td>
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<tr>
<td>balloon</td>
<td>balun</td>
<td>mumba</td>
<td>bladder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bank</td>
<td>benk</td>
<td>paypmanja yawa</td>
<td>house of stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basin</td>
<td>bikpela dis</td>
<td>yakaopay</td>
<td>earthen dish (large)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beer</td>
<td>bia</td>
<td>o yomba</td>
<td>water mixed with bark ashes (traditionally made salt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big dish, boat</td>
<td>dis</td>
<td>monaŋ</td>
<td>dish made of the soft part of the Arecooid palm (<em>Rhopalobiaste</em> sp.) petiole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big sturdy bag</td>
<td>renbo bag</td>
<td>yambam</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book, paper, anything for reading</td>
<td>buk, niuspepa</td>
<td>kasanja</td>
<td>dry banana leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bra</td>
<td>susu kalabus/bra</td>
<td>isik ulakaplaqay</td>
<td>[something that] covers breasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bullet</td>
<td>bulit</td>
<td>tasia tamanda</td>
<td>spirit arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bush knife, machete</td>
<td>busnaip</td>
<td>malay engaya</td>
<td>sago machete</td>
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<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>baim</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camera</td>
<td>kemera skin</td>
<td>memek</td>
<td>lightning</td>
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<td>mirror</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>candle</td>
<td>kendol</td>
<td>yandom endia</td>
<td>tree sap</td>
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<td>kep</td>
<td>koponunj tia</td>
<td>head skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chewing gum</td>
<td>big boy / P.K.</td>
<td>kamba endia</td>
<td>breadfruit sap</td>
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<tr>
<td>chocolate cream</td>
<td>soklit krim</td>
<td>enenj mola</td>
<td>diarrhoea / rotting shit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigarette (bought in town)</td>
<td>Splug, Pal Mal</td>
<td>kandukya yakia</td>
<td>white [man] cigarette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothes things</td>
<td>klos ol samtink</td>
<td>kolokot</td>
<td>things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>computer</td>
<td>bikpela (save man)</td>
<td>kanden olukunja</td>
<td>big man / person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cup, mug</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>palendem</td>
<td>coconut shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cup, mug</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>wauna</td>
<td>carnivorous plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(<em>Nepenthes ampullaria</em> sp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eaglewood</td>
<td>garu</td>
<td>is kamia</td>
<td>tree meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eucharist</td>
<td>yukarist</td>
<td>pamben</td>
<td>a kind of a nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firelighter</td>
<td>masis</td>
<td>pat</td>
<td>stick for making fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishing hook</td>
<td>huk</td>
<td>tao</td>
<td>sago thorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Tok Pisin loan</td>
<td>kay menda</td>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishing net</td>
<td>net</td>
<td>ewey</td>
<td>net made of bark rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frying pan</td>
<td></td>
<td>epay</td>
<td>earthen ‘frying pan’ or flat stone used for cooking sago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaol</td>
<td>kalabus</td>
<td>wandyawawa</td>
<td>chickens’ house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glasses, sunglasses, diving goggles</td>
<td>(ai) glas, gogols</td>
<td>nokomgununji</td>
<td>eyelids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold</td>
<td>gol</td>
<td>kinjim</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guitar</td>
<td>gita</td>
<td>tasia punjimba</td>
<td>spirit hand drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gum boots</td>
<td>gam but</td>
<td>andangunj yaka yambakay</td>
<td>[something with which to] walk in the swamps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gun</td>
<td>gan</td>
<td>tasia kanungga</td>
<td>spirit bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gun</td>
<td>gan</td>
<td>yambunj kunda</td>
<td>tree species having buttress roots (buttress roots can be kicked with the heel or struck with an ax or other tool to make a gun-like booming sound)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard biscuits</td>
<td>biskit</td>
<td>tasia taya</td>
<td>spirit sago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house with a tin roof / town house</td>
<td>haus kapa</td>
<td>tasia yawa</td>
<td>spirit-house</td>
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<tr>
<td>instant noodles</td>
<td>nudols</td>
<td>kundam enjga</td>
<td>earthworm shit</td>
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<td>iron post</td>
<td>ain</td>
<td>makam</td>
<td>main post in a house</td>
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<tr>
<td>K10</td>
<td>ten kina</td>
<td>isapasa</td>
<td>stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knife</td>
<td>naip</td>
<td>yombay (kapaya)</td>
<td>bamboo (small knife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamp</td>
<td>lem</td>
<td>yambat</td>
<td>sago stem torch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>learned man</td>
<td>saveman/savemeri</td>
<td>nokomga pawi</td>
<td>red-eyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lighter / torch / lamp</td>
<td>masis / tos / lem</td>
<td>tasia yamba</td>
<td>spirit fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loudspeaker</td>
<td>spika</td>
<td>tepunj</td>
<td>bamboo / wooden ‘loudspeaker’</td>
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<tr>
<td>marble</td>
<td>marbol</td>
<td>imag mangga</td>
<td>tree nut</td>
</tr>
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<td>medicines</td>
<td>marasin</td>
<td>tasia pamyamba</td>
<td>spirit ginger</td>
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<td>money</td>
<td>mani</td>
<td>payp mangga / payp manda</td>
<td>stone</td>
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<tr>
<td>mosquito net</td>
<td>taunam</td>
<td>anj</td>
<td>basket for sleeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>necklace</td>
<td>neklis</td>
<td>tokombononji</td>
<td>neck skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oat/nut/dried fruit bar</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>koña taya</td>
<td>honey(comb)-sago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oil / gear oil</td>
<td>wel / giawel</td>
<td>tomba / tasia tombaya</td>
<td>oil of native tree Campnosperma brevipetioloata (TP wel diwai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outboard motor</td>
<td>moto</td>
<td>tasia monanga</td>
<td>spirit-paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outboard motor</td>
<td>moto</td>
<td>wao ayma</td>
<td>beetle family Rhinchophoridae (sago beetle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paint (for grass/sago)</td>
<td>pen</td>
<td>kunakumbunji</td>
<td>leaves for producing paint for kuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pencil</td>
<td>pensil</td>
<td>kaway tihiplakay</td>
<td>paint drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pencil / biro</td>
<td>pensil / bairo</td>
<td>yambao</td>
<td>ember</td>
</tr>
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<td>petrol / kerosene / beer / soft drinks</td>
<td>petrol / kerosin / bia / sop drink</td>
<td>yom</td>
<td>water</td>
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<tr>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>pilo</td>
<td>tasia kemunda</td>
<td>spirit wooden pillow</td>
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<tr>
<td>plate</td>
<td>pleit</td>
<td>tane</td>
<td>earthen plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>polis</td>
<td>tam</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot</td>
<td></td>
<td>anggas</td>
<td>earthen pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Tok Pisin loan</td>
<td>kay menda</td>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>powder milk</td>
<td>Sunshine</td>
<td>isik (yomba)</td>
<td>breast (milk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>price went up</td>
<td>prais em i go antap</td>
<td>paypmanga wamonjan</td>
<td>stones went upriver</td>
</tr>
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<td>radio</td>
<td>redio</td>
<td>emuj kunda</td>
<td>buttress roots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radio</td>
<td>redio</td>
<td>yomgonj manda</td>
<td>turtle shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rascal, bandit</td>
<td>sanguma</td>
<td>emay</td>
<td>assault sorcerer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice</td>
<td>rais</td>
<td>kaunjwa waya</td>
<td>seeds of Arecoide palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope</td>
<td>rop</td>
<td>aumam</td>
<td>garamut (TP for slit-drum')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nail</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rubber gloves</td>
<td>glav</td>
<td>kolononj tia</td>
<td>hand skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt</td>
<td>sol</td>
<td>tasia oua</td>
<td>spirit 'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serving spoon</td>
<td>kumu spun</td>
<td>ipikapa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serving tongs</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>kula</td>
<td>big dish dish made of the soft part of the Arecoide palm (Rhopaloblaste sp.) petiole</td>
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<tr>
<td>ship</td>
<td>sip</td>
<td>mondaj kandenje</td>
<td></td>
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<td>shoes</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>panben tia</td>
<td>leg skin</td>
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<tr>
<td>shovel</td>
<td>sawel</td>
<td>sinjayan</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shower</td>
<td>sawa</td>
<td>map kulamba yomba / payp kulamba yomba</td>
<td>water from ground hole / - stone shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soap</td>
<td>sop</td>
<td>tomba</td>
<td>tree (oil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body spray</td>
<td>sop bodi sprei</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soap</td>
<td>sop</td>
<td>yom enjay</td>
<td>water spit</td>
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<tr>
<td>soap</td>
<td>sop</td>
<td>yom karay</td>
<td>water foam</td>
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<tr>
<td>spoon</td>
<td>spun</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>spoon made of coconut shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>store</td>
<td>stoa</td>
<td>kolokot yawa</td>
<td>house of things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>string</td>
<td>string</td>
<td>pipisimba</td>
<td>pandanus string</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar</td>
<td>suga loli</td>
<td>imat/ tasia imata</td>
<td>sugar cane/spirit sugar cane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunglasses</td>
<td>sanglas</td>
<td>tem nokomga</td>
<td>sun-eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabernacle</td>
<td>tabernakol</td>
<td>yao</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telephone</td>
<td>telipon</td>
<td>tasia umbunsha</td>
<td>spirit garamut (TP for 'slit-drum')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin roof</td>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>waknga</td>
<td>sago thatch shingles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinned (mushroom) sauce</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>mengwak</td>
<td>vitamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toilet</td>
<td>toilet</td>
<td>enenj yawa</td>
<td>shit house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trousers</td>
<td>trausis</td>
<td>kumbayn tia</td>
<td>tree bark skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trousers</td>
<td>trausis</td>
<td>wasipi tia [&gt;'wal pia 'part of a torn string bag']</td>
<td>string bag skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-shirt</td>
<td>singlis</td>
<td>omununj tia</td>
<td>body skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbrella</td>
<td>ambrela</td>
<td>ayngwanj tia</td>
<td>skin of a flying fox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umbrella</td>
<td>ambrela</td>
<td>embum</td>
<td>grass hood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wallet</td>
<td>hanpaus</td>
<td>kundambiri</td>
<td>coconut fibre for storing tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watch</td>
<td>hanwas</td>
<td>tem manga</td>
<td>sun/time 'fruit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>write</td>
<td>raitim</td>
<td>ikak-</td>
<td>carve</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Appendix D:

Transcript of a domestic quarrel:
Mamaŋ scolding Wayk

[Kros 01/audio_Mamaŋ:Wayk 001-002_18 March 2009_AT 2009/1 pp52-104; notes pp108-9]

Transcription conventions followed below:

SPEAKERS' NAMES in capital letters, each in a full line preceding the speaker’s first words
1 line numbers
Awiakay
Tok Pisin
[background information or other interpolations]
interlinear glosses
[clarification of translation]
[comments]

MAMAŊ:

1 *Niŋ ambla kolopalike, niŋ ambla kolopalike, niŋ ambla kolopalike.* (x3)
I’m all alone, I’m all alone, I’m all alone. (x3)

*Niŋ aka anamgoy senismeri* (x3) *tolik.*
I’m not his exchange woman.

*Niŋ aka anamgoy senismeri, mm?*
I’m not his exchange, hah?

*Tongoy kopoŋikmun anamgoy nambokonja kay ekum?*
Did my brothers marry his sister, hah?

5 *Kopok ambamba kongoman?*
Why did you cut my head?

*Kopok endia ambamba pekem?*
Why do I have blood flowing down [my face]?

*Niŋ anamgoy seinisimerim?*
Am I his exchange?

*Tongoy kopoŋikmun nangoy nambokonja kay ekum?*
Did my brothers marry your sister, hah?

*Kopok endia ambamba pekem, mm?*
Why do I have blood flowing down [my face], hah?

10 *Niŋ nangoy senisimerim tolikom kopok endia pekeke mm?*
Am I your exchange woman, is that why the blood’s flowing down [my face], hah?

[? unintelligible]

*Niŋ ambla kolopalike (x3), mm?*
I’m all alone, (x3) hah?

*Niŋ aka anamgoy namba.*
I’m not his woman. [she is angry and talks to others, so 3SG]

*Niŋ aka nangoy senismeri!*
I'm not your exchange woman.

_Niŋ aunda kolopalike._
I'm [sitting] all alone.

[? unintelligible]

15  _Tʊŋgʊŋgʊŋ kʊpɔŋɪkµʊŋ_ Yakalimap sakay aka kumbokopla tɔŋɡon.
My brothers don’t stuff Yakalimap’s hole. [they don’t fuck your sister Yakalimap]
_Anamgoy nambokonjia tʊŋɡʊŋɡʊŋ kay aka kumbokopla._
My others [= my brothers] don’t stuff his sister’s hole.

[? unintelligible]

_Tema tema an tayŋan pokɔndimbon._
He often hits me like this.

_Tʊŋgʊŋɡʊŋ kʊpɔŋɪkµʊŋ anamgoy nambokonja aka ekua kɔŋ pokɔndimbon._
My brothers didn’t marry his sister so that he would beat me like this.
_An tay inja wansait inja kumbokondimbon popon anamgoy kay kombokopla tɔŋɡoy kʊpɔŋɪkµʊŋ._
He [thinks] it’s good to stuff my hole one-sidedly [without exchange], while my brothers aren’t screwing his one.

20  _Niŋ aka senismerim tolik._  (x3)
I’m not an exchange woman.

_Niŋ amla wansait tolik._
I’m all alone, one-sided.

_Wansait tolik._
I’m one-sided.

[? unintelligible]

_Tukumbaa palopungakay, tukumban man sigraphbapopon._
I will shoot his balls, his balls are too itchy [he is too horny].

[? unintelligible]

_Anamgoy nambokonja kay yʊkʊa tʊŋɡoy kʊpɔŋɪkµʊŋ kɔŋ pokɔndim kɔlopop Waynek?_ Is Wayk beating me because my brothers are fucking his sister?

[? unintelligible]

25  _Waykαn aka unja kumbokonji tʊŋɡʊŋɡʊŋ kʊpɔŋɪkµʊŋ anamgoy nambokonjia kay aka kumbokonjipla._
Wayk’s been stuffing my hole for ages, [while] my brothers aren’t stuffing his sister’s hole.

_Niŋ tayŋan._
So that’s what I’m saying.

_Niŋ wansait tolik popalik._
I’m saying I’m one-sided.

_Tʊŋɡoy kʊpɔŋɪkµʊŋ anamgoy nambokonjia aka kumbokonjipla, popalik._
I’m saying that my brothers aren’t stuffing his sister’s hole.

_Niŋ tayŋan kakapalik._
That’s what I’m saying.

30  _Tʊŋɡαn anamgoy nambokonja kay aka yʊkʊpla popalik._
I’m saying that my [brothers] aren’t fucking his sister.

_Niŋ amla wansait tolik [...]._
I’m all alone, one-sided.

_Anamgoy nambokonjia tʊŋɡoy kʊpɔŋɪkµʊŋ kay aka warikepla anamgoy nambokonja mamgoy injua._
My brothers aren’t probing his sister’s cunt with hands.
_Aka aunda!_
Not at all!

_Niŋ wansait tolik, tʊŋɡoy kʊpɔŋɪkµʊŋ aka warikapla nangoy nambokonjia mamgoy._
I’m one-sided, my brothers don’t keep probing his sisters’ [cunt].

35  *Aka opendimban niŋ wansait tolike.*
You don’t see that I’m one-sided.

*Nan-anumgoy nambokonja mamgoy aka mokowalikakapla yao kulamban.*
They aren’t groping you—your sister’s [cunt] inside the house.

*Aka opendimban niŋ wansait tolike.*
You don’t see that I’m one-sided.

*Nan tema-tema konj bagarapimbapondimban.*
So you’ve forced yourself on me many times.

*Aka unja bagarapimbapondimyaman tema-tema.*
Not only now, you’ve forced yourself on me while walking in the bush many times.

40  *Aka unja paulimhapundimyaman.*
It’s not only now that you’ve screwed me in the bush.

*Niŋ ambla wansait tolik.*
I’m all alone, one-sided.

*Aka unja paulimhapundiman tema-tema.*
It’s not only now that you’ve screwed me, it’s been many times.

*Niŋ wansait tolike.*
I’m one-sided.

*Niŋ wansait kolopalike aka opendimban nan [...].
You don’t understand that I’m one-sided.

45  *Niŋ tanjan kakanaak.*
I’ll put it like this.

*Niŋ wansait kolopalike [...].
I’m one-sided [...].

*Anamgoy nambokonjia tongoy kopońikmun pakayambilam?*
Are my brothers going around with his sister?

*Tongoy kopońikmun warikiplam komgangoy injua?*
Are my brothers probing her cunt?

SOMEONE (an onlistener from the open-air house outside):

*Uuu!
Uuu [that’s too much / over the edge]!*

MAMANJ:

50  *Wayk!*
Wayk!

*Nan kakape tongoy kopońikmun nangoy nambokonja mamgoy injua kay warikiplam?*
Tell me, are my brothers probing your sister’s cunt?

*Agalon!*
No! No!

*Tongoy kopońikmun anamgoy nambokonjia maya kay aka mokowasingakapon.*
My brothers aren’t prising apart his sister’s arse cheeks.

*Niŋ tanjan kakaipalik.*
That’s what I’m saying.

55  *Agalon! Agalon! Agalon! Agalon!*
No! No! No! No!

*Kambanjanda agalon!*
Not in the slightest!

*Agalon! Agalon! Kambanjanda agalon! [...]*
No! No! Not in the slightest! [...]

*Engukumba kunjamaanda nombandimbon mapa-mapa yambalike anamgoy nambokonjia tanjan amba yangumblingay tongoy kopońikmun.*
My arsehole hurts when I walk around.

*Engukamba munguphiakandimbon popon.*
He wanted to screw my arsehole.[note p.108]
Anamgoy nambokonjia tanjan mungupliakapla tongoy kopokikmun?
Are my brothers also screwing his sister like that?
Tongoy kopokik mun tanjan pakayamblangay anamgoy nambokonjia.
Are my two brothers also carrying on with his sister like that?
Tongoy kopokikmun tanjan amba yangum yamblangay kongamgoy nambokonjini.
[?? check Awiakay notebook]
Niij kak trikmbapopilikim Waykan enguikmba kombokondimbappopongoy?
I’m making it up, hah, that Wayk wants to stuff my arse?
Niij aka aunda kakapalik.
I’m telling the truth. [lit. I’m not talking just like that]
Waykan enguikmba kombokonjindimbon niij konj kakapalik.
Wayk is stuffing my arse, and so I’m talking.
Tongoy kopokikmun anamgoy nambokonja tanjan aka kombokonjipla.
My brothers aren’t stuffing his sister’s hole like that.
Engunumba.
Her arse.
Tongoy kopokikmun anamgoy nambokonjia kay aka ekua.
My brothers didn’t marry his sister.
Niij wansait toliloy aka opendimbon Waykan.
Wayk doesn’t know [he ignores the fact] that I’m one-sided.
Yara-yara mulakapalike tongoy kopokikmun anamgoy nambokonja mamgoy injua kay aka yukupla.
All this time I’ve been looking and my brothers haven’t gone near his sister’s cunt.
Injua kay aka mokopla anamgoy nambokonja mamgoy.
They aren’t groping his sister’s cunt.
Anamgoy nambokonjia kay aka ekepla.
Others haven’t married his sister.
Injua kay aka mokopla.
Others aren’t groping her cunt.
Aka ekepla! Aka ekepla!
They haven’t married [her]! They haven’t married [her]!
Anamgoy nambokonjia injua kay aka mokopla.
Others aren’t groping his sister’s cunt.
Aka mokopla.
They aren’t groping [it].
YAKAME (from the open-air house outside):
Mamaj, Darjan nangoy mom mamda e.
Mamaj, Darja has already taken [recorded] your talk.
Injua menda yusimbapopan.
[You should] use good language now.
Yu spirit nogul, a?
Are you a bad spirit, or what?
MAMAJ:
Niij aka aunda kakapalik.
I’m telling the truth.
Waykan engan aka unja kongondi kopok.
It’s not the first time that Wayk has cut my head with a bushknife [he’s done it many times before].
[? unintelligible cross-talk]
Tongumgoy omuktia kunjamanda nombondimbon Waykan ambaindimbongoy niij konj kakapalik omuk tiamba.
My body hurts so much as Wayk fucks me, that’s why I’m talking this way.
Tongoy siketmba kakangainjakakay mom elak [...]
And I started talking about my skirt [...]
Aunda tanjan undimbla Waykan engan siket tungumgoy pumangupongoy.
So they scolded me when Wayk slashed my skirt with a bushknife.

Anamgoy nambokonjia kay aka wasingakapala anamgoy nambokonjia injua.
Others don’t probe his sister’s cunt.

Tongoy kopoñikmun.
My brothers.

Wansait kolopalike. (x2)
I’m one-sided. (x2)

A MAN (from the open-air house):

Akanja momba man aka kakaim.
You shouldn’t use such bad language. [don’t talk too much bad talk]

Ehak akanja!
That’s not good.

MAMAN:

Omuk tongoy kunjamanda wik onTapagaiñi pokopokosindimbonjog.
My body’s so weak because he keeps beating me.

Niñ wansait kolopalike! Niñ wansait kolopalike!
I’m one-sided! I’m one-sided!

Tongoy kopoñikmun anamgoy nambakonjia injua aka wasingakapala [...]
My brothers aren’t splitting apart his sister’s cunt.

Niñ aka anamgoy nambokonjia mambgo hevi kalimbapoyambalik.
I’m not walking around carrying his sister’s troubles.

[? unintelligible cross-talk]

Tongoy kopoñikmun anamgoy nambakonjia kay aka pakayambla.
My brothers aren’t carrying his sister around.

Tongoy kopoñikmun anamgoy nambakonjia aka wasingakapala.
My brothers aren’t probing his sister’s cunt.

Tongoy kopoñikmun anamgoy nambakonjia mambgo siket aka mokowasasipon.
My brother doesn’t rip his sister’s skirt.

Anamgoy nambakonjia siketwaimba aka kombokonjipon Waykan tongoy kombokonjipon pisip, kiay bekimhappopet.
He [my brother] isn’t stuffing his sister’s hole inside her skirt, like Wayk’s stuffing mine, so that he’d be retaliating for this.

Aunda, aunda, aunda, aunda endakopa aunda kolopalik.
No, no, no, no way [for me], so I’m all alone.

Aunda a pokomba kolopalikeñ andomba pikilikindimbon popalik?
I just sit [at my usual place], so I’m thinking, why is he doing these bad things to me?

Andamba pikilikindimbon popalik?
Why is he doing these bad things to me, I’m thinking.

Aunda kolopalike.
I’m all alone.

Anamgoy kay aka ependa-ependa-pimbla tongoy kopoñikmun.
My brothers aren’t fingering his [sister].

SOMEONE (from the open-air house):

Darjan nangoy mom epon.
Darja is taking [recording] your talk.

MAMAN:

An eyam.
Let her take [record] it.

Niñ akaunda kakapalik.
I’m telling the truth.

Tay pokondimbon ya kakapalik.
He beat me and so I’m talking.
Toijgon anamgoy kay aka pakayambla.
My [ones] aren’t carrying-walking his sister like this.

Weya-veya kay aka pakayambla tongoy kopoñikmun ya kon pokondim yambon weya-veyan.
My brothers aren’t sleeping around with his sister along every path so that he’d beat me while we walk along them.

Tongoy kopoñikmun anamgoy nambokonjia injua weya-veyan aka pokoyambla Waykan kon pokondim yambon toijgoy kopoiiikmun yambon weya-veyan.
My brothers aren’t fucking his sister in different ways to make Wayk do the same to me.

110 Anamgoy nambokonjia mamgoy dinau bekimba popoep kon pokondim yambon Waykan.
Wayk is paying back for his sister, so he’s beating me while walking around.

Agalon!
No!

Pokomba pam tolike, wansait tolike.
I don’t have anything, I’m one-sided.

Niñ ambla.
Me alone.

Haus sikuñ kon yambalik tema-tema.
Many times do I go to the aid-post.

115 Anamgoy nambokonjia aka wasingakapla injua kalaj tongoy kopoñikmun aka yambi mokopla anamgoy nambokonjia wambia.
My brothers don’t split apart his sister’s cunt, they don’t force themselves onto her and grab her thighs.

Tongoy kopoñikmun anamgoy nambokonjia injua aka wasingakampla.
My brothers don’t split apart his sister’s cunt.

Tema-tema.
Many times.

Tema-tema tay ambaindim kolopan tay, tema-tema konj. [notebook/ p. 75]
Many times you did it to me in the house, many times.

Ambla wansait kolopaliñen, wansait kolopaliñen.
I’m all alone one-sided, I’m one-sided.

120 Siket pia anda wasasindimbon engan andi engukmba aka kombokopon.
He slashes my skirt with a bushknife, so he doesn’t stuff my arsehole.

Niñ kopoñan pokopinjisipalik tongoy kopoñikmun anamgoy nambokonjia engan tanan aka kombokonjipa engan.
I myself am pushing away with hands so my brothers don’t stuff his sister’s hole with a bushknife like that.

Kiay bekimba popon.
This is what he retaliates for.

Anamgoy nambokonjia mamgoy dianu pukupep.
He remembers his sister’s debt.

Niñ ambla wansait tolik, an konj piklikindinay konj.
I’m alone, one-sided, so he’s doing these bad things to me.

125 Niñ ambla wansait tolik.
I’m all alone, one-sided.

Tongoy kondamiñanda kopoñik neñ kay endaj tolamin.
My two brothers are [married] to other lineages.

Tongoy kopoñik kondamiñanda kopoñik hevin tola.
My two brothers are in trouble.

Nokomgun agalon Wayk.
You don’t have eyes, Wayk.

Nan aka opepan tongoy kopoñik hevin tolakay.
You don’t see that my brothers are in trouble.

130 Nokomgun agalon.
You don’t have eyes.
_Nan tui tenjam aka opepan tongoy koponik hevin tolakay?_ Are you a bastard that you don’t see my brothers are in trouble?
_Save pinis._
You know.
_Aka kolokot!_ Great!
_Nangoy wantok aka aunda kakapalik._ I’m your friend, so I’m telling the truth.

135 _Tongoy kopoñik kondamiñanda hevin tola, nan engukmba koñ kombokonjindinban dianu elekiay bekimbapopep._
My two brothers are in trouble, so you’re stuffing my arse to pay back for that.
_Nan tongoy engukmba koñ kombokonjindim yamban koñ, a?_ So you keep shooting into my arse, hah?
_Tongoy kopoñikmun nangoy nambokonjin aka wasingakapla kalaj._
My brothers aren’t splitting apart your sister like that.
_Ekepanim?_ Do you hear?
[? unintelligible]
_Ay, kakape!_ Hey, tell me!

140 _Tongoy kopoñikmun nangoy kay wasingakaplam?_ Are my brothers also splitting your [sister] apart?
_Nangoy nambokonjin mamgoy kiay bekimbapopan kakape!_ And so you are paying back for your sister’s, tell me!
_Ay, kakape!_ Hey, tell me!
_Nangoy nambokonjin injua kay mokoplam tongoy kopoñikmun?_ Do my brothers also grope your sister’s cunt?
_Ay! Kakape!_ Hey! Tell me!

145 _Tongoy kopoñik aka wakon._
My brothers are not many.
_Kondaminja. Kondaminja._ Two. Two.
_Nan elaj an pasina ambamba mekimbapundimban?_ Why are you doing this to me?
_Kakape!_ Tell me!
_Nangoy nambokonjin kalaj aka wasingakapla tongoy kopoñikmun._
My brothers aren’t splitting your sister apart like this.

150 _Kakape nan! A? Kakape!_ You tell me! Hah? Tell me!
_Nangoy nambokonjin injua kay wasingakaplam kalaj?_ Are they splitting your sister’s cunt apart like this?
_Kakape!_ Talk!
_Nupela marit Maria karimhapogoy nase aunda kay amgoy nase aunda kay pusingun koñ maritimhapop nanumsan._
When I was pregnant with Maria others forced me to marry you.
_Ya koñ pokondimban._
And so you’re beating me.

155 _Ya kenda injakayke siket pokowasingakay._
And so you came to me again and slashed my skirt.
Tongoy kondaminjun nanumgiay pakayambam, mm?
Are the two of mine carrying around your one, hah?
Kay yukuyamblam tonggon kopoñikmun nangoy?
Are my brothers fucking your [sister]?
Kay pakayamblam nangoy?
Are others carrying your one around?
Hevin tola tongoy kondamiñanda kopoñik hevin tola.
They are in trouble, my two brothers are in trouble.

Mm? Kakape! Nangoy kay pakayamblam?
M?! Tell me! Are others carrying yours?
Kay yukuyamblam? Kakape!
Are others fucking [her] around? Tell me!
Kanjandaj pakayambalam, mm?
Where [to what place] are they taking her, hah?
Kanjandaj yukuyamblam?
Where are they fucking her?
Kanjandaj yukuyamblam, kanjandaj pakayamblam?
Where are they fucking her, where are they taking her?

Tongoy kopoñik hevin tolakay aka opepan.
You don’t see that my brothers are in trouble.
Nangoy nambokonjin kanjandaj pakayamblam?
Where are they taking your sister, hah?
Tongoy kondamiñanda kopoñik hevin tolakay aka opepan, mm?
You don’t see that my brothers are in trouble, hah?
Nambokonjin nanomgoy engamba kanjandaj mokoyamblam?
Where are they grabbing your sister’s arse?
Nangoy nambokonjin kanjandaj pakayamblam?
Where are they carrying/taking your sister?

Nan dinau kiay bekimbapopan tungumjan.
You’re getting back at me for this.
Tongoy omuk sleekmbeape.
My body has weakened [I’m losing strength].
Nan dinau kiay bekimbapopan nangoy nambokonjin mangoy dinau tongoy kopoñikmun mekimbaopplakay?
Are you retaliating for what my brothers are doing to your sister?
Namba tu siket wasingakay engañ kombokonjindimbon, siket tungumgoy kunjamandaj pokovasasipon.
He’s cut the second skirt by ripping it with a bushknife, he’s slashed all my skirts.
Engañ nññ kopoñañ pokopeklsipalik anamgoy nambokonja mangoy dinau bekimbapopon pisip.
I myself shoved back the bushknife, while he tried to retaliate for his sister.

Mi nogat planti brata.
I don’t have many brothers.
Mi gat tupela brata tasol.
I have only two brothers.
Tongoy kondamin kopoña køj pakayamblangay anamgoy nambokonjia?
So my two brothers are carrying his siter around?
An kon bekimbapopon dinau.
And so he retaliates for that.
Anamgoy nambokonjia kay yukiyamblangay tongoy kopoñikmun?
Are my brothers fucking all over the bush with his sister?

Mapa apoy nangoy nambokonja yukuplakay mapa apoy opeyañandi mapa.
Where’s that place where they fuck your sister, where’s that place? Let’s go and see!
Mapa ape? Mapa ape?
Where’s that place? (x2)
Enda ape?  
Where’s that path?  

Punjga ape, mm?  
Where’s that patch of flattened grass, hah?  

Punjga kanjandaŋ ton?  
Where is that patch of flattened grass?  

Mapa ape?  
Where’s that place?  

Punjga ape?  
Where’s that that patch of flattened grass?  
[place where you have cut grass/trees/leaves/ where pigs slept, people have sex, grass laid]  
Kanjandaŋ ton, mm?  
Where is it, hah?  

Mapa punjga ape?  
Where’s that patch of flattened grass?  
Kanjandaŋ ton, mm?  
Where is it, hah?  

Toŋgoy kopoŋikmun kay aka pakayambla.  
My brothers don’t carry her around.  

Toŋgoy kopoŋikmun kondamiŋanda hevin tola.  
My two brothers are in trouble.  

Hevin tola. Hevi, hevi, hevi, hevin tola!  
They are in trouble. They are in trouble, trouble, trouble, trouble!  

Toŋgoy kopoŋikmun kondamiŋanda hevin tola.  
My two brothers are in trouble.  
Omuk toŋgoy molo pukundakay.  
My body’s rotting away.  

Aunda endan kombokonjindimbongoy omuk molo pukundakay.  
He’s stuffing my hole in a different way, so my body’s rotting away.  

Just recently He said: “I don’t live well,” so he said.  

Tanjan mekimbapambop tongoŋumsan akanja pasina.  
So he does these bad things to me.  

Nįį mae inja momba kakangainjakakay mae.  
Before, when I woke up, I talked good talk.  
Waykan kele kanapekįį kem anamgoy lain isinuŋ.  
And Wayk went down crying to his family.  

Kakayahųŋųŋaŋ.  
He went to tell them.  

Mae kele, kum aunda kolangiŋep imbuk kondamin pleita nam kenda kaykoy imbuk.  
First I cooked sago pudding and gave him two plates, he ate them and I gave him another.  

Anamgoy nambokonja kay yukiyaŋmbla tongoŋumgon an koŋ kaŋay yambon anamgoy lain isinum?  
Are my [brothers] fucking his sister so that he goes and cries to his family?  

Anamgoy nambokonja kay yukiyaŋmbla? Kay yukiyaŋmbla?  
Are others fucking his sister? Are they fucking her?  

Toŋgoy kopoŋikmun?  
My brothers?  

Nąngoy nambokonjįį kay yukiyaŋmbla toŋgoy kopoŋikmun, kay yukiyaŋmbla toŋgoy kopoŋikmun?  
Are my brothers fucking your sister, are my brothers fucking all over the bush with her?  
Aka yukiyaŋmbla. Agalon!  
They aren’t fucking her. No!  
Yao kulamban kalaŋ kay aka yukiyaŋmbla. Agalon! Agalon!
They aren’t fucking her in the house. No! No!
*Tongoy omuk usapam yakjjan uasapam yakjjan.*
My body’s become totally ravaged [withered / p. 91], it’s become totally smashed.
*Nangoy nambokonjin kay aka pakayambla, tongon kay aka pakayambla.*
Others are not carrying your sister around, mine are not carrying her around.

210 *Tongoy kopoñik kondamiñanda hevin tola.*
My two brothers are in trouble.
*Nangoy kay aka pakayambla, aka pakayambla kiay bekimbapopan.*
They are not carrying yours around, they are not carrying [her] around so that you’re retaliating for that.
*Nangoy kay aka pakayambla kiay bekimbapopan.*
They are not carrying yours around so that you’re retaliating for that.
*Nangoy nambokonjin kay aka pakayambla.*
Others are not carrying your sister around.
*Nangoy nambokonjin yao kulambaij kay aka yombokotpla.*
Others are not carrying your sister to sleep inside the house.

215 *Aunda pam!*
Not at all!
*Nangoy nambokonjin kalanj kay aka wambiakapon kausangunj kalanj.*
Your sister has never stepped on this ladder-pole.
*Aka opepan?*
Don’t you know?
*Nangoy nambokonjin panba kalanj aka palepepon kausangunj, a?*
You sister has never set foot on this ladder-pole, hah?
*Kakape. Nangoy senismerin tolikim? Kakape!*
Tell me. Am I your exchange woman? Tell me!

Who’s fucking your sister? Tell me. Tell me.
*Niñ nangoy senismerin tolikim? Kakape!*
Am I your exchange woman? Tell me.
*Nangoy nambokonjin kay yukuplam?*
Are others fucking your sister?
*Tongoy kopoñik kondamiñanda hevin tolakay aka opepan?*
Don’t you see that my brothers are in trouble?
*Tongoy kondamin kalak hevin tolakay aka opepan?*
Don’t you see this trouble that they are in?

225 *Nangoy nambokonjin panba kalanj palepepon kausangunj, kakape.*
Tell me, does your sister put her leg [step] onto this ladder-pole?
*Nangoy nambokonjin kanjandaj ton?*
Where’s your sister?
*Kanjandaj pakayamblam?*
Where are they carrying her?
*Nangoy nambokonjin kanjandaj yukuyamblam?*
Where are they fucking her?
*Kakape! Kanjandaj pakayamblam?*
Tell me! Where are they carrying her?

230 *Kanjandaj pakayamblam nangoy nabokonjin, kakape.*
Where are they carrying your sister, tell me.
*Kanjandaj yondayamblam nangoy nambokonjin?*
Where are they following your sister?
*Tongoy kopoñik kondaminja aka wakon yaiainbalike aka ekepan elak miningainjin.*
My brothers are not many, what I’m telling you means something, but you don’t understand.
*Aka wakon. Kondaminja.*
Not many. Two.
Do others carry yours around? Do others carry her around, hah?

Do others carry your sister around?

[to her daughter Kambras]:

Go pound! Go pound sago!

Wayk will eat two [plates of] sago and then two more, so his cock will grow big. [like children]

Why would you pound sago to make Wayk’s cock grow?

Are you going to pound sago for Wayk?

You didn’t see with your own eyes when Wayk beat me with a bushknife.

So go and pound [sago].

Wayk’s cock will grow big.

Go and pound some sago.

You don’t know that Wayk beats me with a bushknife.

My brothers are not many.

I am telling you, but you don’t hear [understand].

Mine are two.

I have two brothers, I have only two brothers. No.

Another drowned, he never fucked your sister.

Are others grabbing his sister’s thighs so that he retaliates for that?

Are others carrying his sister around?

Others are not fucking his sister so that he’d beat me like this.

His [sister] is not afraid of cock-hole, because others do not fuck her.

Are others grabbing his sister’s thighs so that he retaliates for that?

Are others carrying his sister around?
Niŋ aka wakon. Niŋ kondaminja.
I’m not many. I’m two. [I don’t have many brothers – just two]

260  Aka opepan tongoy kopoŋikmun aka nangoyay nambokonjay pakayambla?
You don’t see that my brothers are not carrying your sister?

Nan aka opepan?
You don’t see?

Niŋ kalaj poka opeponak nangoy nambokonjin poka?
Will I see your sister’s face here?

Tongoy kopoŋik kondamiñanda hevi endan tolamin.
Both of my brothers are on the road of troubles.

Nangoy nambokonja siket kay aka pokowasasiwa nan koŋ bekimbapopan dinau.
Others aren’t slashing your sister’s skirt so that you’d retaliate for that.

265  Nan puŋgakandimbemba koŋ amba ipalik?
Do I provoke you so that you beat me?

Tongoy kopoŋikmun nangoy nambokonjin kay pakayambala?
Are my brothers carrying your sister around?

Agalon! God Papa i save!
No! God knows.

Kay alukunjasaj aka pokomokoninman.
You can’t lean on other people [they won’t support you].

Mama Maria i save.
Mother Mary knows.

270  Niŋ ambla tolik
I’m all alone.

Niŋ ambla pam tolik.
I’m totally alone.

Agalon! Agalon!
No! No!

Niŋ ambla pam tolik!
I’m totally alone!

[...]

[recording finishes here, the scolding continued in the same way for nearly half an hour]
Appendix E:

Transcript of Iñaktay fight

Transcription conventions followed below:

SPEAKERS’ NAMES in capital letters, each in a full line preceding the speaker’s first words
1 line numbers

AYMAKAN:

1 Hevi wakanjipen.
They are looking for troubles.

ASAIA:

O, hevi yok komgamgoy aunda, emgon aka pulimbapem.
Hey, this doesn’t concern you, don’t drag ‘outside man’ into this trouble.

TOMI (to Aymakan):

Nan aunda emgoy. Nan iŋa poppla!
You’re also an ‘outside man’. Come here [out of fight].

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

WOMAN:

Kaykay pokonpla!
What a fight! [They’re really going at it!]

POKOPAṈ:

Kaykoy kele aunda ton.
One of them is still free. [you have to hold both men who fight]

---

13 Translation of this transcript is informative, not as polished as the translation of the excerpts that are analysed in the thesis chapters.
MOYAMBE:
Mae kay olukunjanyi blu anamgoy bekimbapam.
Let the other one first retaliate for his blood.
Bata, bai yu go long we?
Brother, where are you going?
Noken kam strik nabaub.
Don’t become arrogant!

**Graun ia, gavaman i no indai.**
Land, government is still here!

**MANY:**
*Inap! Inap! Inap!*
Enough! Enough! Enough!

**ARAP:**
*Tomi sakay yawij aka tonman rausimbapainak, ekemanim?*
You will not stay in Tomi’s house. I’ll throw you out, you hear me?

**YAWAS:**
*Unja, Arap, unja ya!*
Enough, Arap, enough.

**ARAP:**
*Mesia, nan kai yok!*
You go away, Mesia!

**YAWAS:**
*Unja, Arap! Nan kai!*
Enough, Arap, you go away!

**ARAP:**
[to Mesia Yawas] *Mesia nan kai!*
Go away, Mesia!
[to Wapisay] *Pokoinak!*
I’ll hit you!

**YAWAS:**
*Arap ya, unja! Ana ya!*
Arap, it’s enough! Go now!

**X:**
*Trabol aka wakanji yambem.*
Don’t wander around looking for troubles.

**AKANDAO:**
*Amba mae yahagombokim?*
What am I telling you now?
*Mapsaij musuay mokoplakay aka wakanji yambem trabol wakanjinman tanja pongumbok.*
[‘belat kisim em, na em i no tok stre’; should say: *pokongumbok*] *explain*
Don’t wonder and search for troubles on the land where we work, you will find (get into) troubles, I told you so.
*Tasel aka pakayambem.*
But don’t spread [rumours] around. [noken karim wokabaut – troubles/rumours...??]

**WIYANMAN:**
*Elak an-d-amgoy nam aka mangumba.*
One does not give a woman in exchange to such [men].
*Akanjakay!*
Bad!
Nambia! [wɔ - spits]
Useless! [what grows low, doesn’t yield fruit...]
[the fighters shift to Aymakan’s open-air house in the middle of the village and the fight between Wapisay and Arap turns into a dispute between Aymakan and Saun]

ANDOK:
Enguk mui kalay yapan.
He’s standing behind my back.

AYMAKAN:
Andanda kakaniñej.
Don’t talk just like that! [don’t
Yu giaman! Yu giaman?
You’re lying! You’re lying!
Noj aunda miksok poplakan kakaniim yamblakan.
They are only walking up and down and talking [nonsense] and wandering without purpose.

Iñaktay momba aunda kakaniñej.
Don’t talk about Iñaktay.
Iñaktay membamba aka kakaim!
Do not talk about Iñaktay!
Niñ kakay Iñaktay amgoj.
I am here, [I] belong to Iñaktay. [The one who belongs to Iñaktay is here.]
Noj aunda nam momba mae kakane.
You should only talk about women.
Map momba aka kakaim.
Do not talk/fight/quarrel about land.

Iñaktay momba aunda aka kakaim.
Just don’t talk about Iñaktay.
Iñaktay tok niñ kakay.
I am the one who belongs to Iñaktay.
Iñaktay tok niñ ekoy.
I am the one who got [rights to] Iñaktay.
Tasia mapa mae ek!
I got spirit ground.
Nase minjikimbukay.
In the faraway past they were afraid of it [this land].

Engaim elaj aka engasipua.
They would not [dare to] spit there.
Tay pia elaj aka papakapua.
They would not [dare to] throw sago crumbs there.
Kum mola elaj aka papakapua.
They would not [dare to] throw sago pudding leftovers there.
Engaim elaj aka engasipua.
They would not [dare to] spit there.
Tasia mapa kay ek!
I got [right to] spirit land!

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

SAUN:
Angoy sakay stori aka wankain.
Angoy’s story is not the same. [Saun’s adoptive father]
Angoy sakay warombba stori kumuña mamgoj ambaya yapon.
Angoy’s story comes later, his mother’s story comes first.
Kumuña mamgoj ambya yapon map omgusanda an e.
His mother was the one who got all the ground.
[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

AYMAKAN:

*Map momba aunda aka em.*
Don't bring land talk into this. [land talk = land dispute/quarrel]

YAWAS (from behind):

*Ugi a e!*
Enough!

SAUN:

50 *Bilong wanem yupela kam daun na paitim Arap?*
Why did you come down to beat up Arap?

*Arap ambamba pokngapekemi?*
Why did you come down to beat up Arap?

AYMAKAN:

*Map momba | aunda aka kakanbem.*
Just don't talk about land!

YAWAS:

├ *Wapisay an | ambamba pokngapekemin an?*
  Why did Wapisay come down and bit him [Arap] up?

AYMAKAN:

├ *Noj nam momba aunda aka em!*
  You don't take the talk about women [but you should].

55 *Noj aunda momba aka kakanbem!*
Don't talk empty talk! [Don't lie!]

*Noj nam momba ma ekakane.*
Talk about women now!

ANDOK:

*Yumi bikman kontrolim disla ples na yumi stap was was long disla graun.*
We big men control this village and guard this land.

AYMAKAN:

*Iňaktay mombamba aka kakanbem.*
Don't talk about Iňaktay.

*Iňaktay momba aunda aka kakanbem.*
Just don't talk about Iňaktay.

YAWAS:

60 *E, mapanjinj koy kakapon?*
Hey he has land and he talks? [is it his land and he feels he has the right to talk?]

*Papa aunda momba ambamba kakapońja?*
Father, why are you talking empty talk?

[Tomi made the first camp at Iňaktay and gave it to Kambras, Aymakan's first wife (almost 20 yrs deceased) Ana Kambras. Aymakan got his right to use this land through her]

AYMAKAN:

*Noj nam momba kakane!*
Talk about women!

*Aunda momba aka kakanbem!*
Don't talk empty talk! [Don't lie!]

*Nam momba kakane!*
Talk about women!
Inaktay tok niŋ ekoy.
Inaktay belongs to me.

Inaktay niŋ ekoy tok.
I am the one who got Inaktay.

Inaktay tunjgumgoy tok!
Inaktay is mine!

Tasia mapa mae ekoy!
I have got [right to] spirit land!

Harim gut! Harim gut!
Listen to me! Listen to me!

Map elak.
This land.

Tasia mapa mae elok niŋ.
I have got [right to] spirit land.

Inaktay pui wakanjipuakay enggaem elaj aka anganjipua. [should have said engasipua]
When they would be searching for tulip [TP Gnetum gnemon] at Inaktay they would not [dare to] spit there.

Elaj aka enmepua, elaj aka isipua.
They would not [dare to] defecate there, they would not [dare to] urinate there.

Kambanjanda pam!
No way!

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

AYMAKAN (ctnd):

Noŋ amba momba kakanbeŋim?
What are you talking about?

Elaj pokone!
This [women] is what you should fight about.

Inaktay momba kakaniŋen.
Don’t talk about Inaktay.

Inaktay mapa kakaniŋen.
Don’t talk about Inaktay land.

Inaktay mapa.
Inaktay land.

Inaktay mapa elak angoy aka kakanbem.
Inaktay land – don’t talk about it.

YAWAS:

Kumunan mapa onga wakaym koŋ kakapon?
Did his mother give birth to him together with the land so that he talks? [Why is he talking as if he had a birthright to the land? / Why is he talking nonsense – it is not really his land].

Yok rausimbapongombla pi. [check this construction?? RS]
They say they will drive us out.

Konda rausimbapongam.
So they will drive us out.

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

AYMAKAN:

Pakin bastet!
Fucking bastard!

YAWAS:

Papaa! Kandeŋ koloplakay aka opepon inja olok. [sholud be elok]
Father! All the big men sit and don’t see that.

Mapanjiŋ nan?
Do you have land? [is land a part of you? ending -anjiŋ used to denote something
inalienable from the person – e.g. wainjanjīn nambay = woman with belly – pregnant woman, kurjonjanjirjīn = woman with a suckling child...]

AYMAKAN:

Pakakoym?
Who?
Pakakoym olukunja elak? M?
Who is that man? M?
Pakakoym?
Who?

90 Pakan pondondinaym? M?
Who will uproot me? M?

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

AYMAKAN (ctnd):

Pakan pokondinaym?
Who will uproot me?

Noj amba momba kakanbeñim?
What are you talking about?

Elan kakane!
You have to talk about this.

Harim gut!
Listen to me!

Harim gut!
Listen to me!

Harim gut!
Listen to me!

[? unintelligible overlapping speech].

AYMAKAN (ctnd):

Pakan kakapem elak?
Who said that?

Husat bai rausim?
Who will demolish?

Husat bai rausim? [spits]
Who will demolish?

100 Kolopalikoñ!
I am [sitting and waiting] here!

Yao palik yakiga wame, kolopalikoñ.
Come and light fire to the house, I am [sitting and waiting] here.

Kolopalikoñ pondongga wame pisikanda!
Hurry up, come upriver, I am [sitting and waiting] here.

Pin kolopolikeñ pisikanda pondongga wame yao.
I am sitting and waiting with sharp objects, hurry up, come up to the house.

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

AYMAKAN (ctnd):

Husat? Husat ia? (x7)
Who? Who?

105 Husat bai kamautim lek bilong mi?
Who will unroot my leg?

Husat ia?
Who, hah?

[many people screaming]

AYMAKAN (ctnd):

Noj aka tungoy map mombamba kakanbeñ.
Don’t talk about my land.

*Nj̃ kakanmiŋe kay momba kakane.*

If you talk, talk about other things.

**SAUN:**

[? unintelligible]

*Mae Arap kon pokŋapekemin?*

And that is why you came down to beat up Arap?

**AYMAKAN:**

110

*Yu sarap! Mi no save bilong toktok bilong yu.* Note switch to TP!

You shut up! I don’t know what you’re talking about.

*Harim, niŋ aka opepalik, Saun.*

Listen, Saun, I don’t see [know].

*Niŋ nangoy mom aka ekepalik.*

I don’t hear [understand] what you are saying.

*Kambanjanda.*

Not at all.

*Tru, God.*

True, God.

**SAUN:**

115

*Elakam tinktinkanŋ pekanŋom pekeman.*

And because of these thoughts you brought them all down.

*Arap alay | pokaymba.*

To beat up Arap.

**AYMAKAN:**

119

*| Niŋ God kuŋik.*

I am calling God [to be my witness].

*Niŋ mom | kambanjanda aka ekepalik.*

I don’t understand this talk at all.

**SAUN:**

120

*Nau Arap kisim pen nau.*

And so Arap got the pain.

**AYMAKAN:**

124

*Nangoy kuganjamgoŋ mom aka ekepalik.*

I don’t understand this talk of your child’s.

[pats Saun’s shoulder] *Sori tru, wanpilay bilong mi.*

I am sorry, my joking partner.

*Nangoy kuŋanja amgoŋ mom aka ekepalik.*

I don’t understand this talk of your child’s.

*Kambanjanda.*

Not in the slightest.

??:

[? unintelligible MESS! ]

**AYMAKAN (ctnd):**

*Kambanjanda aka ekepalik, tru God!*

I hadn’t heard it at all, true, God!

**SAUN:**

125

*Nangoy lain eksenunŋ konŋ pekuŋa paituŋ. Ya!*

Your men came down for action, in order to fight. Yes!

**AYMAKAN:**

*Iŋaktay pondem momba ekepep.*

I heard they wanted to demolish Iŋaktay.
Ya kele, koŋ pekek.
That’s why I came down.

AKANDAO:
Graun nogat hevi, na yupela pulim toktok bilong meri na yupela kam daun.
There is no trouble concerning land, and you ...
[to Wapisay and Kawasaŋ] Yupela pusim ol.
The two of you provoked them all.

AYMAKAN:
Mi no save.
I don’t know.

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

TOMI:
Noŋ kondamin nambay mamgoy mom kay pasimbape
You have to talk [pasim toktok] about the two women.

MANY:
[? unintelligible]

AYMAKAN:
Niiŋ kunda an tok.
I have the roots [the whole story].
Niiŋ ekepalik tok.
Now I understand.
Noŋ, noŋ anda, noŋ anda kakane.
You have to talk about that among yourselves.

Yaokopa mbamba aka kakanbem.
Don’t talk about the bush camp.
Tungoy yaokopa tanggan tapam.
Leave my bush camp as it is.

TOMI:
Mom kondamin nambay mamgoy kon miksoŋ poe yomoy nae.
The talk about the two women is now going up and downriver [again and again].
[others talk]
Wapisay amin Kawasaŋ amin kon ambage mae neŋ kondamin.
Wapisay and Kawasaŋ, the two of them went up [to ñaktay].
Tupela yet.
The two of them [not someone else].

ARAP:
Kondamin elak tok pinis bilong em agalon nae.
The two of them did not finish yesterday.
Ekemiñim?
Do you hear [me]?
[to Wapisay] Mae kalak wakondan mokondimbakan kaŋ konŋ ambakmbapua.
Many were holding me, that’s why you could be ‘brave’.
Speis agale pokoymgoy.
No space to beat you up.
[others talk]
Ambla endaiŋ aka pokonolin.
If I had my way [if they were not holding me] you wouldn’t touch me.
[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

SAUN:
Em inap.
Enough!
Arap unŋa pokomin.
You have beaten Arap enough.

*Kapokmun sotmhapok unja mokondepep paliakanapok.*
I'm short of a shoulder [my shoulder hurts and is not fit], otherwise I would hold you and lift you and turn you and jab you down into the ground.

Ekepeñim? [=ekemiñim]
Do you hear me?

*Ya kele anamgoy palisam openbop enga mamgoy.*
And so I would like to see the big brother of our hot-headed man [to support him].

??: [=? unintelligible]

**TUMAK:**

150

*An pekengoy ninj kele Jonathan alay yañingga pekek.*
We came downriver, I came down to tell Jonathan.

*Ninj elak, ninj elak tungumgoj pekek.*
I. I came downriver for this [talk of mine].

*Ninj Jonathan alay yañingga pekekoj.*
I came downriver to tell Jonathan.

*Kosok amgoj yañangumbuk.*
I already told him up there [I met him on the way to the village].

[=? unintelligible overlapping speech]

**ANDOK:**

*Ya elak momba amga amga angoym elak?*
Where does this talk lead?

155

*Sutim tok elak.*
Talking like this.

[=? unintelligible overlapping speech]

**ARAP:**

*Wapisay pinis bilong em agalon mokoinbuk.*
Wapisay, this talk will not finish [for you], I will get you.

*Map kanjan aninman enda agalon map amnangoy.*
Whichever part of land you go to, there's no way for you, I will deal with you.

*Imangay kumbia ambannayana!*
Go to Imanmeri [if you want to stay safe].

**TOMI:**

*Nunj nam momba kaknim iniñ.*
You came to talk [quarrel] about women.

160

*Nam momba.*
Talk [dispute] about women.

*Nam momba elak tok kopa elakiay wakanji e.*
You have to find out the reason for this dispute about women. [Yupela mas painim as bilong dispela toktok bilong meri.]

**TUMAK:**

*Anj nam momba elak ekey kosinj.*
We heard some talk about women up there.

*Nunj koponan konda kaka-kaka yañangomba tanan tanan saspekcapangomba tanan pongonga wamba.*
They came to tell us that we had been accused of [something], they came upriver to tell us this.

*Ya anj kele aka bihainimbapon.*
And so we didn't follow their talk.

**ARAP:**

165

*Mae kak komuniti amgoj wokuj pokonbuj.*
Now we're fighting because of community work.
Komiinili wok disturhhapuakay.
They [lain bilong liiaktay] came to disturb the community work.

TUMAK:

Nøŋ kenda wambaiña Wapisay kenda ambamba pekem?
They came upriver, why did Wapisay came down again?

Aŋ anda momba agale kak.
We don’t have anything to say.

Ambamba popoŋ?
They were ready to go back [to the camp]. [before Wapisay came back]

Ya ambiyakanpemba popoŋ, ya Mandunj iñi.
We were just about to go back when Mandunj arrived.

Kakao pakawakayke, kalakay.
He was planting cocoa seedlings.

MANDUNJ:

Wanjao sakay mimbia ekek iña kaŋ ekŋga pekek. Kaŋgay sakay onŋga.
I heard Wanjao’s and Kangay’s names, so I came downriver.

Ya kele mokopangakaapep koy aninbopopok kondamin kosokiay opiangunainbopopok.
I just turned around to go back [to the camp] to go and see the two of them [Wapisay and Kawasaŋ – to tell them off].

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

TUMAK:

Kombaflhjgoa tusumninge pondotjga wamonaj poa elaŋ an kakŋga wamba.
If you poison fish in Kombaflhjgoa, they [Jonathan’s lineage] will come up and chase you away, they said.

Ya kele, OK, niŋ niŋ konda pekek kele pisikanda.
And so, so I quickly came down.

NEW SCENE

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

SAUN:

Iñaktay tru mi bai rausim.
I’m telling you, I will demolish Iñaktay.

ARAP:

Aymakan unja kele Iñaktay aka pakanŋumaninman.
Aymakan, you will not take them [your lineage] to Iñaktay any longer.

Ekemenim?
Do you hear me?

Nangoy kolokot suŋ yomboŋkoloŋ papakanjñinak.
I will take all your things and throw them into the river.

Nan kenda tungon ambakmbapopon kenda.
You are mine [Saun+Aymakan kamayn-wanplay] and yet you are ambak. (note p. 11)
(moyet = raun tasol, dresim dresim, nogat wok, putim gupela klos tasol, sakim toktok bilong narapela, bikhet...)

TOMI:

Mae mapla mae mom elak piak popalik.
Wait. First you have to give up this kind of talk.

Mae piakape.
Give it up first.

ARAP:

Elakay.
That’s it.
Mae kopa elekiamgon pekemin.
So you came downriver because of this talk.
[? unintelligible overlapping speech]
SAUN:

185
Yu harim, a?
Do you hear me?
Rong disisin wokimbaponan.
You made a wrong decision.
Bikos elaj bungmapopep pait koŋ wokimbapongapekuia.
Because they all met here as they came down to fight.
Harim!
Do you hear me?
Pait elaj wokimbapongapekuakay.
They came down to fight.
[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

AYMAKAN:

190
Pokonim kolopenqoy ḡaktayn aka open~ombon.
You are fighting, but ḡaktay doesn’t know you.
ḡaktay i no save long yupela.
ḡaktay doesn’t know you.
ḡaktay i gat papa bilong ḡaktay i stap.
ḡaktay has an owner.
Aka ḡaktay – ḡaktay elakiamgon mom hevi agalon.
Not ḡaktay – there’s no talk, no trouble about ḡaktay.
ḡaktay mimbia pakan pondonbop kakapon?
Who’s saying that he’ll uproot (demolish) ḡaktay?
Pakan pondonaym, a-a! A-a!
Who will demolish it, hah? Hah?
Wambay wonakonja?
Will Wambay [the spirit of Tawim → Aymakan himself] die?
Wambay tok kanja kak enjepon tok.
Wambay has grown new teeth, [as the owner of ḡaktay Aymakan identifies himself with Wambay, the spirit of ḡaktay, the spirit of Tawim mountain. He’s saying he is not old yet, and his teeth have not fallen out yet, so no one has the right to demolish ḡaktay].
Aunda, aunda. [spits]
No – no!
ḡaktay tok aka pondempisip.
ḡaktay is therefore not demolishable.

200
Mokoy tok.
I am holding [the camp].
Noy kakanminge ḡaktayn aka open~ombon.
You are talking, but ḡaktay doesn’t know you.
Mapen aka open~ombon.
The land doesn’t know you.
Noy ambamba kakanmiñim?
Why are you saying [these things]?
Ambamba pokonmiñim?
Why are you fighting?

205
Elekie painim[b]ape as bilong samtink.
Here, find the reason for it.
Graun i no save.
The land doesn’t know.
Bus i no save!
The bush doesn’t know.
Graun i no save!
The land doesn’t know.

Wanem as bilong samtink yupela pait, yupela toktok, mipela i no save!
What are you fighting about? Tell us, we don’t know!

210 Aŋ map amgoy aka ekepalun. We don’t know about the ['talk' about] land.
Mipela kirap nogut long toktok bilong yupela. Em. We were surprised at hearing what you’re saying. Yes.
Aŋ mom aka ekepalun. We don’t hear [know about] this talk.
Noŋ mom amŋay aka embepengombem hevin. Don’t make troubles for us with this [kind of] talk.
Aŋ kambanjanda aka opepalun mom. We don’t know about this talk at all.

Noŋat tru! Not at all.
Aunda pam! Aunda pam! Not at all! Not at all!
Iňaktay aunda mimbia aka koŋim Just don’t call the name of Iňaktay.
[In church they say: God aunda mimbia aka koŋim. = noken kolim natink nem bilong God]
Iňaktayn aka opepon. [People at] Iňaktay don’t know.

220 Mapen aka opepon. The land doesn’t know.
Noŋ, noŋ anda painimbape kunda elak amga amga kamapmbapemim hevi elak kamapmbapeke pait elak kamapmbapeke mae kalak kamapmbapeke.
You, you have to find the reason why-oh-why this trouble came up and why the fight came up.
Aŋ kambanja elak kirap-nogutbapon mom noŋomgoy. [CORR. Aŋ kambanjanda nokomgoy mom aka ekepon, elak...]
We didn’t hear your talk properly and we were surprised.
Tru tru, aka aunda kakapalik. True, I am not talking just like that [I am telling the truth].
Mom kirap-nogubapon mom noŋomgoy. We were surprised at your talk.

225 Aŋ aunda peken. We came down just like that [without a reason].
Aunda emesak makŋa peken kāŋ. We came down and were surprised.
Aŋ niŋ aunda. We, I myself.
Tumak an aunda kalan peke Mandom sakay kunanja eyanŋunga peke.
Tumak came down to get Mandom’s child. [no reason for not calling Jonathan’s name, but as he is a younger generation than Aymakan he can just refer to him as Mandom’s child].
Koy susupuna ... tusunaymepop. He wanted to poison ... he wanted to poisn the creek upstream [for fish].
I told you, children. I came down because of the talk about Inaktay.

The talk about demolishing Inaktay

That’s all. [At this point no more.]

No more talk.

Not in the slightest.

Let me first go and listen to this well.

Who has said that.

I will not talk in vain in the bush.

And so I came down.

That’s all.

Don’t call the name of Inaktay in vain, don’t call the name of land in vain, the land does not know you, Inaktay does not know you.

You must find out what this talk really means. You are wrong – don’t be in the wrong.

Don’t jump [to other topics], don’t talk in ignorance.

The reason, you have to find the reason for this talk.

You can’t talk about the camp just like that.

The camp ... the camp does not know.

And all of us who stayed at the camp did not know either.

We don’t know about this trouble you’re talking about.

We don’t know.

I became furious.

True, I am telling the truth, I got infuriated.

We don’t know.

You shouldn’t talk the talk about Inaktay land. [quarrel about...]

The land does not know you.

I think this talk was [started] here, it was only here that we became angry.
Kan makjga pekej.
We were surprised when we came down.

Not painimbapopenay kan painimbapem.
You have to find [the reason for this talk], you have to find it here.

An mom kambanjanda mapay kambanjanda mapej mom agalon.
We [who were] in the bush had no talk at all, none at all.

Kambanjanda.
Not in the slightest.

An aunda pri toluj.
We are free.

Tasol Jhaktay pondemba kakapenge o-o!
But you are talking of demolishing Jhaktay – no-no!

Aunda pam tok.
No way!

Aunda, aunda kakaninmin.
You’re just talking. [you won’t really do it]

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

AYMAKAN:

Jhaktay hevi agalon.
Jhaktay is not in dispute.

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

ANDOK:

Mi tu i stap long wok.
I was also at work.

Mipela olgeta i stap long wok.
We were all at work.

An kandej amgoy wok tanan ton.
The work of us big men is not finished yet.

Yu mas rispekim liklik pikinini.
You have to pay respect to the children.

Ol i mekim komuniti wok.
They are working for the community.

Em kain olsem.
That is so.

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

AYMAKAN:

Naj elaj an.
You so.

Elaj an, yaokopa rausimbapem yombopep.
??? So, ???

Yaokopa elaj yombopep, hevi elaj kamapmbapiakan yaokopa ya kon kakaim.
You slept at this camp and if this dispute came up at the camp, you would talk about it. ??

Kalak amgoy tok yaokopa aka opengombon.
This camp here does not know you.

O, olukunjan aka opengombon.
O, no man has seen you.

Hevi kaj wamujangoy.
The trouble started here and went upriver.

Hevi kaj wamujangoy kon peke kenda maunjanda.
The trouble started here and went upriver, and only now it came down again.

Hevi kakamgoy kumbi amgoy, anj aka opepaluj.
We do not know of the trouble of our village.
Aŋ yaokopa elak amgon aka opepalun.
We of this camp do not know of it. (=we who are of this camp/who stayed in this camp)

Aŋ map amgon aka opepalun.
We from the bush do not know of it. (=we who stayed in the bush)

280 Aunda kirap-nogutabapon.
We were just surprised.

Aunda peley-peley aka kakanbem mom.
Don’t be wrong and talk.

Mom emepanda kakanbem.
Talk the talk well. [Tell the truth]

Peley-peley kakaniyen.
Don’t talk wrong.

Peley-peley aka kakanbem.
Don’t talk wrong.

285 Giaman nabaut! [spits]
You are talking nonsense!

Nan yaokopa ambaimba pondemba kakapman? A?
Why are you talking about demolishing the camp? Hah?

Wanem as bilong samtink?
What’s the reason for it?

Yu laik kamautim gem bilong mi, a?
You want to demolish my camp, hah?

O, yu giaman ia!
Oh, you’re just talking nonsense!

290 Nan yaokopa pondemgoj loŋ ana, loŋ ana palependi, tok inja.
If you demolish the camp, go to the court [lit. law], go and take [lit. shoot] me to court, that will be good.

Niŋ loŋ tok yakanak.
I will stand at court.

Loŋ palependi.
Take me to court.

Loŋ anda palependimbe, loŋ palependi, lo!
Just take me to court, take me to court!

Loŋ palependie! Loŋ palependie!
Take [pl] me to court! (x2)

295 Loŋ palependie tay!
Take [pl] me to court!

Pondomiŋge loŋ.
If you demolish [the camp], court.

Loŋ palependie! Loŋ palependie! Loŋ.
Take [pl] me to court! (x2) Court.

Sori tru. Loŋ palependie tay.
Too bad. Take [pl] me to court.

Tay loŋ palependie.
Me, take me to court.

300 Ḫaktay pondomiŋge. Ḫaktay pondomiŋge, loŋ palependie.
If you destroy Ḫaktay. If you destroy Ḫaktay, take [pl] me to court.

Loŋ palependie, loŋ, loŋ, loŋ, loŋ palependie.
Take [pl] me to court, to court, to court, to court, take me to court.

Niŋ kakay, papa bilong Ḫaktay.
I’m here, the owner of Ḫaktay.
Harim? Harim?
Do you hear me? Do you hear me?
Wambay aka wopon, Wambay, Wambay ton!
(Wambay = masalai big papa big Aymakan / Holi Spirit i no indai, said Yakame / gavaman i no indai...)
Wambay hasn’t died yet, Wambay, Wambay is here!

Wambay kanja kak enjepon.
Wambay has grown new teeth. / note referring back where this was said before

Harim!
Listen!

Nase minjikimbuakay elanj aka isipua eygasipuakay.
In the past they were afraid and they would not urinate or spit there.

Miñan jakay kumbi. [note p.17]
The place of Miñan. [note p.17]

Miñan jakay kumbi opepiñim, yokon ton mangga kopa.
You know the place of Miñan, there’s a big nest there.

Elakay.
That’s it.

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

AYMAKAN (ctnd):

Niñ kakay, as Tomi inga kakay, niñ kakay, niñ nambamgoy kak.
I am here, the two of us with Tomi we are here, I am here, I the woman’s [husband] am here. [the one who belongs to the woman [who’s the true owner of this land]].

Elakay.
That’s it.

Nan Kaymbun aka pondondinmin.
You will not uproot Kaymbun.

Kaimbun aka pondempisip.
Kaymbun is not uprootable. [em i makim masalai bilong em yet na tok]

Niñ tok yakak.
I’m standing [there] now. [that is now my land]

Tungoy kujanja yakua tok.
My children are there now.

Niñ palepangumbuk kujanja kele kay mapa agalon.
I shot [put] the children onto that land, there’s no other land [for them to go to]. [yu lainim pikinini bilong yu long wanpela graun stre, ol i noken go long narapela hap]

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

AYMAKAN (ctnd):

Noj map mom kakaymgoy Arap sakay mom kakaninmin, Wapisay sakay mom kakaninminge, kumbij kay kakaninmin.
You [pl] are quarrelling [talking talk] about land, but you should be quarrelling about Arap, you should be quarrelling about Wapisay, you should be quarrelling here in the village.

Kalay [pointing to the ground] kakane.
Talk here!

Kalay mokotake.
Find out here [the reason for dispute].

Añ kosamgoy Íhaktayn aka opepon.
We up there, Ínakta doesn’t know.

Mapen aka opepon.
The ground doesn’t know.

Nangoy tambu bilong yu peleyambon.
Your tambu [Saun – check] is wrong.

Niñ kakay, kunda mokopalike emepanda.
I’m here, I am holding roots good. [I have the whole story]

**Niŋ kakay, niŋ kakay emepanda kalay tanjan kola usa mokotakapalike.**
I’m here, I’m here and so I am [trying to] find out handprints [I will do my best to find out the reason].

**Nangoy tambu tok peleypon.** [to Andok]
Your tambu is wrong. [check what is Imbisay to Andok]

**Tambu bilong yu longlong ia!**
Your tambu is wrong [he doesn’t know].

**Tambu bilong yu longlong!**
Your tambu is wrong.

**Kambanjagay, kambanja, kambanjanda kandenge aka opepon.**
A little, little, not in the slightest big [a mistake, but he says so] he doesn’t know.

**Niŋ kakay.**
I’m here.

**An peleypon.**
He’s wrong.

**Harim gut!**
Listen to me!

**Niŋ kakay.**
I’m here.

**Niŋ opepe yaiñainak map.**
I will show you the land.

**Niŋ kakay.**
I’m here.

**An tok paka-paka mambinay.**
He will take and hide [steal].

**Niŋ kakay.**
I’m here.

**Niŋ emepanda nainak.**
I will give to you in a proper way.

**Niŋ kakay nase, nase kunda amgoy nokomguk puŋgakayke.**
I’m here. Long time ago I saw the roots [of this camp and] my eyes know them well.

**Nase yambukoy kandensa inga yambukoy, opepe yaiñandimbuakay, kalakay, kalakay, kalakay, tanjan pondimbuakay.**
Long time ago I walked around with the big men. they saw and told me ‘this here, this here, this here’ [is your land].

**Yokoy. Niŋ kakay.**
Here. I’m here.

**Niŋ aka pakamambiainak.**
I will not take and hide it from you.

**Niŋ emepanda opepeyaiñainak.** [coughs]
I will see and tell [show] you properly.

SAUN:
**Pakasakay ... Wapisay sakay strong mupenak kele niŋ?**
Whose... Will I see how strong is Wapisay?

**Ekepiñim?**
Do you [pl] hear?

**Mae niŋ kapok stretimbapenkoŋ Wapisay sakay kola mupinbop.**
Let my shoulder recover first, and I’ll see Wapisay’s hands [strength].

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

YAWAS:
**Papa, papa! Papa ya unja!**
Father, father! Father, enough now!

*Aka nanday wanaimba.*
The didn’t talk to you.

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

??:

*Apiman* sakay unga pinisimba apocep piakam*in* | ya kele kalan i*n*iyen.*
You have finished [consumed, taken] Apiman’s [daughter], don’t come here again.

[you’ve already got one of our girls – Yangunda]

AYMAKAN (from the back):

[*Ag anda aka opepalun.*

We don’t know.

*Ag anda ka* ng m*akngga peken, pe*kgng*, a?*

We were surprised here when we came down.

*Kak tan*anjim? Ta*nanpon.*

So, hah? So.

ANDOK:

*Mae kosong tan*an ambopoko.*

I wanted to go up [to the village].

*Kosong tan*an ambopo, Kawasa*ng an injakai*na, ah?*

I was going up when Kawasaki appeared – ah [surprise]?

355 *Yupela i go pulim redio bilong Vitus i kam?*

Are you going to get Vitus’s radio?

*Mi laik pilaim redio, ia. Mi gat 20K, 30K i stap long sait bilong mi.*

I’d like to play radio. I’ve got 20 Kina, 30 Kina at my side [to buy batteries].

*Het bilong lapun man ia i stap long poket ia.*

The old man’s head’s in my pocket. [Somare’s head = 50 Kina]

[? unintelligible overlapping speech]

SAUN:

*Niy k*ak yambukoy.

I wander around.

*Maki em bikpela man o lidaman, tu, mi save antap long ol.*

It doesn’t matter whether it’s a big man or a leader. I know better.

360 *Kunjanda surukmbapondimboa.*

Everybody gives way to me. [cowers before me]

*Munjokondimbiiakay.* [unintelligible]

They are afraid of me.

*Niy kak tok tan*anjad amolunkoa.

I’m this kind of a man.

*Mi mangi bilong tok pisin ia.*

I am a man who knows how to turn words.

[this doesn’t have much to do with knowing TP + note p.20] !!! again using ‘tok pisin’ in the sense of ‘being skilful in using language’!!

*Unja kelekele kaikan mokotangasindimin.*

Now I’m weak, so you hold me and make me talk.

365 *Tasol kapukmun wamojan unja ko* nj amb* a ipali* k, ko* nj rispekm* bapopalik.*

But I injured my shoulder, so what am I doing? So I’m showing respect [to the shoulder, and don’t fight].

[? unintelligible overlapping speech].

ANDOK:

*Kawasa*ng wantaim Wapisay tupela i go antap ia, tupela i no westim sampela au a tu.

Kawasan and Wapisay went up and they didn’t waste any hours [time].

*Hap minit tasol i bin go antap ia, m*ipela bungim lain bilong Mandun i kam.

360
Just half a minute later [soon after that] we met Manduŋ and his guys coming.

Nau mipela i askim ol.

And we asked them.

Na mipela tinktink nau: “Atink ol i kam long wok ia. Em gutpela.”

And we thought: “They must have come to work. Good.”

370 “Wokun pekuapun, a?”

“You [pl] came down for work, hah?

Niŋ yao teŋa pengaypokoy, em i stap.

I was making canopy, and it is left unfinished.

Aka mae aka pinisapope, tuka latina kandikalak amba ison unjanegyep pop yoŋ teŋa pinisimbapopu.

It’s not finished yet, many wanted to go and cut wood to finish it.

Tuka iso upua.

Some ahve already started cutting wood.

Mandunj aniŋ tanjan yaŋgumboŋ.

That’s what I told Manduŋ and his companions.

375 Olsem, olsem.

So and so.

Tanjan pangumbuŋ.

That’s what I told them.

Nogat hevi long ples.

No troubles in the village.

Trangu, ol i mekim wok, ol i mekim wok.

Poor things, they are working, they are working.

Tanjan pangumbuŋ.

That’s what I told them.

380 Disla tupela man ia, ol i mekim trabol, na ol i bin i kam.

These two men here, they made troubles and they came.

SAUN:

Noniŋ pekemenge tanjan opengumbuŋ wok kunjanda disturbbaŋgapekemin.

You came down, I saw you, you came down and instantly disturbed [our work].

Yupela dispela lain.

You are this bunch. (here it refers to their ‘pasin’ more than to lineage)

Tasol lung mokongunangoy, isi wamọnanamin.

But we will hold you with law, easily you will slip in [gaol].

Kambanjanda poin agalonay.

You won’t have anything to say at all.

385 Harim!

Listen!

Yupela nogat rait long tokotok ia!

You [pl] have no right to talk!

AYMAKAN (from the back):

Tino an kakanay.

Tino will talk.

Bob an kakanay.

Bob will talk.

Aj hevi agalon. Kambanjanda.

We’re not in dispute. Not at all.

TUMAK:

390 Aj pekenyoy.

W came downriver.

Emepanda pekenyonda weng.

We came down [with] good [intentions].

Aj anda musuay mokopalaŋ, anda kakiay ... [unintelligible overlapping speech].
We are just working, just this here ...

ARAP:
Ekeminim, ponde kosonj kosonj aninakoy Kawasañ enñ pokoñaninak, enñ pokoñaninañ, ekemiñim?
Do you hear me? Tomorrow I will go up and will slap Kawasañ with a bushknife. I will bash him with a bushknife, do you hear?
Kolokmunj pokonakay, kolokmunj pokonak. Aymakan, ekemanim?
I think I’ll beat him with my hand. I’ll beat him with my hand, do you hear me?

395 Kem mae tui olukunja tui rausimbapaj, ekemanim?
You go to the camp first and get all other out quietly, do you hear me?
Nij anda papa bilong kem, ekemanim?
I also own the camp, do you hear me?
Asikayñ statmbapopem wamoñjanguy aunda koy pare Mayna, ekemanim?
It [my land] starts at Asikay [creek] and goes upriver to the border of Marinyam, do you hear me?
Kiña saita tok niñ mupalik.
I am looking to the other side [of the river].
Yo kiay kamapimbapapolik ples klia. Ekemin? [spits]
So, now I explained it clearly. You [pl] hear me?

SAUN:

400 Ya uja! Arap uja!
Enough now! Arap, enough!
Pokepep yuqela i ken hamamas.
You [pl] have fought, now you can [all] be happy.
Lain bilong Stiven, yuqela i ken hamamas, a?
Stiven’s lineage, you can all be happy now, hah? yes, descent important here
Tanjan ake pem piakangumbukpop, sori tru.
Don’t think that we let you [pl] go, sorry.
Wapisay sakay redio pukulakaminayken kalak kon mokonak ya.
I will break Wapisay’s radio and hold it here.

405 Ponde pukulakanak, kalaj.
Tomorrow I will break it, here.
Bung kalakay.
At this meeting point.

ARAP:
Kulunj kanjan aninman, Imanangay kumbia aninmangonj, aninman, kan!
Where will you go? You’ll go to Imanmeri, you cunt!
Imanangay kumbia aninman, Wapisay!
You’ll go to Imanmeri, Wapisay!
Ekemanim?
Do you hear me?

410 Bungunj aka yamenman ples klia pablikunj.
You won’t walk around freely at meeting or in public.
Wonman. Ekemanim?
You’ll die. Do you hear me?
Mokondimbakan konj ambakambakman.
They were holding me, so you were arrogant.
Kamay an mokondi, ekemanim?
Kamay was holding me, do you hear?
Wamonak tok kele.
I’ll come up [to Tomi’s house where Wapisay lives].

415 Andimanj sakay famili map nombonjakaminge.
Andimaj’s family [Andimaj = Wapisay’s M] tend to consume all the land [they finish all sago, pigs, game, empty the fish from creeks...].
This lineage will consume all Kanjimei land. Don’t touch other people’s land, you’ll get in trouble.

SAUN (from far away):

Anda Yakame, Tomas, a? Nan Wapisay tui rausimbapa.

Yakame, Tomas. Throw Wapisay out [of your house] quietly [without fuss]. [when Wapisay and his eB Asuk fought, Yakame protected Wapisay by taking all his possessions and said: you are mine, you will now stay in my house. Since then Wapisay calls Yakame mama].

Niŋ yahaimbalik Wapisay tui rausimbapa, ekemanim? Rausimbapa!

I am telling you, throw Wapisay out quietly, do you hear me? Throw him out!

ARAP:

Maemae openman kenda, Tomi.

You’ve seen it before, Tomi. [once Wapisay and his family fought with Tomi]

SAUN:

Rausim em, mi tokim yu, Tomas!

Throw him out, Tomas, I’m telling you!

Tasol kapuk mae pamjnbpapokon koŋ moyetbapondimin unja.

I have injured my shoulder, that’s why you dare to be so arrogant now.

Aka aun da yaŋangombalik.

I am telling you the truth.

Unja kanjmbepyomonapmin nokomgoy kuŋanja.

You’d cry for your child and sleep [had my shoulder been all right to beat him I’d kill him].

Aka aun da yaŋangombalik.

I am telling you the truth.

Unja kanjmbepyomonapmin kuŋanja.

You’d cry for your child and sleep.

Tru tumas mi tokim yupela.

I am telling you the truth.

Niŋ kain mangi tok.

I’m this kind of a boy.

Mi man bilong pail tu ia.

I can fight.

Yupela ia?

How about you [pl]? Eneŋ molanjin.

Rotting shit.

ARAP:

Tobias famili, ekemiĩim?

Tobias’s family, do you hear?

Redio motoŋ yamenaminiŋ.


Tomorrow you [pl] will [want to] travel with radio and motor.

Yaŋangumbuk.

I told you [pl].

Kambanjanda moto agalon speis emuakay.

They don’t have a chance to get a motor in the village. explain why relevant Kanjaŋ motowan ap ninamim?

Which motor will you go with?

Moto omgusanda tukumgoy hanmakun ton.

Every motor has my handmark on them [I have contributed to every motor in the
Maemae fri nongombakay kay bagarapimbapmin moni enengu kombokonjiminnay.
Before I gave you [contribution] for free, but you blew this money and must have shot it inside the way your shit comes out.

X:

440 Paitim em!
Hit him!

ARAP:

Kae! Kae, yamgakandijen!
Go away [pl]! Go away, don’t block me!

X:

Kae! Kae!
Go away! Go away!

X:

Aŋ ang anda pokomungupeninan.  
We, we will kill each other.

As anda! As anda! As anda!
Just the two of us! (x3)

ANDANG:

445 Noy mokondinamin tok pisin taimbuy akan fitbapondinamin.
You are trying to hold me, when we were talking you were not fit enough for me.

WAPISAY:

Yu save? Ol Saina, ia.
You know? The Chinese.

Ha, Yu save?
You know, hah?

WAMAY:

Inap ia! Inap! Inap!
Enough now! Enough! Enough!

POKOPAN:

Ana nan, Wapisay!
Go, Wapisay.

450 Nan ambla.
Alone.

WAPISAY:

Woo! [Kembunta is hitting him, while several women are holding him]
Woo!

Fak!
Fuck!

POKOPAN:

Nanday anda kaymbun pakaimbikakan, ana nan.
Other men are stirring you up [influence your thoughts to fight], you go.

YESAY:

Aka pikinjimua!
They will not circumvent/miss you [they will shoot straight at you]!

WAPISAY:

455 Kan!
Cunt!

Mae kaya kandie!
Go away from me now!

Yu kam, Arap!
Come, Arap!

**WAMAY:**

_ Yu inap!_  
Enough!

**POKO PAN: **

_Mamda aka unja pokonbakay._  
This fight is from before. [it's not now that it all started].

[35:45] [Manduŋ bashes Wapisay to stop his arrogance]

**WANDAME:**

_ Wapisay uŋa ya! Man amba yaŋjang._  
Enough now, Wapisay! Don’t go too far.

**WAPISAY:**

_Iss, ay, Dona!_  
Iss, Dona [get out of my way]!

**ASUK:**

_Dicson, kayok nan! Pen enman! Wut!_  
Dicson, you go away! You will get hurt! Arsehole!

new scene

**ANDOK:**

_Klia, klia, klia..._  
Get away, get away, get away!

_Kandeŋun uŋga injakŋeŋ._  
Big men shouldn’t join the fight. [noken kirap wantaim]

465  _Ya uŋa. Ya uŋa._  
Enough. Enough.

**WAPISAY:**

_Asao we?_  
Where’s Asao?

**AYMAKAN:**

_Aunda emgon, aunda emgon aka injakaym._  
Outsiders [to this fight], outsiders shouldn’t join in.

new scene

**MOYAMBE:**

_Mi les! Mi les! Mi les na mi les!_  
I’m fed up! I’m fed up! I’m fed up and I’m fed up!

_Em i no ples bilong Satan! Em i no ples bilong Satan!_  
This is not Satan’s place [village]! (x2)

470  _Satan bai strongim sait bilong em._  
Satan will strengthen his power.

_Ey, klia, klia, klia!_  
Hey, get lost, get lost, get lost! [talking to Satan]

_Mi les! (x3)_  
I’m fed up! (x3)

_Mi les! Klia! Klia! Klia!_  
I’m fed up! Get lost! (x3)

_Klia nau! Klia nau!_  
Go away now! Go away now!

**ANDOK:**

475  _Noy kem ambiak ane ya._  
You [pl] go back down [those from the lower part of the village should go back to their houses].
MOYAMBE:

[Holy Spirit talks]  
Mi no liklik mangi bilong yupela!  
I’m not your [pl] little boy.

Hey, i no yupela holim! Hey, mi ki, ia!  
Hey, it’s not in your hands! Hey, I’m the key!

Inap nau! Inap, pinis nau! Pinis, pinis!  
Enough now! Enough, end now! The end, the end!

Yu go nau! Inap!  
Go now! Enough!

Go long haus, go long haus, eskius mi!  
Go to the house, go to the house, excuse me!

Noken i stap nau!  
Don’t keep standing there.

Yu bai kisim Irabol baipainim yu!  
You will get into trouble [it] will find you!

Harim, indai bai painim yu!  
Do you hear? death will find you!

Yu pasim maus, indai bai painim yu!  
Shut up, death will find you!

Go to the house, go to the house, excuse me!

Noken i slap nau!  
Don’t keep standing there.

Yu bai kisim Irabol baipainim yu!  
You will get into trouble [it] will find you!

Harim, indai bai painim yu!  
Do you hear? death will find you!

Indai i stap long poket bilong yu.  
Death is in your pocket.

Kaman, go nau!  
Come on, go now!

Pinis nau! Pinis! Pinis nau, pinis, pinis!  
The end now! The end! The end now, end, end!

Iau bilong yu mas harim tok.  
Your ears must listen.

Yupela noken sakim.  
Don’t disobey.

Yupela sakim, bai yupela kisim narapela hap, harim?  
If you disobey, you will go to Hell, do you hear?

Ei, bikpela skeil, bikpela skeil yumi kisim [...]  
Hey, big scales, big scales we got [speaking of God’s judgement].

Yupela moyet, bai yupela kisim bikpela skeil,  
If you [pl] are arrogant, you will get big scales [strict judgement].

Ei, ei, ei, yupela i no winim, harim, bikpela skeil baimbai yupela kisim.  
Hey, hey, you haven’t won, you hear? You will get big scales.

Indai bai painim yupela.  
Death will find you.

Nogat man bai lukim yupela. Harim?  
No one will see you [pl], do you hear?

Yu laik kamap olsem wanem?  
What would you like to be like?

Harim, tasim, kisim, na skelim!  
Hear, touch, take and think about!

Nogut yupela kisim mak bilong yupela.  
Beware as you [pl] can get a mark. ??

Skeil i wetim.  
The scales are waiting.

Yupela pinis, harim?  
Enough no, do you [pl] hear?

Stopim nau! Stopim!  
Stop now ! Stop!
Narapela stret, narapela pen bai yupela kisim.
You will get pain you have not heard about [so bad it will be].

Em, mi lusim nau. Mi lusim nau.
I will go now. I will go.

Yupela laik go, em laik bilong yupela.
If you’d like to go, that’s up to you [pl].

505 Em narapela skeil i wetim yupela.
Another kind of a scales is waiting for you [God plans very strict judgment for you].

Yupela i go, bai narapela skeil bai yupela kisim.
If you go, you will get a different kind of scales.

Skeil em i bikpela tru, em i winim olgeta narapela samtink, i winim olgeta narapela samtink yupela i no inap long fiksim.
The scales is really big, bigger than anything else, bigger than anything else, you won’t be able to fix.

Harim! Man bilong graun i no inap.
Listen! Man is not enough [cannot do it].

Man bilong graun i no inap long fiksim disla skeil.
Man cannot fix this scales.

510 Gavaman tu i no inap, man bilong graun i no inap long skelim disla skeil.
Government cannot do it either, man is not enough to scale this scales.

Yupela lukaut!
Beware!

Lukaut, Satan em i redi nau.
Beware, Satan is ready now.

Satan em i redi long katim yupela, ei!
Satan is ready to cut you [pl], hey!

Satan em i kam, yusim pos bilong em.
Satan came, and is using his pillar. ??

515 Em i laik bringim yupela long kingdom bilong em.
He would like to take you [pl] to his kingdom.

Inap nau!
Enough now!

Mup, go long haus!
Move, go to the houses!

Noken larim Satan i kam!
Don’t let Satan come!

Harim tok, excuse me, pinis nau.
Listen to this, excuse me, finish now!

520 Yupela go, bai narapela hevi bai painim yupela!
If you go, another trouble will find you.

Narapela skeil bai yupela kisim.
You will get a different kind of scales.

Èskius mi, mi lusim nau.
Excuse me, I am going now.

Laik bilong yu.
It’s up to you.

Hevi em yu yet.
You are [the one who is] in trouble.

525 Heven em i redi.
Heaven is ready.

Lukaut!
Watch out!

Point bilong yu yu holim.
You are holding your point.
Stia bilong yu, kona bilong yu.
Your stear, your corner.
Bai yu bruk. Yu ambak, bai yu bruk.
You will break. If you’re arrogant, you will break.

530 Heven em i redi. Yu lukaut.
Heaven is ready. Watch out.
Noken selensim, noken moyet.
Don’t challenge [push the limits], don’t be arrogant.
Hey, yu no ai, yu no wokim yu yet, God i wokim yu.
Hey, you’re not [made of] iron, you did not make yourself, God made you.
Mak, mak ey, inap, mak!
This is the limit, ey, enough, this is it!
Noken mao-op srukim mak.
Don’t [...] pull the limit back. ??

535 Stop! Stop, noken srukim! Yu srukim, em yu yet.
Stop! Stop, don’t pull it back! If you pull it back, it’s on you.

new scene. next morning: reconciliation

AYMAKAN:
Kombokam? Kombokam?
[Where’s] Pepper betel vine? Pepper betel vine?
[TP daka – at sikan they usually put the whole vine, not only daka]
X:
Kondoŋ emhepeye koy pandonggan.
Put it on the coconut leaf stem.
X:
Wanpela kam. Wanpela kam.
Give me one. Give me one.

AYMAKAN:
Kay koŋ toyake. Kay koŋ toyake.
Tie another one on it. Tie another one on it.

new scene

YUKUN:

540 Yu no bihainim tinktink bilong yu, harim?
You [pl] are not following your thoughts, do you hear me? ??
Yupela olgeta paul ia, yumi paul.
You are all wrong, we are wrong.
Yumi no bihainim.
We are not following.
Yumi go insait long beten, sotpela hap.
Let’s start a prayer, a short one.
Olgeta, sapos yu Kristen, yu save long God, yu mas rispekim God.
All of you, if you are Christians, if you know about God, you must respect God.
Olgeta samtink, kaikai yu painim i no long strong bilong yu, i no long laik bilong yu, na em laik bilong God.

Everything, the food you find, is not your strength, it is not your will, it’s God’s will.

Harim tok!

I no bilong strong bilong yu, nogat!

It’s not for your strength, no!

Yu mas rispekim narapela, noken pait long narapela, noken kros long narapela.

You must respect others, don’t fight with them, don’t be angry with them.

Win bilong laif bilong Genesis em givim stap long olgeta.

The breath of life of Genesis gave life to all.

God yet i stap long yu olgeta, i no stap long yu wanpela man, na narapela nogat, no, yu rong.

God himself is in all of you, not in one man only and not in others, no, you are wrong.

Yumi save rong. (x2)

We are often wrong.

OK, yumi go insait long mak bilong diwai kros.

OK, let’s make a sign of a cross.

Olgeta stopim buai, smuk, kam wantaim trupela sikan, trupela bel bai God i lukim na hamamas, na blesing bai kapsait.

Everybody stop chewing betel nut, smoking, come with genuine spirit of reconciliation, God will see your sincere heart and rejoice and spread blessings.

[Beneke]

Blesing i no inap kam natink.

Blessing will not come by itself.

Garu i no inap kamap gutpela natink, God i givim blesing. Yu agens, yu no bihainim laik bilong God, disla garu bai i nogat pawa, nogat kaikai bilong em.

Eaglewood will not grow well by itself, God gave his blessing. If you oppose, if you don’t follow God’s will, eaglewood will have no power, will not yield any fruit [you will not get any money for it].

Harim! Nogat pilai pilai, inap nau, taimaut nau. God i laik givim senis.

Listen! Don’t play, enough now, timeout. God would like to bring about a change.

Yu laik kamapim gutpela sindaun, yumi mas bihainim laik bilong God.

If you want to live well, we must follow God’s will.

Long nem bilong Papa, na bilong Pikinini, na bilong Holi Spirit...

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit...

Papa God, mi go pas, olgeta putim maua wantaim, tok sori.

Father, I will start, others join me, let’s repent.

Yes tru God, mipela i sori nau, olsem mipela Kristen femili, ananit long diwai kros bilong Jisas, mipela i rong pinis, ol rot, lo bilong yu mipela i brukim, mipela i no bihainim.

Yes, true, God, we are sorry now, as a Christian family, underneath the crucifix of Jesus, we’ve been wrong, the way, your law we have broken, we haven’t followed it.

Yu lukim mipela nau.

Look at us now.

Mipela i no stretpela pikinini long ai bilong yu, tasol mipela i sori, God.

We are not good children in your eyes, but God, we are sorry.

Marimari bilong yu mas kamaund nau, na mipela mas tinktank dispela hevi bilong mipela long trupela pasin, long pasin i stret, pasin yu laikim mipela long en.

Let your mercy come down now, and we have to think of this trouble of ours through the good ways, the ways for which you like us.
Bai nogat hevi mo, tinktink, tok baksait i kamap gen.
No more troubles, thoughts, backbiting [gossip] will rise again.

Gutpela, stretpela wanbel pasin i mas kamap.
Good, true reconciliation must come up.

Papa, mipela i no gutpela pikinini, tasol long marimari bilong yu, yu gutpela papa, yu save sori long mipela.
Father, we are not good children, but through your mercy, you good father, you are sorry for us.

Maski mipela i givim baksait, tasol yu save kam long mipela.
Although we turn our backs on you, you come to us.

Olsem na marimari long mipela, tekewe tinktink nogut bilong spirit nogut we i wok long kirapim tinktink bilong mipela long pait na kros.
So show your mercy upon us, take away bad thoughts of the bad spirit [=Satan] which make us fight and quarrel.

Larim spirit bilong tok tru bilong yu mas pas long mipela, na bai mipela i ken save long wanpela na narapela, kisim bek ol [...] Let the spirit of your true talk spread on us, and we will know of one another, take back all [...] Yumi ken mekim bikpela pre olsem Jisas i lainim miplea long em.
We can [now] say the big prayer which Jesus taught us.

Papa bilong miplea, yu stap long heven... CONTINUE
Our Father, who art in heaven...

CHILD:
Ay, wakon enen. Wakon enen.
Hey, don’t take many. Don’t take many. [speaking of betel nuts]

Ambiak ane. Ambiak ane!
Go away. Go away!

Kaj kenda amb a inga imin?
Why did you [pl] come here?

Ma, ya, nangoy pakana.
Here, for you, take it.

Relien, tongoy onga.
Relien, take one for me.

Relien, pek.
Relien, come down.

Relien, elak tungumgoy onga.
Relien, take this one for me too.

YUKUN:

Mama, Mama [...] yu wankain olsem mama bilong miplea long graun.
Mother, Mother [...] you are just like our mother on earth.

Wanem samtink mipela i krai long kisim, em mipela i krai long yu, olsem na yu bai tokim papa o brata long kisim na givim.
Whatever we cry for, we cry to you, and you will ask your father or brother to get it and give it to us.

Olsem na helpim mipela long holi pre bilong yu long witnesim disla sinful pre bilong mipela.
So help us with your holy prayer to witness [prove/ ??] this sinful pray of ours.
Larim spirit bilong tok tru na stretpelapasin i ken poromanim laip bilong mipela, bai wanbel pasin, trupela sikan i ken kamap, na bihain bai nogat tink tink na pasin nogut, pasin nogut bai mipela kamapim...

Let the spirit of true talk and goodness accompany our lives, let understanding, true reconciliation rise, and later there will be no bad thoughts and behaviour, we won’t bring about bad behaviour...

Ave Maria... CONTINUE
Hail Mary...


I am giving Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be. Amen.

Papa, disla olgeta pre mipela i pre long nem bilong Jisas i rot bilong mipela. Father, all these prayers we pray in the name of Jesus, he’s our way.

Long nem bilong Papa...
In the name of the Father...

OK, yumi redbi long sikan, yumi ken sikan.
OK, we’re reday for reconciliation, we can shake hands.

Orait, yumi ken sanap, tupela parti sanap sait-sait.
All right, we can stand, the two parties stand on one side each.

OK, yumi gat buai o wanem sammtasol yumi sot, soim gutpela pasin olsem yumi brukim buai.
OK, we have betel nuts or whatever, but if we are short of, show good behaviour, as we will break [a cluster of] betel nuts.

KAMBAŇ:
Kumi kaykoy eloŋ aka embepeŋ amba
Put another [cluster] of betel nuts there.

YUKUN:
OK, olgeta kam klostu, klostu, plis ...
OK, everybody come close please...

AKRUMBAYN:
Holim buai long hap.
Hold the betel nuts there.

YUKUN:
Trupela, yumi gat trupela bel, em givim bilong narapela bilong yu ...
True, we are sincere, giving something of yours to another...

AKRUMBAYN:

Abel, holim buai long hap.
Abel, hold the betel nuts over there.

YUKUN:
[... TB transcribed with video ...]

Wanpela kisim buai, wanpela kisim buai, holim, tupela parti wantaim.
One of you take betel nuts, one takes betel nuts, hold, both parties at the same time.

Tupela liders sanap namel.
The two leaders stand in the middle.

SAMBAŊAY:
Wakonanda inje.
Everybody come now.

YUKUN (ctnd):
Tupela sikan long ai bilong God na wanbe! pasin. Em bikpela samtink komuniti witnes na God tu witnes.

A true reconciliation in the eyes of God and accord. The community and God are witnessing an important thing now.

600 Noken tinktink mo long dispela pasin, lusim nau.

Don’t think about this kind of habits any more, give them up.

God i stap.

God is there.

Laif bilong yu God i wokim.

God made your life.

Jisas dai long yumi olgeta ...

Jesus died for all of us.

WAPISAY:

Mok. Mok.

Take it. Take it. [a T-shirt]

ARAP:

605 Pangap aka mokonak.

Leave it, I won’t take it.

YUKULA:

Aka payupngagan sikan maponbalun, Aymay sakay amba okokopla.

We don’t have money for reconciliation, we’ll follow Aymay’s what... suggestion.

MANDUNJ:

Aka koy. Nan anda mok.

Not really. Take it [money – K20 note].

ARAP:

Wanbel i stap.

It’s all right.

MANDUNJ:

Niŋ naimbalik.

I’m giving it to you.

CHILD:

Papa, papa! Papa, papa! Mi laik kisim buai.

Father, father! Father, father! I’d like to get a betel nut.

YUKUN:

Bihain bai yu kisim. Larim ol sikan pastaim.

You’ll get them later. Let them first shake hands.

MANY:

Mok. Mok. Mok.

Take. Take. Take. [betel nuts]

YUKUN:

Sikanbapone Wapisay onga. Brukim han bilong mipela, na mipela sikan. ...

Shake hands with Wapisay. Let’s cross hands and shake them...

Mas trupela bel, God i stap, yu tink olses, Jisas dai long yumi olgeta.

You must be sincere, God is there, think of that, Jesus died for all of us.
Win bilong laifya, em bilong yumi olgeta.
The breath of life, it’s for all of us.
God i stap long yumi.
God is there for us.
I no bilong yu tasol, olgeta wankain.
Not only for you, for all.
Em mas trupela bel. Trupela sikan.
It must be sincere. True reconciliation.

X:
Kamuŋ, Kamuŋ! (x4)
Kamuŋ, Kamuŋ! (x4)

YUKUN:
Noken ripitim gen toktok.
Don’t repeat this kind of talk.
Wanem wari yu gat long en, bihain lukim mi.
If you worry about anything, come and see me later.

NAMAY:
Gutpela taim bung aka ambaluj.
We never come together at a good time.
Taunuj aninangoy tok pukuminaj.
When we go to the town we think of each other.
[In the village we tend to quarrel and fight. But when we go to the town we stick together as one and take care of each other.]

YUKUN:
Em mas trupela sikan.
It must be a true reconciliation.

Em mas i gat gutpela kaikai long en.
It must bear good fruit.
Kaikai bilong em bai yumi lukim long wanbel pasin.
We will see its fruits in wanbel pasin. cooperation (with each other)
Em kaikai bilong em bai kamap.
It will bear fruit.
Nogat ripit gen bihain long dispela.
Don’t repeat this again.
Tambu.
Forbidden!

Lo i stap na God i stap.
There’s law and there’s God.
Larim laif i kam insait.
Let life come inside.
Brukim tudak.
Break the darkness.
Pasin bilong God i stap.
God’s pasin is there.
Kamapim pasin bilong God.
Act according to God’s way.

Wanbel pasin.
Mutual consideration.
AYMAKAN:

Ya njè mom kakapalik nase pam kiay mae kakapalik.
I am talking about the past.

Nase pam kiay en aka opepeŋay.
You don’t know how it was in the past.

Tambu sai tal kakapalik.
I am talking about the affinal side.

Nambokoyn amgoay kakapalik.
I’m talking about a young girl.

Tambu sai nambokoyn ekemiesgjai.
One would marry a young girl from affinal side.

Non kastam peleypen.
You [pl] were wrong about custom.

Kastam aka opepen.
You [pl] don’t know the custom.

Nan onga ana kuŋanja inga pokoy yam.
You go with a child and they will hit you.

Kuŋanja pakapep yakŋana.
You have to carry a child and stand [between the two men fighting].

Kuŋanja inga pokoy yam?
Will they hit you and the child?

Ya an amamgy elok.
Like he this of his. [Aymakan doesn’t mention his DH’s and his DHZS’s names, as he is in taboo relationship with them].

Ya nae Tikinjao numba kan anamgy elok pokoy [inaudible]
Yesterday Tikinjao’s husband bit up his [ZS].

Ya aunda pait konda piakanay.
They should see it and stop fighting.

CHILD:

Uja, uja.
Enough, enough.

BOB:

Go givim mama...
Go take this to mother...
Appendix F:

Transcript of the ‘sago’ fight between Kangam and Mandum’s lineages

[Kros-pait K:M saksak _6 June 2009_Tape 14/scene 077_AVT1 pp35-46]

Transcription conventions followed below:

- SPEAKERS’ NAMES in capital letters, each in a full line preceding the speaker’s first words
- line numbers
- Awiakay
- Tok Pisin
- [background information or other interpolations]
- interlinear glosses
- [clarification of translation]
- [cross-speech – the entrance point of another utterance (transcribed below)]
- [marks the beginning of the utterance which overlaps with the previously started one (its entrance point marked by ] )

KONI & KANGAM:

1 Yao kopa aka opepan! +stori big Kangam
   You don’t know the bush camp.
   [unintelligible cross-talk]

TAYPAY:

Kotun yakaimba popaluy sevenpla tayakopamba, sevenpla saksak ia, em bai go long kot.
   We’ll go to the court for seven sago palms, seven sago palms will go to the court.

Niuj kak Manden pekjananak.
   I’ll go down on Monday.

Samans baimbaponjananak.
   I’ll buy the summons (court papers).

5 Sevenpla saksak ia!
   Seven sago palms!
   [unintelligible cross-talk]

KAWEPAK:

Nau registerimbaapoana.
   Go register now.

Registerimba.
   Register.

Mani nainak niuj.
   I’ll give you the money.

Mani nainak.
   I’ll give you the money.

14 Translation of this transcript is informative, not as polished as the translation of the excerpts that are analysed in the thesis chapters.
WANDAK:

Yawa inga upukundiainak kambanjanda aka nangoy mapen lekolopon. | I’ll cut you down together with the house [at Kokolamgoa]; you’re not sitting on your land.
Yu hangamap na i stap ia.
You’re squatters! [implied: KKL = Kaŋgam’s land]

KAŋGAM:

|- Eeey, injua [...]!
Heey, cunt!

YUKUN:

Yu klia! Autsait!
Go away! Go out [of the fight].

KAWeakAK:

Kaŋgam nan disturbmbapman.
Kaŋgam you’re making troubles.

Klia!
Go away!

YUKUN (to Kaŋgam):

Mi tok yu go nau.
I’m telling you to go.

Em samtink bilong lo, harim, toktok blong maus i nogat pawa.
This pertains to law, your words have no power.
Ana ya!
Go!

KAWeakAK:

Planti saksak!
So much sago!

Planti hatwok i pinis!
So much hard work has been done!

Harim!
Listen!

Tausen kina!
One thousand Kina!

Tausen kina [...] bilong mi.
One thousand Kina [...] of mine.

Tausen kina! Tausen kina!
One thousand Kina! One thousand Kina!

Mawi!
Strong! !!!

TAYPAY:

Yupela painim hevi natink.
You’re just looking for trouble.

KUNBRI:

Taykopa pakamambimiŋ.
You [pl] hid the sago. [you have processed it secretly]

Pakin!
You fuckers!

TOPOŇ:

Nangoy taykopa pakan pakamambim?
Who hid and took [stole] your sago?

KUNBRI:
Noŋ pakamambimiŋ!
You [pl] did!
Tomisakay, Asuksakay [...] Satan!
Tom’s, Asuk’s [...] Satan!
Harim?
Do you hear me?
[? unintelligible cross-talk]
KUNBRI:
Kambaŋ!
Kambaŋ [name of Bob’s ancestor]!
TOPONJ:
Kambaŋ i no asples.
Kambaŋ is not from here.

Kambaŋ i no blong hia!
Kambaŋ is not from here.

MASAKAWI [deaf and dumb, using sign language] shows to Mandom’s lineage: ‘Go away!’
YUKUN:
Isse!
Come on, enough!
TOPONJ:
Uŋatpat! Biruan pukua.
Uŋatpat [ancestor’s name]! The enemies killed him.
Biruan pukua Uŋatpat!
The enemies killed Uŋatpat.
WANDAK:
Yamis sakay strong wakanjipon.
You are looking for Yamis’s [ancestor’s name] strength.
[beware – we’ve got this power – he was our ancestor, and a good warrior]

Yamis sakay tawa [...] 
Yamis’s strength [lit. bone]... - boasts
[? unintelligible cross-talk]
MASAKAWI shows to M’s lineage: ‘Go away now!’
KUNBRI:
Tui pakamiŋ! | (x4) Pakin! Tui pakapeŋ!
You [pl] stole it! (x4) Fuckers! You [pl] are stealing!
Ho!
[anger]
Mm man!
[Expression of anger], man!
TOPONJ:
| Uŋatpat! [points to the ground]
Uŋatpat!
[? unintelligible cross-talk]
??

Kumbiamgoy taykopa olukamgoy pakamambiwa!
You are hiding [cutting, scraping and stealing] other people’s sago palms too!
Nongomgoy kusinuj tui pakapongoy.
Your [pl.] father is a thief!
Nongomgoy kusinuj tui pakapon.
Your [pl.] father is stealing.
Tay kopa! Tay kopa!
Sago palm! Sago palm!
[? unintelligible cross-talk]

TOPOŇ:
*Em i pret long birua bilong yu na em i kam marit long dispela hap.*
He was afraid of [having] you as enemies, so he came to marry here.

KAWEPAK:

Markus Barian palowakapenay! (x 2)
I’ll go and get Markus Barian [from district court in Angoram]

Nan Markus Barian opepanim?
Do you know Markus Barian?

Ponde palowakapenay.
Tomorrow

[? unintelligible cross-talk]

KAWEPAK:

Ponde, ponde pondopapakanan.
Tomorrow, tomorrow bai mipela kamautim rausim.

Ugatpatsakay palowakapenay.
We will put Ugatpat’s name ...

KUNBRI:

Pemili tripun mokoinak. Mm? Save?
We’ll make a family trip. Mm [mi strongpela man, save?] You know?

Nase kandengun tanan kakua. Nase kandengun tanan kakua:
In the past, big men would talk like this. In the past, big men would talk like this:

* Tay kopan mae tay kopan yake.*
You [pl] should stand close to the sago palm.

KÀNGAM:

Ooo! Sem ia!
Ooh! Shame!

WANDAK:

*Tay kopa nokomgoym?*
[Is it] your [pl] sago

ya konj pokondimbembapopeñ.
and you [pl] would like to beat me up?

* Harim, a?*
Do you hear?

*Uganbope koson.*
Go and cut [pl] it up there.

*Uganke koson!*
Go and cut [pl] it up there!

STELA WAMAY:

*Inap ia! Koni, ey!*
Enough! Koni, hey!

[Wandak shows he wants to fight]

[? unintelligible cross-talk]

TOPOŇ:

Pawi-kopan kon ton.
It’s up at Pawi [name of bush camp in the mountain].

KÀNGAM:

Pawi, a?
[At] Pawi, hah?

Pakange opeyañangom pekuam Maynañ?
And who told them [showed them the way] to come downriver to Mayna [former place]?

**TOPON:**

*Birua ikakañepeke kalaj.*
He came down here in warfare [he came down here killing people].

*Birua ikakaapeke.*
He came down in warfare [he came down killing people].

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"Awimbamgon pokondinua," pe.
"Those from Awim will kill me," he said.

"Awimbamgon nombondinua," pe.
"Those from Awim will eat me," he said.

*Kalaj kon peke.*
So he came down here.

**KANGAM:**

*Saaai!*
Ooh, come on! ?? [contempt]

*Aunda olukunjay.*
Outsider!

75

*Kay kumbiamgoy aunda aka dipendimbapainay.*
People from another place will not defend you just like that [for free].

*Yu yet, nan kopoñan.*
You yourself, you yourself.

**KUNBRI:**

*Kambras! Meri Kambras em i raunmeri!*
Kambras [name of M’s female ancestor]. Kambras was a raunmeri.

*Em bilong antap!* [points to the mountain]
She’s from up there [from the mountain].

**KANGAM:**

|- Noken pulim narapela man i kam!
Don’t pull in others [into the fight].

**YUKUN:**

*Inaaap!*
Enough!

**TOPON:**

*Yu save long stori bilong Kambras em i kam olsem long Mayna?*
Do you know the story how Kambras came to Mayna?

*Mayna?*
[To] Mayna?

*Kwip kolowakay.*
She used to stay at Kwip [name of an Awiaikay mountain, see map xx].

*Nau em kisim Kasom.*
Then she came to Kasom [name of an Awiaikay mountain, see map xx].

80

*Bipo em i kam raun. Mm? Yu save?*
She came

*Ol i sindaun long Kwip.*
The settlement was at Kwip.

*Wandukulan birua peke.*
Wandukulan [name of ancestor] came down in warfare.

*Biruan peke.*
He came down in warfare.

*Waka! Waka! Waka!*
Waka! [Kamaqgip’s ancestor’s name] (3x)
Wandukulay tokondoŋ, Wandukulay biruay peke.
Wandukulay used to live up there, he came down in warfare.

Nangoy Wandukulay biruay peke.
Your Wandukulay came down in warfare.

MASAKAWI shows: [We’ll go to Angoram]
[? unintelligible cross-talk]

KANJGAM:
Kalay Baibol pakapep yakanakoy munjokondinman. Ainman.
I will pick up the Bible and stand here, and you’ll be afraid of me. Iron man [strong-masol man bilong pait].

KUNBRI:
Saai! Anda endaij pikinjasipan.
Saai [rubbish]! You’re jumping to another road [you’re changing the topic].
[to Yumbunak]
Pakin kan yu!
You fucking cunt!

Yu kan ia! Yu kan ia!
You cunt! You cunt!
[? unintelligible]
Yu bai indai! Yu bai indai ia!
You’ll die! You’ll die!

NAMAY (to Yumbunak):
Paitim man ia!
Beat him up!
Long man ia.
He’s wrong!
[? unintelligible cross-talk]

YAWAS:
Ya unja ambiakane ya!
Enough now, go away [go nabaut]!

YUKUN:
Eey, tisa rispekimbapiay!
Hey, respect the teacher!

KAPRUM:
Tisasakay yaopumda.
It’s teacher’s house here. [front-house = bains]

YUKUN:
Harim tok!
Listen!
Sem! Sem bilong mipela! Tisa sakay yao...
Shame! Shame on us! Teacher’s house...
[? unintelligible]
Inap nau!
Enough now!

Noken brukimbapopeŋ tisa sakay banis kak.
Don’t come into teacher’s yard.
Kan pait aka pokonbem.
Don’t fight here.
Tisa rispekimbapimben.
Respect the teacher.
Harim?
Do you hear?
Inap ia!
Enough now!
KANJGAM:
110 Pek kan, pokangonga pek!
Come down and beat them up here.
[? unintelligible]
WANDAK:
Mipela i nogat tok wantaim Yumbunak.
We have nothing to say to Yumbunak.
Yumbunak ape?
Where’s Yumbunak? [Y made Yakalak pregnant]
[? unintelligible]
Yumbunak, kisim em i kam.
Bring Yumbunak over here.
TAYPAY:
Yumbunak disturb!
Yumbunak’s disturbing!
115 Mae an mombanda kakanpongo y an disturb[im]bape
We’re just talking and he came to disturb.
KUNBRI:
Ya, Yumbunak disturb!
Yes, Yumbunak’s disturbing.
WANDAK:
Yumbunak we?
Where’s Yumbunak?
[? unintelligible cross-talk]
A WOMAN:
Wandak, unja ya! Wandak! Wandak!
Wandak, it’s enough!
KUNBRI:
Lin pakapepe peke elak.
He carried a spear and came down [ready for fighting].
120 Lin epepeke.
He came down with a spear.
Aunda mupe!
Just look!
A WOMAN:
Ay, wakondun injakapla elok kuñanja kamba-kamba injakan.
Hey, many stood up for fight, even small children have risen.
[many]
Paitim em! Paitim em! Paitim em!
Beat him up! (x3)
[?]
Yukulaa!
Yukula! [name]
KAPRUM:
125 Yumbunakan yamendangay.
Yumbunak i kirapim ol long pait.
[many]
Inap! Inap! (x2)
Enough! Enough!

WANDAK:

Em ia! Man bilong pesim hevi! Kan!
Here's the troublemaker! Cunt!

Mipela i laik toktok tasol.
We only want to talk.

MOYAMBE:

Inap nau, Wandak, inap ia!
Enough now, Wandak, it's enough!

KUNBRI:

Hut man i kam we?
Where's the arsehole?
Paic man, ia?
Fighter, hah?

MOYAMBE:

Nan kandeij, nan kastambunj ambem.
You're grown up, you have to follow the custom.

TAYPAY:

Mipela, lain bilong Jonatan na mipela toktok i stap.
We, Jonathan's lineage were talking.
Trabol man ia kam ia na pulim mipela long hevi.
The troublemaker came and drew us into troubles.

KUNBRI:

Kunja kunja pokonbem.
They have to fight one-to-one (in duels).

AKRUMBAYN:

Yupela i no meri, yupela noken bung pait.
You're not women, don't fight in a group.

TOPOI:

Tay agalon, koponan ej
No sago, we took it.
Koponan ej tay.
We ourselves took the sago.
[? unintelligible cross-talk]

YUKUN:


KUNBRI:

Noy olukunja tawa ton.
You're men, you have the strength.
Noy olukunja tawa ton, elak anda.
You're men, you have the strength, this too.

TOPOI:

Koponan ej, moko ej tok.
We took it and we're holding it.
Moko, moko, moko.
We're holding it, we're holding it...
Koponan moko.
We ourselves are holding it.
Ujatpat alay mokoŋ. (x3)
Ujatpat himself held it. (x3)
Ambasiman.
Ambasiman. [ancestor’s name]

MOYAMBE:
Ya uŋa, ane noŋ.
Enough now, you [pl] go.
Inap nau!
Enough now!
[? unintelligible]

KAŋGAM:
Kolokay mawi, kolokay kanga tui pokopep mangle Waykan.
Strong aibika, Wayk [Jonathan’s ancestor] stole aibika leaves and gave them all.
[for power]

Waykan tui pakapep nan Aŋgwaŋ sakay. Ya?
Wayk stole [it] from Aŋgwaŋ [Kangam’s ancestor]. Ya?

TOPOŋ:
Father has this story. He has it. (x2) Father has it.
Stori omgusanda pakawakan. (x2)
We’ve stored all the stories [into our minds].
Omgusanda mokoŋ.
We’ve got them all.
Makay?
You see?

Kunja-kunja tok aka pokondinapmiŋ.
If you were one by one you wouldn’t overpower me.

YUKUN:
Ya uŋa! Ya uŋa!
Enough now! Enough!

TOPOŋ:
Ponde koloy mungumenak koloy.
I will see you [pl] down there tomorrow.
Kenda koloy mungumebeanak.
I’ll go and see you down there. [at court in Asangamut]
Ha-ha, mae sisis!
Ha-ha [laughs??], my Jesus! [nobody knows what moe sisis means, they say it is a TP word, which you say when you are really angry]
[? unintelligible]

TOPOŋ:
Koloy mungumebeaninak.
I’ll go and see you down there.
Kumbi kaykoy kolokoy tungumgoy, save?
There’s another place of mine down there, you know? [has relatives in Asangamut]
[? unintelligible]
Enda agalon.
[There’s] no other way.
Ujatpat anda Ujatpat alay pokopep mambingapekemiŋe kalan.
They had beaten up Ujatpat and came down here to hide. [check the story!]
Mambingapekwaŋay Engu mimbia koy mokowakapepla kalan aunda.
They came down hiding and they used Engu’s name [to claim the land]. chart of ancestors!
MOYAMBE:

Emep yakamiñ Karuap.
Karuap, you’re doing well [stopping both sides who fight].
Aunda elekiam ambay nj yak [...] Just stand like this...

KANGAM:

Satan elakiamgoy! [...] Pakin idiet, satan pikinini!
This Satan! [...] Fucking idiot, Satan’s child!
Yoj kuma akanja akanjakay pakangum yamnquonan pupukia akanja akanjakan.
Don’t [pretend to] walk around with your big cocks when they can’t even erect.
Rubbish!
You’re walking around with your slack cocks, ’cause they can’t even erect.
Rubbish!
Idiet!
Idiot!

Andunda, andunda akanjakan pakangom yambla tungumgoy kolokot.
These bad men are carrying around my things. [my women, as they married Motañin, Suanmay, Timban – Kangam’s line – they intermarry].

Tui pakayambakan.
They stole them and are carrying them around now.

Kolokola, kolokola kunjamda pakamambiwa.
sth-sth-olgeta-haitim
They are hiding so many things.

Kambras Komaipan kompenseisen mape Andokum Andangi kumbia Komaipan kompenseisin mape.
Komaip [M ancestor] gave compensation for Kambras [F ancestor] and Andokum [F ancestor] and for Andangi kumbia [name of land].

Komaipan kompenseisen mape Andokum kalan pekeke, Mapayan pakapep popim enjenan Namata.
Komaip came down here when he compensated for Andokum. Mapay [ancestor] carried compensation for Andokum with his open arsehole up to Namata. [Namata is high in the mountains, he implies it was so steep that Mapay’s open anus could be seen when he climbed up].

Mapayan pakapep popim enjenan Namata.
Mapay em i karim wantaim hol bilong as em i bin go antap.
Mapay took the compensation open-arsed up to Namata.

Andokum sakay kopa.
Compensation [head < man’s head] for Andokum.

Mapayan pakapep popim enjenan Namata.
Mapay took the compensation open-arsed up to Namata.

Harim!
Listen!
Kopa elekiamgoy, kundaj pondopep ngongonak, kundaj pondopep ngongonak.
bai mi kamauitim as bilong dispela stori na givim long yupela.
I will dig out the roots of this story and tell it to you.

KUNBRI:

Namataŋ peke, stori kosoj ton anamgoy.
He came down from Namata, his story is up there.

Namataŋ peke.
He came down from Namata.

KANGAM:

Namata koñoña! (x2)
You’re from Namata! / Sons of Namata!

Kumun mamgoy, yes, kumun mamgoy palakay tokondokoy, kumun mamgoy. Em.
Your mother’s [land], yes, your mother’s [land] is over there in the plains [flat ground].

*Palakay kakay. Em. Kumun mamgoy.*

In the plains, yes. Yes. Your mother’s [land].

185 *Na kusin mamgoy, klia an nangoy opepalui tok histri.*

As for your father, we know his history very well.

*Nangoy kusin mamgoy kusin aka kak... kakiamgoy unja koŋ pakamambipeń.*

Your father’s father is not from here, and so you’re hiding [stealing] everything.

[? unintelligible]

*Kaj tolokapay kejepla.*

They’re here, laughing.

*Kongotmay mimbia koŋineń.*

Don’t call Kongotmay’s [F ancestor] name.

*Birua momba man aka kakaym.*

Don’t talk about fighting.

190 *Aka birua momba kakanpla.*

[My lineage] are not talking about fighting.

*Ee, sem ia!*

Shame!

*Wayk sakay... Wayk sakay kusin, Wayk sakay kusin.*

Wayk ... Wayk’s father, wayk’s father.

*Wayk sakay kusin.*

Wayk’s father.

*Kusin bilong Wayk ia.*

The father of Wayk.

**KUNBRI:**

195 *Tanj an pangumbua, tanj an pem: “Kalak Masaoan gen yok nokomgoyn nambunuy ekenbopopon.”*

They told them so, they said so: “This man, Masao, will marry a woman of yours.”

“*Yok nokomgoyn Waykan, “ tanj an yaŋimbe, “yok pokange, yok pokomungupe. “*”

“This Wayk of yours,” so they said, “beat him up, kill him.”

*Tanj an pangumboa Engu anin kiay.*

So Engu and his men told them.

*Harim, a?*

You year me?

*Tanj, tanj an pimba, mm?*

So he said to them, mm? [anger]

**KANGAM:**

200 *Nokomgoyn abukunuŋ tui pakayameke kolokay kang.*

Your grandfather went to steal aibika leaves.

*Mae tui enggepep niŋ an Akunan koŋ upep tinjipua.*

He stole them, ate them and went to chop up Akunan [female ancestor] with an axe to boil her.

*Kolokay kangaŋanda.*

Only with aibika leaves.

**KUNBRI:**

*Opepalik niŋ anda.*

I know.

*Aka peleipalik.*

I am not wrong [mistaken].

[...]

**TOPON:**

205 *Mi kilim dispela man ia, ainman yakapongoy.*
I’ll kill this man, I’m a strong man / tough fighter – like an iron man.

YUKUN:
Piakangombalik ya!
I will let you go.
Mi bai lusim yu Dipela nau.
I will let you go now [I’m tired of holding you back].

MASSAIWII makes a gesture with a hand as if mixing something in a palm

TOPO (to Massakawi):
Yu makim wanem samtink? Poison, a?
What are you marking? Poison, hah?
Yu wokim poison, a?
You’re making poison, hah?

Yu wokim poison?
You’re making poison?
Eksekel mulakape, kunda usiay!
Look at the dumb one’s gestures!
Em save wokim wanem samtink? A? A?
What is he doing? Hah? Hah?
Em wokim wanem? Yu wokim wanem samtink?
What is he doing? What are you doing?
Yu bai poisonim mi na mi bai indai, a?
You will poison me and I’ll die, hah?

Pait bunguambakapmin, pait bung tok taan ton.
You appear brave when you fight in a group. This is what group fight is like. [group fighting is not respected, while fighting on-to-one is] Kawepak is bloody – that’s what happens when you fight in group.

KAWEPAK:
Kunja-kunja tok aka mokondinamin kambanjanda pam.
One person would not be able to hold me back, no way!

TOPO:
Kunja-kunja tok nambokoyn pait pait bungu konj ambakmbapmin.
One by one you’re as strong as young girls, only when you fight in a group you become ambak.
Kambanjanda agalon tab tok ponde wakonanda uyakjane.
You won’t have any sago left there – tomorrow we’ll go and cut them all.
Niij kalak kak tok.
That’s what I’m saying.

Niij bosman, Weit agalon.
I’m the boss. No waiting. [Won’t waste any time].
Anda Unatpat alay pokopep pekepep konj strongimbapopla, mae sisis!
They killed Unatpat and came down and now they’re claiming [land], my Jesus!
Wanem graun bilong yu Dipela na yu Dipela save sekim i go i kam, a?
Where’s your land that you are checking?
Nokomgoy map kamiam konj sekimhapopeh? A?
Where’s your piece of land that you are checking, hah?
As... As saksak bilong yu Dipela o bilong husait?
The sago, is it yours or whose is it?

Bilong tumbuna bilong yu o...?
Is it your ancestor’s, or...?
Graun bilong yu na yu save sekim, a?
You’re not checking your land, are you?
Yu papa graun na yu save sekim?
Are you a landowner and you’re checking the land?
You're a liar!
A politician!
You want to claim someone else's land without a reason.
You don't have a single ancestral story about it, you don't have a single memory about this place.
Not a single little memory or history.
You just want to come and still the land!
I would first like to announce it in this part of the village.
Public announcement: Court hearing will be held later in August.
Appendix G:

Charismatic healing session:
Kununda sikan

[VideoTape 17/2009_scene 091_[36’35"

Transcription conventions followed below:

SPEAKERS’ NAMES in capital letters, each in a full line preceding the speaker’s first words
1 line numbers

Auwaikay

Tok Pisin
[background information or other interpolations]
interlinear glosses
[clarification of translation]
| cross-speech – the entrance point of another utterance (transcribed below)
| marks the beginning of the utterance which overlaps with the previously started one (its entrance point marked by |)
[comments]

KUNUNDA [answering my question about what kind of sickness she has]

Hat long mi long stori long yu...
It’s hard for me to talk to you...

MOYAMBE

Olsem pen yu kisim long em. Kus i kamap...
About the pain you have. You’re coughing...

KUNUNDA [continues]

Kouk kalakay, | tauk kalakay...
Here in the ribs, here in the backbone...

MOYAMBE

| Lewa.
Heart.

KUNUNDA [continues]

koka ingwa...
and I cough...

kolsika ingwa...
and I have a cold...

kum aka nombalik | ... kambanja nombalik.
I don’t eat sago pudding ... I eat very little.

MOYAMBE

| Em i no save kaikai kum.
She’s not eating sago pudding.

KUNUNDA [continues]

Ya yok kondakay.
That’s it.

MOYAMBE
Unja betenuri ambopalun.
We’ll go into prayer now.

Darja

Kuianja nangoy anj wakonanda ton. [ton incorrect: should be tola 3PL or better tola 1PL]
All your children are here.
Ppl explain: if some children are not present, God will not be happy, as there might be some resentment between them and their mother.

Yongondam

Anamgoy raitanja yok kondakaym?
Is that all, that’s the cause of her sickness? [raitanja = right answer; as bilong sik]

new scene

MOYAMBE [to me]

O piksa aka engoman?
Oh, you didn’t record us?

Ya, taim mipela toktok tu, yu no bin onim?
You didn’t have it on when we were talking?

Yongondam [laughing]

Aunda momba kakanim yamblamin [laughs], Darja.
They only walk around, talking nonsense, Darja.

new scene

MOYAMBE

Kastambamgoy inja, God sakay en akanja popon-jay. [think3SG-EPIST.MOD]
She must think that customary ways are good and God’s way is not.

Mae tangan kakay: Bai bol tex amgoy inja pe, e-e, aka aunda bodi amba iplakay pe. (p.78)
Now she says: ‘What Bible says is good, e-e, em i no samtink bilong mekim natink long laik bilong bodi, em i tok. [em i samtink bilong spirit]

SONG:

Jisas, yu Lord bilong mi,
mi kam long ples bilong yu,
mi singaut long yu, Jisas,
yu kam na helpim mi.

Mi praisim yu, yu God,
yu Bikipela,
mi singaut long yu, Jisas,
yu kam na helpim mi.

Ale-e-lu-u-ja,
Ale-e-lu-u-ja,
mi singaut long yu, Jisas,
yu kam na helpim mi.

Ale-e-lu-u-ja,
Ale-e-lu-u-ja,
mi singaut long yu, Jisas,
yu kam na helpim mi.

Pikinini bilong Devid, sori long mi, (x2)
Jisas, olsem wanem, bai mi orait. (x2)
Pikinini bilong Devid...

MOYAMBE

37 *Preis yu King Jisas!*
Praise you, King Jesus!

SONG (continued)

*Jisas, olsem wanem, bai mi orait.*

KUNUNDA makes this gesture [comment: God i mas lukim disla eksen bilong em]

*Larim laip bilong mi i pas long yu, Jisas.*

*Planti samtink bilong graun i pulim mi,*

*nogat hamamas long laip bilong mi,*

*mi singaut long yu Jisas,*

*yu kam na helpim mi.*

MOYAMBE

*O Lord!*

Oh Lord!

SONG (continued)

*Jisas helpim mi,*

*o Lord yu helpim mi,*

*yes, mi kolim nem bilong yu,*

*yes, o Jisas, yu helpim mi.*

*Yes mi singaut long yu Jisas,*

*yu kam na helpim mi.*

*Yes mi singaut long yu Jisas,*

*yu kam na helpim mi.*

MOYAMBE

53 *Preis yu King Jisas!*
Praise you King Jesus!

SONG (new)

*Long Ist na West yumi preisim God,*

*preisim God em i bikpela, (x2).*

*Long Not na Saut yumi preisim God,*

*preisim God em i bikpela, (x2).*

MOYAMBE

*Church, Alelu-*

Church [congregation], 'Hallelu-

PEOPLE

*Aleluja!*

Hallelujah!

SONG

*Alelu- ale-lu ja,*

*kalap, kalap, paitim han, na danis wantaim,*

*hamamas na danis wantaim.*

MOYAMBE

3 – 2 – 1, say...

3 – 2 – 1, say...
PEOPLE
... Jisas!
... Jesus!

MOYAMBE
65 Pawa in the name of...
Power in the name of...

PEOPLE
... Jisas!
... Jesus!

MOYAMBE
Viktri in the name of...
Victory in the name of...

PEOPLE
... Jisas!
... Jesus!

MOYAMBE
King in the name of...
King in the name of...

PEOPLE
... Jisas!
... Jesus!

MOYAMBE
Sikan bai kamap long nem bilong...
Reconciliation will come in the name of...

PEOPLE
... Jisas!
... Jesus!

MOYAMBE
Husait i win?
Who won?

PEOPLE
... Jisas!
... Jesus!

SONG
75 Long Ist na West yumi preisim God...
In the East and in the West we're praising God...

MOYAMBE
Husait i payman bilong yu?
Who's paying you?

PEOPLE
... Jisas!
... Jesus!

SONG
78 Taim mi singim dispela song,
lewa bilong mi em i hamamas,
tinktink tasol
wanem taim bai Jisas i kam.

(x2)
MOYAMBE

Church, 'Lewa ia'.
Church, 'Heart' [song title].

SONG

Lewa ia, lewa ia, lewa ia, lewa ia,
lewa ia, lewa ia, Jisas Krays yu lewa ia.

(x2)

MOYAMBE

3 – 2 – 1, Church...
3 – 2 – 1, Church...

PEOPLE

... Jisas!
... Jesus!

MOYAMBE

Alelu-
Hallelu-

PEOPLE

-ja!
-jah!

MOYAMBE

-ja!
-jah!

PEOPLE

--Alelu-
--Hallelu-

MOYAMBE

Lazarus!...
Lazarus!...

PEOPLE

Kamdaun!
Come down!

MOYAMBE [correcting them, as they have confused Lazarus (John 11:38-53) with Zacchaeus (Luke 19:1-1)]

Kam aut!
Come out!

PEOPLE

Lazarus!
Lazarus!

MOYAMBE

95

Sakias!...
Zacchaeus!...

PEOPLE

Kam aut!
Come out!

MOYAMBE [correcting them again]

Kam daun!
Come down!

Tumak (mistakenly)
Sakias!
Zacchaeus!

**PEOPLE**

Aleluja!
Hallelujah!

**SONG**

100

*Kalap, kalap,*
*paitim han na danis wantaim,*
*hamamas na danis wantaim.*

**MOYAMBE**

103

*OK, yumi startim, Vitus kam pinis.*
OK, let’s start. Vitus [Imbisay] has arrived.

*Em liklik sotpela [sikan]... gutpela olsem Tantanbuŋ tu i stap.*
A little, short one [reconciliation]... good that Tantanbuŋ’s also here.

105

*Anda sikan tasol.*
Just reconciliation.

*Em, Jisas bai lukim.*
So, Jesus will see.

*Na ol lain bilong yu, Vitus, ol i nogat hevi, ol i nogat kros, ol i kam long porqip.*
And your women, Vitus, they don’t have any resentments or grievances, they all came to forgive.

*Mama bai givim dispela bel, tinktink bilong em, long wanem em i bin kisim dispela sik.*
Mama will xxx, she will tell why she thinks she got sick.

*Bikos Jisas em i lukim disla, em i nogat rispek, em i nogat trast long Jisas, olsem na Jisas em i tok, em i kam long nait long wanbel long disla.*
Because Jesus saw that she didn’t have any respect, she didn’t trust him, so Jesus said he came at night to reconcile.

110

*Olsem na yumi daunim het na lukluk long heven, baimbai em yet bai wokim rot, na em yet bai witnisim disla sikan long heven.*
So let us bow our heads and look into Heaven, he himself will make a way, and he will witness this reconciliation.

So. Let’s make a sign of a cross: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

*God Papa, yu lukim disla liklik bung, na God Papa, tasol God Papa, yu save i stap na yu lukim mi, na yu lukim Vitus, em i kam long givim bel wantaim poroman bilong em, Julian, na yu save long insait na ausait bilong em pinis, Papa, insait na ausait yu lukim pinis.*
God Father, you see this little gathering, and ..., but God Father, you’re there and you see me, and you see Vitus who came to reconcile with his ‘friend’ [brother] Julian, and you know him in and out, Father, you have seen him in and out.

*Em i no gutpela tumas, tasol yu yet bai yu sapotim na witnisim olsem yu stap wantaim mipela.*
It’s not too good [what you’ve seen], but you will support and witness [what you see today], as you are with us.

*Olsem na, yumi olgeta yumi ken pre, olsem Jisas, brata bilong mipela em i sukulim mipela long em: Papa bilong mipela...* 
So we can all pray like Jesus, our brother, has taught us: Our Father...

new scene
MOYAMBE

115... na yumi tok, Ave Maria...
... and we say, Hail Mary...

Orait, yumi ken sikan.
All right, we can shake hands.

Mama, yu ken holim han bilong wokim sotkat.
Mama, you can hold hand to make it short. [let us do away with this quickly]

OK, Vitus, Tantanbuŋ, nan wambem kele.
Ok, Vitus, Tantanbuŋ, come up [to the house].

Anda liklik sikan tasol, na ambi nan tuki tuki iña.
Just a little reconciliation, and Mum, you come closer.

[?? unintelligible]

VITUS

120 Mipela nogat wampela samtink.
We don’t have anything.

Mipela wanbel long kam na God i stap wantaim yumi.
We agreed to come and God is with us.

Sikan em i bikpela samtink tru.
Reconciliation is a big [important] thing.

Sikan em i bikpela mak long wanbel em i save kamap.
Reconciliation is an important sign that mutual agreement has been reached.

Maski bikpela kros o liklik kros, wanempla samtink, sikan em i bikpela samtink.
It doesn’t matter whether the anger was big or small or whatever, reconciliation is an important thing.

MOYAMBE

125 Yes, tenkyu.
Yes, thank you.

VITUS

Tasol ... mipela hamamas long mipela kam lukim yu, mipela bai givim bel, mipela nogat wampela samtink, mipela save laikim em natink.
But ... we’re happy that we came to see you. we will make up [with her], we don’t have anything [against her], we like her just like that.

MOYAMBE

Tenkyu tru.
Thank you so much.

VITUS

Mipela kam na mipela givim bel.
We came here to make up with her.

Sapos disla sik em i stap, God bai kilim em, em bai katim na rausim [... ?? unintelligible]
If the sickness is still there, God will do away with it [...]?

130 Sikan-ma-ponin-an-im?
Will we shake hands?

MOYAMBE

That’s it. It’s here. Just a little.

Yokonda sikanmapone yon konda. [p.80]
Shake hands now!
Mi nogat wanpela kros wanem ia long yu. [shakes hands with Kununda] 
I’m not angry with you.

MOYAMBE

Palomay elokoy, e, yokoy, yokoy.
Palomay’s there, look, she’s here.

VITUS

Palomay em bei kam, em bei sikanim wantaim yu, mi tokim em pinis. 
Palomay will come, she will shake hands with you, I already told her.

Mi save kros long Palomay, mi save tingim yu.
I was angry with her, I’m thinking of you.

Mi stap wantaim yu, God i save bilong sikan bilong mitupela.
I’m with you, God knows about our reconciliation/making up.

Sapos bilong disia hevi, God bai kilim sik bilong yu bai orait.
If this resentment is the cause of it, God will do away with your sickness and you’ll be fine.

Samtink bilong Jisas.
Jesus knows about it. It’s his business. It’s for Jesus to decide/act...

Yongondam

Tru tru, laikim ikak God sakay pumd-a-ŋ. 
forehead-3SG.inalienablePOSS-LOC
True, true, mekim laikim pasin long ai bilong God.
True, true. Show God [make him believe] that you like her.

PALOMAY

Niŋ kambanjanda nanday aka taykoimbaliŋ.
I’m not angry with you at all.

Niŋ nanday tayko-im-bem agalon.
I you.DAT angry-2SG.OM not
I’m not angry with you.

Asangamut meri saying of her daughter: Em meri bilong krai streť.]

KUNUNDA

Nan waik mamgoy tungoy.
You belong to my belly. [You’re one of mine.]

Nan isik kakay waknŋaŋ.
You’re my breasts on my belly. [You drank from my breasts when they were young, now they are slack and have fallen down on my belly.]

Nanday aka bagarapimbaŋpaimbalik, God ton ambla opendimbon. 
_himself sees
I wouldn’t hurt you, God knows that. [em tasol i save long mi]

Anda nangoy uninmun kaŋ kololon. [points to her shoulders]
Just [the spirit of] your mother-in-law is sitting here.
[am baby long imbisay em i kam daun long solda bilong em na em i mekim em sik. Taim em save sik em i save lukim disla spirit bilong em]

Kaŋ onga yomboŋalŋiŋ kalŋŋ tanŋaŋ.
Here we sleep together, right here, like that.

Uninmun.
With your mother-in-law.

Kalak amgon ambla ambla tolamin neŋ.
These two are lose (not joined together) p.82 up

Ya kele, uninmum kon y takanan tukumjani.
And so [the spirit of] your mother-in-law came to sit on my shoulders.

Aka yombopalik aunda alay muyombopalik kaŋ.
I can’t sleep without seeing her here [in my dreams].

Elok, elok, kuminja wasingakango ay elak kele emep aka e. [coughs]
Here, here, we’ve split a little bunch of betel nut, but you haven’t taken it properly [coughs].

[when you want to give sth to sb to please them –inja]
[→ it refers to the kros between Imbisay and Aymakan, that’s why Kupun’s spirit em i mekim hevi/sik lg Kuninda.]

Konda ipinda kaningga ini kenda kolonga ini.
Here, it came to sit on my shoulders again, it came to sit here.

PALOMAY

Nij nanday aka taykwaimbalik.
I’m not angry with you.

KUNUNDA

You’re not angry with me. I’m not angry with you. I’m not angry with you.

Aka mimikiani taykwoinak.
I’m not strong enough to be angry with you.
[not-with mimik – don’t have the courage/guts/+note in a notebook!]

MOYAMBE

Tantanbuŋ yokoy, Tantanbuŋ.
Tantanbuŋ’s here, Tantanbuŋ.

KUNUNDA

A-a, niij aka taykwaimbalik.
A-a, I’m not angry with you.
[??]

Aka taykoŋgombalik.
I’m not angry with [any of] you [pl].

Am an anda.
Why am?? You’ve already gone.

Am an [coughs]. Pukaimbalik.
You’ve already left [for Asangamut]. I miss you.
[Tantanbuŋ married an Asangamut man and left the village, so Kununda weants to say: you’re gone, how can I be angry with you – now I only miss you – that’s with all – when they are not in the village, their resentments are ‘forgotten’, when the’re close to each other, they keep quarreling].

Aka yombopalik.
I don’t sleep.
[I’m thinking of you – I miss you.]

TANTANBUŊ

Nij nangoy evi pakapalike mom temanŋ.
Mi save karik hevi blg yu log taim blg toktok (at time of arguments).
I’m supporting you when arguments arise.

KUNUNDA

Nij opepalik.
I know.

Nij aka taykwaimbalik.
I’m not angry with you.

Nangoy kwjanja tongoy tok nangoy.
Your children are like my own.

Godun ambla opendimbon.
God himself can see that [knows].

TANTANBUNJ
Godsanj putimbapa.
Give it all [your illness and worries] to God.

Godun ambla oraitimbapainay.
God himself will fix you.

KUNUNDA
Kakay. Kunjkakanta...
Here, one...

Kunjakanta kumuña – e – moyan.

Kalak amgon kwjanjan oua amin kenga amin ambla ambla uñi tolamiñ popon.
These two children, the elder and the younger brother, they’re (alone/separate...),
she says.

Ya kalak koñ puka penan tumgoy.
That’s why she’s hanging on me.

Tangan opek niñ kopeñan.
That’s how I myself see it.

Ya koñ ton.
Hence there is.
[That’s why I’m ill].

MOYAMBÉ
OK.
O.K.

KUNUNDA
Kunjakanta elakay.
It’s this one [only one reason for my illness].

Ya koñ eyaimbuk.
So I took you [in my prayers??].
Olsem na mi kisim yu i go long pray bilong mi.

Nanday aka ouainak.
I won’t be angry with you.

Aka bagarapimbapainak.
I won’t harm you.

Nangoy uniña. [to Palomay ?]
I’m your [little – endearing like kum-inja] sister-in law [HBW].

Uniña mae koñ onga yombonbaluñ.
[The spirit of] Your mother-in-law and I, we sleep here together.

Kwi ambopek.
I went across the river.
[Kuninda went to stay with Tikinjao in her house on the other side of the Konmei].

Yamboj pokonjapapakandimbakay Tikinjao aniŋgamgoŋ yambunjung.
She [the spirit] nearly pushed me into Tikinjao’s [and hers’] fireplace [hearth].

Konda tumbiakak.
There I jumped.
Njik Tikinjaosay ambuk, kendenda tapan anda pikiakak kenda.
I went to [stay with] Tikinjao, but again I came back like this [ill].

Nokomgukumun aka alukakape.
My eyes won’t open. [they’re so swollen/stick together like the eyes of the puppies who haven’t opened yet]

Mawia endi.
strong kisim mi
Sik i kisim mi strong.
The illness exhausted me. → It took all strength away from me.

Neñ ambla ambla uñi tolamini popon.
It’s not good that they are sitting separate, she says.

Kunjanam kuminja mae aka nombonanjimbla popon.
And the two of them don’t eat sago together, she says.

An kele tay opendimboa, nij kele aka ouangumbalik, tapan popalik.
She is looking at me, and I say, I’m not angry with them.

Nij yanimbali oua.
I’m telling the big brother [Aymakan, her husband].

Isanganja engepep engepep imbimba, ouan aka endimbon.
Go get greens, get them and give them [to Imbisay’s family], but the elder brother doesn’t get [undersatnd] me.

Tapan popalik, ya yok kondakay.
That’s what I’m saying, that’s all.

Ya agalon mom.
No more talk.

Agalon mani, kambanja kan an.
No money, [the] little [we had] went for this here [points to rice].

Aunda.
Finished.

Kunjakandanda agalon.
None at all [left].

Aunda aunda kuminjanj ekoy aunda 2K andainja.
Mi giaman kisim tu kina tasol long buai.
I just happened to find K2 for betel nuts.

Kalak nit tay kombokpalike elakay, aunda.
It’s just a needle for [pinning laplap for] washing sago, nothing else.
[shows there’s no kina in her biiutn?]

Kunjakanta anda agalon.
Not a single one.

Kalak 2K andainja kalak.
Just these 2 Kina.

PALOMAY

Aka enak.
I won’t take them.

MOYAMBE

Konteinañ wakape, yok.
Put them into the container.

Mae tapam. Tapam. Tapam.
Leave it now. Leave it. Leave it.

Wao epep nombia.
Go buy sago grubs and eat them.

Nambay ponde wao pakaiñinau.
The Yamandim will bring sago grubs tomorrow.

*Kunjaj wao epep nombia.*

Children will buy sago grubs and eat them.

**IMBISAY**

210

_Ekemanim?_

You hear?

*Mipela bai stretim yu.*

We will compensate for you.

**TANTANBUÑ**

_Aj nangoy mani aka enaj._

We won’t take your money.

**IMBISAY**

*Mipela bai givim yu liklik koins._

We will give you some money.

**TANTANBUÑ**

_Nangoy mani aj aka enaj._

We won’t take your money.

**IMBISAY**

215

_Ekemanim?_

You hear?

_Mi bai givim yu koins long [..?? unintelligible]_

I’ll give you some money for [..]

**TANTANBUÑ**

_Mani nangoy aj aka enaj, mmanda Godsay yokiay embepey._

We won’t take your money,

**KUNUNDA**

_Menduk aka ekenman. (x2)_

You guys won’t hear my mouth.

_Aka ekeman._

You won’t hear me.

[I won’t complain anymore?]_

**BENNY WANDIAP** [speaking with Kununda in Miyak]

**TANTANBUÑ**

220

_Kok ambopep enjepalike yomjanda kolejep aka imbalik._

I go down to fetch water I don’t bring any to her.

_Is ukunjakep aka imbalik._

When I break firewood I don’t give any to her.

[Miyak]

**KUNUNDA**

_Ol i tripla. Tripla... kai._ [Miyak]

There are three of them. Three... [talking about who to give rice to] Go away [to a child].

_Oua yañimbalik isangajja egepe-egepep yawñ kumnja kolangipep nombopep onga pikiakapemba._

Go get the greens, make a little sago and eat it together in the house, and then go home.

_Kosuj ambon ya._

399
He went to the course.  
[speaking of Imbisay who went to a teachers' course]

_Aka yañimbempisip._
It's not something to tell him [he won't listen to me].

_Andata tanjan piakak kele._
And so I let it be. [I stopped trying]

_Ya yok kondakay mak._
That's all. Enough.

_Ya kele kumuñan kele elay anduy kele mawia takanan._
And so the [spirit of his] mother came to sit on my shoulder.

_Kwipun pokonjopapakandimblakay._
Over there [at Tiki's house] it nearly pushed me to fall.

_Konda pikiakapep imbuk Karuapsakay yawy._
That's why I came down to Karuap's house.  
[from Tiki's place Kuninda went to stay at her son's Karuap's]

_Aka imapok [iñinmapok]._
I nearly wasn't able to come [back].

_Ikapepok._
I'm trying it [the illness].
Trying to see where's better. 

...  

_Mamda laip anape konda pikiakak._
My life was almost finished and then I came down.

_Andasuay opepok._
I could see it clearly.

_Taplap mangay kukupokondimbe is-isin ambopokoy suanjan._
When I wanted to go down to pee, she [the spirit] was scooping up handfulls of dust and dead leaves and throwing them at me. [i.e. she was inflicting me with sickness].

_Kinjimbuñ kukasipep pokondimbe._
She was scooping up sand and throwing it at me.

_Yambumbuñ kukasikep pokondimbe._
She was scooping up ashes and throwing them at me. 

[Miyak]

_Mom elekiamgoy koñ ek sik kandenge koñ ek._
And because of this I got sick.

_Yambumbuñ kukukuku pokondimbe._
She kept scooping up the ashes and throwing them at me.

_Usuikma [iskuma] papaka pokondimbe._
She was picking up branches [sticks] and throwing them at me.

_Sika kalak koñ ton._
Hence this sickness.

_Moyambe koñ yanimbuk Moyambe: nanomgoy kumunmun nanga taykwangombonj - e- taykondimbonj._
So I said to Moyambe: your mother [Kupuñ = Moyambe's mother on father's side]. I think your mother is angry with me.

_Spirit elekiamgoy nanga pengaiñan, tripla kuñanja elak tanjan pimbuk._
For this spirit's sake the three children should come and givim win lg mi / kam
lusim resentments? (p. 87), so I told him [Moyambe].

peigai̱ŋaj = tri pikinini mas wanbel na hamamas, skin bilong ol bai lait (nogat hevi) → gutpela win bai kam, karim sik/spirit nogut i go – smel nogut = spirit nogut!
wai inajkay ‘good wind/health’
omuk wai – aka misi ‘I’m healthy – my body is light/like wind’

Tendea [t10] mukundukanda kukimbaŋana aka maniay penak.
I blew all ten toe – it’s not big money to put aside.

Baterinjŋaj ambə i-koy tanjan pimbuk aka opepalik tungoy laip.
I bought some [little] batteries [to sell], I don’t know what happens to me [mi no save long laip blg mi].

Tom tanjan tonakoy, aka opepalik, tanjan pimbuk.
I don’t know what will happen to me later, so I said.

Spirit nogut elak akanjakay.
This evil spirit is bad.
[makes sense as not all spirits were (just) bad].

Noŋ iŋinuakay kolok mokondinuakay tok naŋgaiŋjanay, tanjan popalik, tanjan pimbuk.
When they came to hold my hand I thought it was going to be good, so I said.

Moyambe an konda e, harim tok eke.
At this point Moyambe understood, he listened to me.

Ya yok kondakay, kele agalon, mom.
So that’s all, no more talk.

Ya yok kondakay.
That’s all.

IMBISAY
Elekiamgoy kele aka pukuyrnm.
Don’t think about this.
[overlapping speech - unintelligible]

Akanja.
Bad.

KUNUNDA
Aunda tanjan piakanak kele. [... overlapping speech - unintelligible]
No, I will let it go like this.

Aunda tanjan piakanak.
I will just let it go.

IMBISAY
Unja mae sikanaŋponbungoy.
We’ve already reconciled.

God em i stap wantaim yumi long disla hap.
God is with us here.

Liklik bung nau mipela bung.
We gathered at this small gathering.

KUNUNDA
Menduk onga mokoponde-epon am an.
Mama [the spirit] is also holding my tongue [the spirit is holding my tongue – so it’s hard for her to talk – she’s got sore throat].

Menduk onga mokoponde-epon.
She’s holding my tongue.
Mae aka mom*janda-kakaimpisip.
Now I can’t talk at all [not even little].

Mambuk onga kumba inga tambuimbape.
This spirit put a taboo on my talk and sago.
[em i tambuim toktok bilong me wantaim saksak – I can’t talk, can’t eat].

Tokombukmunj kunja aka wamono-ambia-pisip sok si-salimbape.
I can’t get sago puding down – the throat will send it back up again.

Meilgwaikun imbupeke yombon imbupe.
When I want to vomit, only the water will come up.

265
Mae kalak koju yainimbuk Moyambe tanan mundimponjan: tungumgoy laip kalak aka opepalik, tanan pimbu.
And because of that I said to Moyambe: I don’t know about my life [what’s going to happen to me], so I said.

BENNY [Miyak]
... sori tru, disla pasin nogut.
... sorry, this bad habit.

KUNUNDA
Ninj kujanja tok aka openak... [coughs].
I won’t see this child...

BENNY
I no street long ai bilong God mipela save mekim.
We’re doing wrong in the eyes of God.
Sori tru.
Sorry.

270
Kaikai yumi putim ia, yumi i no inap trikim God long dispela samtink.
We shouldn’t be tricking God with the food.

KUNUNDA
Ninj tongoj okoyk mamgoy ples ek.
I took [moved to] my elder sister’s village...

BENNY WANDIAP
God tasol bai tekewe.
Only God will take it away.

Long yumi mekim ia, God tasol bai rausim.
Whatever we screw up, God will fix.

Kaikai yumi putim ia, yumi putim natink.
We put the food in vain [to the spirits].

275
Olgeta samtink God tasol bai mekim.
Only God will do everything.

Mani yumi save givim, God tasol i save mekim olgeta samtink... [Miyak] ... tasol wanbel tru.
The money we’re giving, only God will do everything [...] but a true [spirit of] reconciliation / genuine [spirit of] reconciliation...

MOYAMBE
Kunjakanta elakay Wandiapan kakapongoy.
This very thing Wandiap is saying...
[that’s it, he’s right!]

BENNY WANDIAP
Wanbel tru yumi mas mekim nau. Sapos... [Miyak]
We have to truly reconcile now. If...

MOYAMBE
Yes, *em, mipela sikan, olsem.*
Yes, let’s shake hands, like this.

**KARUAP**

280 *Ambian anda Aymakan sikanmapim?*
Did Mum shake hands with Aymakan [her husband] too?

**MOYAMBE**

280 *Yes, em, mipela sikan, olsem.*
Yes, we reconcile, like this.

**Tenkyu tru.**
Thank you.

**Ambi, nangoy kolon. Palomay, nangoy kolon.**
Your hand, Mum. Your hand, Palomay.

[shaking hands]

**BENNY WANDIAP**

285 *Yu mas kamap long tinktink.*
You have to feel it/mean it/be sincere/it should be in your mind...

**IMBISAY**

285 *Noken pasim wok bilong God.*
Don’t hinder obstruct God’s work.

**MOYAMBE**

285 *Nanday aka kambat pukaimbalik.*
I’m genuinely worried about you/ I’m really thinking of you.

**Aka kambat pukaimbalik.**
I’m really worried about you.

290 *Ekemanim?*
Do you hear me?

**Kay kaña mae kañay kalak.**
That was a true cry. [narapela kain]

**Em pes- pespla taim kañay.**
First time that she cried.

**Ekepanim nan?**
Do you hear?

**Ambi, ekepanim?**
Mum, do you hear?

295 *Kundunkat palepa.*
Shoot/Point your ears now.

**Palomaysakay kañ, kañ kalak kay kañan kamapmbape.**
Palomay’s crying, this was another kind of a cry.
[a genuine one]

**Yu holim, na Yu mas i go olsem. Palomay i krai.**
You hold it and you must let it go [anger/resentment...], Palomay cried.

**Em Holi Spirit i krai, harim?**
This was Holy Spirit crying, you hear me?

**Nau tinktink elañan e ana.**
Yu mas kisim tinktink i go olsem.

300 *Nan wari tajan e.*
You have to take this worry/sorrow. [you have to accept it (as an offer)]

Kat anamgoy ekekoy.
I heard her crying.

Emepanda pungakay yumguk.
It has cut my lungs really well. [It has deeply moved me]
It has pierced my heart.

Koy kakapalik namumgoy yumgun imika kandenge kele tanan kaŋ.
So I’m saying, your lungs are huge [you keep holding anger and bagarapim other people in your thoughts], that’s why she cried like that.

Nanday kaŋa misai tanan kaŋanman.
She showed you, you should also cry like that.

Em nau bai yu wokabaut long disla sikan, em wanem ia, i gat kaikai blong em.
Now you will get well and walk again after this reconciliation, as it will bear fruits.

TANTANBUŊ

Yawŋ anda kolopongŋa iŋa Imbisay sakay yawaŋ.
Also, you should come and sit in Imbisay’s house.

IMBISAY

Angumgoy rum kanden kembok tongoy bikpela speis.
We have a big room [a lot of space] around the fireplace, a lot of space. [you can come and sleep with us]

KUNUNDA

Elaj imblakako, Karuapsaŋ kaŋ pokonjopapakandi... [overlapping speech – unintelligible]
I wanted to come there, but she [the spirit] pushed me here to Karuap’s house.

IMBISAY

Ol mangi planti, yambi mungainu tok. [??]
Many children, house shakes [when they jump on the sago flooring].

KUNUNDA

Yambumbuŋ yon imblakakoy Palomaysaŋ... [?? unintelligible]
I would like to come to Palomay’s fireplace.

KARUAP

Palomay kalak kaŋayke nanday eyai.
When Palomay cried, it seized you.

Puka i... [?? unintelligible]
She’s worried about you.

TANTANBUŊ

Kok tan Momay kumbia tian enjepalike sikanjiŋ opongjaenjepalik isnjia ukunjakapep konda imbupalik kopok endi pekepon anda. ... [?? unintelligible]
I was in Asangamut and I came up [to Kanjimei] to see her as she was sick and I went to cut firewood although my head was bleeding. [Tantanbuŋ has this problem...]

Isnjia ukunjakapep imbupalik, yomja kolopee imbupalik kay temay, tanan popalik.
I should sometimes go and cut some firewood for her, fetch some water for her. benefectory? should she or does she??

MOYAMBE

OK, kambanja mak kusay [mark kruse] mokonbep aninay.
OK, let’s make a little sign of the cross.

Ambi, yok kondakay mom noŋ papakŋaaimblakay.
Mum, that’s all, the talk they came to throw at you. [That’s all, they told you what they wanted to]

Orait. Ya yok kondakaym Tantanbuŋ an.
All right. That’s all, Tantanbuŋ has left.

Vitusan yok kondakaym?
Vitus, is that all?

IMBISAY
E. nĩŋ mom agalon.
I’ve got nothing more to say.

MOYAMBE
320
Yu man bilong givim bel.
You are a man of forgiving.

Em mama tasol.
It’s just my mother.

IMBISAY
Mi laik kisim em. Em tru tru. Tinktink bilong mi.
I wanted to :: True, these are my thoughts.

Olgeta spirit bilong mi kisim em.
My whole spirit kisim em.

TANTANBUŊ
Wanem tok bai em mekim? [...] What will he say?

YONGONDAM
325
Ya elakay.
That’s it.

Laikim, laikimbuŋ embepan.
They have to put it to liking.
They have to start liking each other.

Amba, amba tinktink an im imbonimim?
What, what thoughts did you get?

Spirit elakay.
This spirit.

Na yu yet tu yu laikim.
You also have to like.

330
Putim laikim bilong yu em trupela laikim, em laikim bilong God.
Your love must be true love, it’s God’s love.

Orait, olgeta sik bilong yu bai pinis.
All right, your sickness will finish.

Noken trikim God.
Don’t trick God.

MOYAMBE
Elakanda. Elak.
This too. This.

SAKAYMANŊ
Nĩŋ aka taykoimbok, nan ambla taykundimyaman.
I’m not angry with you, only you carry your anger around.

YONGONDAM
335
God sees into people’s hearts.

MOYAMBE
Aka pukupman, tasol em save pinis.
You don’t remember, but he knows.

OK, yumi pasim dispela blesing wantaim God Papa na Jisas yet, em bai witnesim, na Jisas yet bai blesim.
OK, let’s pasim this blessing with God the Father and Jesus will witness it, and Jesus himself will give a blessing.

Orait, God Papa, yu lukim pinis dispela sikan i kamap, yu yet i ken salim blesing bilong yu olsem ren i save pundaun long nait na de.
All right, Father, you’ve seen this reconciliation, you can now send your blessing like the rain falls by night and by day.

Blesing bilong yu mas kamap olsem, Papa, mipela tu i no inap long oraitim sik bilong mama.
Your blessing must come, Father, as we ourselves cannot oraitim sik bilong mama.

Yu lukim mi, olsem mi profet, tasol mama i nogat tras long mi tasol long hia long disla wok bilong mi.
You see me, [OR: opepalik – know] You know I’m a prophet, but my mother doesn’t trust me, she doesn’t trust my work.

Papa, yu ken marimari long em na em bai tanim bel sapos disla samtink i kisim em.
Father, you can have mercy on her nad she will convert [change her life for better] if this reaches her.

Em bai gat kaikai long em, na em bai gat pawa.
It will bear fruits and it will have power.

Papa, mipela yet i no inap olsem na tunait mipela i laik wokabaut wantaim yu tunait, mipela i laik harim gymepela tok bilong yu, bekim bilong yu.
Father, we’re not enough by ourselves, so we’d like to walk [be] with you tonight, we’d like to hear your good words, your answer.

Papa, mipela tu i no inap, mipela i samtink natink, wokmanmeri bilong yu tasol, mipela i nogat wankain pawa olsem yu.
Father, we’re not [powerful] enough, we’re nothing but your servants, we don’t have the same power as you do.

[...] na mipela olgeta i tok: Ona i go long Papa, na long Pikinini, na long Holi Spirit. Olsem taim bipo, nau, na oltaim, Amen.
... and we all say: Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

Sikan bilong yumi pinis. Yumi tenkim God.
Our reconciliation is finished. Let’s thank God.

KUNUNDA
Kalakiay mok i.
Hold this.

Mok i.
Hold it.

MOYAMBE
350 Vitus, a?
Hey, Vitus?
Ambi sakay kalakay.
This is Mum’s.
Mae emep...
First well...
Aymakan!
Aymakan!
Tantanbug a?
Hey, Tantanbug?

Ma! Ma! [baby Manu crying]
Here, take it. Here you are.

Tasia nambay yamba, mupe.
Look [pl], female spirit’s [Darja’s] torch.

MOYAMBE
Ambamja, e? [Ambam inja...]
What now, hah?

KUNUNDA
Apukainjan imbuk.
Me, his little grandmother is giving it [sago grubs for Imbisay’s child Manu].
Kalakiay wao kopanja.
Little bunch of sago grubs.

IMBISAY
Wao aka upalik, aunda tan tan kolopalik.
I don’t cut sago trunks for grubs, I sit just like that.

KARUAP
Hatwok amba imbalik, kalak.
I’m doing hard work for you.

IMBISAY
Palomay, a?
Hey, Palomay.

Mum kanapon.
The baby’s crying.

Tantanbug ape?
Where’s Tantanbug?

KARUAP
Kalak tok Palomayan tugumgoyo popalik.
Palomay is mine, I think.

Kalak kunja tema.
Only this once. [we’re shaking hands]
Wokimbape kalakiamgoy las wan.
This is the last time we did it [were angry with each other].

MOYAMBE
Karuap, a? Amban?
Hey, Karuap, what’s up?

IMBISAY
Sapos spirit i kisim em, God bai katim na rausim em pinis.
If the Spirit seized her, God will do away with it.
God bai katim na rausim oldpela spirit.
God will do away with the old spirit.

KARUAP
Nan tan tan aka pem, niq onga tonak. [...]
Don’t do it anymore, I’ll stand by her.
[scolding his mother for being angry with Palomay]
BENNY WANDIAP

Man bilong Kuninda i kam.
Kuninda’s husband’s coming.
Yumi bai kaikai long wapela pleit...
We’ll eat from one plate.

MOYAMBE

Kumi agalon. Aymakan, a?
No betel nuts. Hey, Aymakan.
Am, a. Am, a.
Hey, Mum. Mum.

IMBISAY

Yupela kaikai.
You guys should eat.
Mi putim tasol han bilong mi.
I just came to give my hand. [showed laikim pasin]
Mi laikim.
I like. ?? [There’s no anger in me]
Laikim bilong mi em save dip mo, laikim bilong mi.
My liking is profound, my liking.
Taim mi save tok – mi – laikim bilong narapela man, mi ... mi no save kam long ...
m, mi laikim bilong mi em dip mo.
When I talk – I – other people’s liking, I ... I don’t come to ... I, my liking is deep.

KARUAP

OK, mi laikim yupela. [not a man of words – wants to eat]
OK, I like you all.

TANTANBUJ

Akanja, akanja pøja kele. Plis.
Bad, don’t say no. Please.
Akanja pøjan.
Don’t reject it.

Mok.
Hold it.

YONGONDAM

Ma kalakay. [...]
Take this.

KARUAP

Iis, pakane!
Come on, take it away.

MOYAMBE

Anamgo a kopoña amba inay.
She herself will make her own. ???
Mani westimbatoman, mae tanjan yañaimbuk.
You’re wasting money, I told her like that.
Nangoy omun baimbapman, baimbapmangoy. OK, yu lukaut.
You’ve bought your body, you’ve saved your life. OK, watch out.

new scene

MOYAMBE

Pokopay nan ekepanim kundumba? [overlapping speech – unintelligible]
Have your ears heard Palomay?
Tantanbuj a, Tantanbuj ape?
Hey, Tantanbuŋ, where’s Tantanbuŋ?

_Tantanbuŋ aka opepalik._

I can’t see Tantanbuŋ.

_Mokonde kwi kay._

You guys take the one [plate] over there.

_Mamda kay endaŋ kamaphape anamgoy yumga mae papakay._

First she came along another way, she threw her lungs away.

**BENNY WANDIAP**

_Skelim – skelim as bilong sik bilong em._ [Miyak]

Thinking, thinking about the source of the sickness.

**MOYAMBE**

_Inja mae tanjan pok._

Good that I thought so.

_Ambian kele kay menda mae ekaŋjindimbon pok._

I thought Mum called me in another language. [he was surprised, as she called him for reconciliation]

new scene

??

_Amba mae nangomgoy kumununŋ mae elokiy kombonŋ yomoy manŋay | komba._

What [spirit – AVOIDANCE] of your mother is sleeping on her neck

??

| Em streṭ. |
| That’s true. |

_Ya kele nokomga koŋ mokotukupon._

And that’s what makes her sleepy.

_Elakamgonŋ-jay pondi._

I think that’s what she said.

_Tantan yaŋandi kumununŋuŋ._

Your mother[’s spirit] said so.

**KUNUNDA**

_Menduk onŋa komokopon._

My tongue is dry.

_Kuminjanda aka nombempisip._

I can’t eat sago pudding.

**MOYAMBE**

_Mam onŋa pokokolipon._

[The spirit] hit her with yawning.

**KUNUNDA**

_Ambla, ambla..._  

Separate... [two brothers]

new scene

**TANTANBUŊ**

_Nanomjaiŋ tekeŋ nan pegga iman oluk yawayŋ._

Em i stap long yu, yu kam bringim long haus bilong man. (p.96)

_Ya nan kele piakapan kendenda._

And you abandoned it again.

_Nan aka piakanman._

You shouldn’t have abandoned it.

_O, an pekipompay._  

Oh, I think he’s wrong.
Save nanga aka imban – tokombok amga-amgam?
You’re not giving your knowledge – what about my throat now?

MOYAMBE

Akanja kok kalak.
What a bad cough.

TANTANBUŇ

Tokombokmun akanja.
My throat is bad.
[I have a sore throat].

Mae anda amba i anda imbuŋ.
What did (s)he do – he just went.

Marasin anda marasin tambu agalon Godun embepeke.
Just medicines. Medicines are not forbidden, God gave them.

Mae mae, mae mae.
Before, before.

MOYAMBE

Paip kinan kalak?
These five Kina?

KUNUNDA

Paip kinan tanan pakana.
Take these five Kina.

MOYAMBE

Amba graun fi, ambay amgoy kalak kos kandeyge kamaphaponoy kalak konj embepeke.
What, ground fee for this big course which is coming, I’ll set them aside for that. I’ll put them aside for the ground fee for this big course [Karismetik manmeri] which is coming.

Paip kina kalak konj embepeke kiay pakapep aninak.
That’s what I will put aside these five kina for, which I will take now.

Long putim go long disla bikpela workshop kamap long hap ia.
For this big workshop which is about to take place down there.

Liniswo amgoy.
For Renewal.

Kalak kosunj embepeke kele kan aka amba inak.
I’ll set it aside for that course, I won’t use it here.

Kalakiay aka eman?
You won’t take this?

BENNY WANDIAP

Yu holim. [laughter]
Hold it.

KUNUNDA [Miyak]

TANTANBUŇ

Agalonay.
It will finish [sickness].

An opimbaponayke agalonay.
When it’s off, it will finish.

Wampela susa bilong yu.
Your sister.

MOYAMBE

Konjgot nan kaunwa waia aka noman?
Koŋgot [Darja], you’re not eating rice?

*Kauŋwa waia naŋga na.*
Eat rice.

**DARJA**

Niŋ mamda numbuk.
I’ve already eaten it.

**MOYAMBE**

*A, mamda nomanim?*
Ah, you’ve already eaten [finished] it?

*Yo, kunjakanta imbupa mamda mae ambi sakay kola mokoyke.*
Give him one [Kina], he’s already shaken hands with Mum.

*Elakay.*
Here.

**TANTANBUŃ**

Andaŋgi namba kiay imbupon, nangoy mungulia kay kiay.
Give it to Andaŋgi’s wife [taboo], she’s another daughter of yours.

**YOŊGONDAM**

*Mae kolon pondongga iňike.*
She came to shake hands with you.

**MOYAMBE**

*Tay ulusike, ulusumangoy.*
She put a taboo sign on sago [she prohibited others to use her sago], you put it too.

**YOŊGONDAM**

*Nungulain kumbia aunda tanjan laikimbapon.*
You have to like all your daughters.

*Sakaymanšaŋ tanjan yambokolopon ambem.*
You should go and sleep at Sakayman’s.

*Palomaysaŋ tanjan ambem.*
And at Palomay’s.

*Elak ekepanim?*
You hear this?

*Mae mae ulisike pes konj ambai.*
You bin tambuim saksak, and the sickness came.

 ulusipalik – PRES.
 ulusuk – PAST

**KUNUNDA**

*Imbisay amiŋ Aymakan amiŋ tanjan aka tola.*
Imbisay and Aymakan are not like that.

**Tantanbuŋ aniŋ.**
Tantanbuŋ and her [brothers].

*Ya kele, niŋ anda nase ekepok kakapeke.*
I also heard this talk [about sago] before.

*Mayp mayp tonuŋaŋay.*
I think they [Imbisay and Aymakan] are far, far away from each other.

*An tok kay sikel elaŋ kandişiike.*
She [the spirit] grew up with different kind of knowledge. (p.98)/ in different times.

*Em i kamap bikpela long narapela kain save (kastam bilong bipo).*
Ya kele elaj andunj mawia mokondi kele. 
And so she's holding me strong.

Nase elok Aymakanan paulimba pondike kiamgon onga pukutiŋay anda
Bipo tru, taim Aymakan i paulim mi [long sampela toktok]. I think this [avoidance – spirit] hit (bit me up) as well. [Aymakan said she was jealous of Palomay.]

Kele elekamgon ipindakanan kele kan takunan.
All this [hevi] went loose and came to sit on my shoulder.

Aunda paulimba pondikeŋ.
He paulim mi.

Ya yok kondakay.
That’s all.

YONGONDAM

Nan God mom trupelakay yaŋimbem.
You told God the truth.

God tok munjaya imbbon yungguj kulamba.
God is looking into the 'chamber' of your lungs.
God will look into your heart.

KUNUNDA

Palomay, o, paka, o? Sakayman, o. [...] 
Hey, Palomay... who? Hey, Sakayman...

MOYAMBE

Ambi, a, ya niŋ ambuk.
Mum, I’m leaving...

Aymakan anŋay.
I think Aymakan has left.

YONGONDAM

Elakay.
Em nau.

Nae nan onga ende eke nambun onga.
Yesterday you and your wife got it [avoidance – illness].

Laikim yutupela yet.
The two of you have to like each other.

KUNUNDA

Kamokoy, a.
My mouth is dry.

YONGONDAM

It’s not dry. This is the only way [rubbish, you’re making it up]. Sutim-Pulumapim. Push/ Force it down.

KUNUNDA

Aka palowakapem pisip tok.
This is not pushable.
[I can’t do it.]

YONGONDAM

Aunda enda.
No other way. Giaman, i no tru.

Neŋ numbun onga ne.
You and your man should eat together.

Laikim tanan ton.
That’s how you like each other. laikim i stap olsem
Numbon mun pokopeke nan anda onga na.
Your husband has touched it a little, you should also eat.

KUNUNDA
Aka tokonak.
I won’t swallow [it].

MOYAMBE
OK, tripla kauntimhapo pep na.
OK, I’ll count to three and you eat.

YOONGONDAM
Aunda numbon laikimbapo pep onga koloe ka ngaumbu onga.
You just have to like your husband and the two of you have to cut [eat with hands] sago pudding and cry together.

Ekemanim?
You hear me?

Mamda yok nangoy kaikai manin brukimbapman.
You’ve already spent your money to buy this food.

MOYAMBE
Am, a, ambik, ambik niŋ.
Hey Mum, Mum, I’m going now.

YOONGONDAM
Ambik Kununda, ambik, o.
Hey Kununda, I’m leaving.

Nan God alay ambik ipa.
Do what [pray] to God.

Yomonak, God, tanjan pimbem.
‘I’m going to sleep now, God,’ tell him like that.

MOYAMBE
Yoongondam, a...
Hey, Yoongondam...
Appendix H:

Transcript of a lament:
Crying for Akaim - *pukupuku kanaŋpla*

[Moyambe/Kununda cry for their brother/son Akaim_AUDIO 2009/05/003Moyambe krai long Akaim]

Transcription conventions followed below:

SPEAKERS' NAMES in capital letters, each in a full line preceding the speaker's first words

1 line numbers

*Awiaakay*

*Tok Pisin*

*English*

[background information or other interpolations]

interlinear glosses

[clarification of translation]

Moyambe starts weeping in the church, continuing on the way to Namay's house where, as soon as
the service is over, Akaim will be buried.

**MOYAMBE:**

1 *Ayo, kanjaŋ opia inakim?*
   *Ayo, where will I see you again?*

   *Ayo, kanjaŋ opia inakim nokomgukmunŋ?*
   *Ayo, where will I see you again with my eyes?*

   *Ayo, kanjaŋ opia inakim nokomgukmunŋ?*
   *Ayo, where will I see you again with my eyes?*

   *Aka opiainakŋay.*
   *I don't think I will see you again.*

5 *Nokomgukmumŋ aka mulakainak.*
   *I won't see you off with my eyes.*

   *Nokomgukmumŋ aka pam aka mulakainak.*
   *There's no way, I won't see you off with my eyes.*

7 *Niŋ ambla amunga amunga tonakim?*
   *Why, oh why will I remain alone?*

8 *Ayo, Akaim o, amunga pendimaman?*
   *Ayo, Akaim oh, why did you take your leave of me?*

   *Niŋ ambla amunga tonakim?*
   *Why will I remain alone?*

10 *Akaim o, ayo, ayo, amunga amunga pendiman?*
   *Akaim, oh, ayo, ayo, why did you take your leave of me?*

   *Akaim, nan kalaŋ kolopmangoy nangoy pombunj.*
   *Akaim, you were sitting on your log [in church].*

   *Akaim o, ayo, ayo, kanja kumbiaŋ opia inakim?*
   *Akaim oh, ayo, ayo, where will I see you again?*
Akaim o, ayo, ayo, ayo!
Akaim oh, ayo, ayo, ayo!

Akaim o, niŋ lotu musuay mokopalik, ey nanomsaŋ pokomokonpalik.
Akaim oh, you were the only one who helped me while I was doing church work. [I received your and no one else’s help]

Nan ambla lukautimbasundimban nombembug.
Only you were helping me with food.

Ayo, ayo Akaim o, nanumgoy kunganja andomba pengumaman?
Ayo, ayo, Akaim o, why did you take your leave of your children?

Akaim o, aka tapukan pengumaman.
Akaim o, you weren’t an old man to have taken your leave of us.

Ayo, Jonathan, ayo, Vitus o, Akaim agalon!
Ayo, Jonathan, ayo, Vitus, Akaim’s no more [gone]!

Ayo, ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o, kunganja andomba pengumaman, nan aka tapuka.
Ayo, ayo, Akaim oh (x3) why did you take your leave of your children, you weren’t old.

Kunganja ambamba pengumaman, nan aka tapuka.
Why did you take your leave of your children, you weren’t old.

Ayo, Akaim o.
Ayo, Akaim oh.

Ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o, niŋ ambla amonga koloponakim?
Ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim oh, why will I just be alone now?

Ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o.
Ayo, Akaim oh, Akaim oh.

Nan amonga pengumaman, aŋ ambla koloponanjim?
Why did you take your leave of us, how will we be alone now?

Yao musuay nangoy ambamba peaman?
Why did you abandon building your house?

Ayo, Akaim o.
Ayo, Akaim o.

Akaim o, nanumgoy yao-tenge aka pinisimbapoman
Akaim o, you haven’t finished the awning on your house yet.

Nanumgoy yao pakan pinisimbapamon?
Who will finish your house now?

Ayo, Akaim o.
Ayo, Akaim oh.

Upim aka andoman nanumgoy yawn.
You haven’t spread the limbum floor

Nangoy yao upim pakan andonaim?
Who will lay the limbum floor in your house?

Yao aka pinisimbapoman.
You haven’t finished your house yet.

Yambat aka paloman.
You haven’t fitted sago palm slats into the walls yet.

Akaim o.
Akaim oh.

Ayo, Akaim o, tenge aka pinisimbapoman.
Ayo, Akaim oh, you haven’t finished the awning over your veranda yet.

Ayo, ayo, ayo!
Ayo, ayo, ayo!

*Ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o!*

Ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim oh, Akaim oh!

Amunça amunça pengumanman, ayo, Akaim o?

Why oh why did you take your leave of us, Akaim oh?

*As ambla kolopungoy kumbiy.*

Only the two of us stayed in the village.

[as if we were the only two people in the village]

40 Niŋ nanomsan pokomokonbok.

You were the only one who helped me.

[yours was the only help I received]

Asao o, Akaim agalon!

Asao oh, Akaim’s gone!

Saun o, Akaim agalon!

Saun oh, Akaim’s gone!

Ayo, Akaim o!

Ayo, Akaim oh!

[...]

45 Akaim, amunça amunça penguman am pakalay ekepenan'am ayo, ayo, ayo!

Akaim oh, why oh why did you abandon us? Who will we now go and ask for help when we need something?

Ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o!

Ayo, Akaim oh, Akaim oh, Akaim oh!

[noise – others crying]

NAMAY

Ayo, apo, apo, apo, ayo, ayo, apo, apo, apo, apo!

Ayo, big brother (x3), ayo, big brother... !

*Apo, apo! Ambamba penguman an ambla amunça koloponan'am?*

Big brother, why did you take your leave of us, why do we have to be alone now?

Ayo, apo, apo, apo!

Ayo, big brother!

50 Ayo, apo, apo! Ayo, apo, apo!

Ayo, big brother!

Niŋ amba inakim, toŋgoy apo?

What will I do now, oh my big brother?

YONGONDAM

52 Akaim tungumgoy, Akaim tungumgoy, amba inakim, Akaim tungumgoy?

Oh my Akaim, oh my Akaim, what will I do, oh my Akaim?

*Ayo, Akaim tungumgoy amunça amunga, Akaim tungumgoy?*

Ayo, my Akaim, why oh why, my Akaim?

Akaim tungumgoy, an emep kolopeke, ayo, Akaim o!

Oh my Akaim, you weren’t even sick, ayo, Akaim oh!

55 Akaim o! Jisas nan ambla opepan, Akaim sakay sik, ayo, Jisas o!

Akaim oh! Jesus, only you know what Akaim’s sickness was, ayo, Jesus, oh!

Ake niŋ pakalay ekepenakim Akaim amunça amunga penguman?

Oh dear, who will I ask for help [if I need anything], oh Akaim, why oh why did you leave us?

Akaim tungoy, Akaim tungoy, Akaim tungoy, Akaim tungoy!

Oh my Akaim, my Akaim, my Akaim, my Akaim!

*Ayo, amunça amungam, Akaim, ambamba penguman?*
Ayo, why oh why, Akaim, why did you take your leave of us?

_Akaim tumungumgoy kak yawa aka endepalepman, Akaim tumungumgoy._
Oh my Akaim, you haven’t finished your house yet, my Akaim!

60

_Akaim tumungumgoy. abu sakay kan tapukan yao aka endepalepman. o Akaim o!_
My Akaim, you haven’t built a house at your grand-father’s old garden, oh, Akaim oh!

ANDOK [addressing the young men who put the coffin into the grave in a wrong way]

61

_Uñi tanan aka wakapepala alukunja._
You can’t bury a man like that.

_Pondonguy pangakapla koponuy._
His head should be turned towards the mountain.

[many cry + burial]

MOYAMBE

63

_Akaim pukuimbaliak, ayo, ayo, ayo!_
Akaim, I miss you, ayo, ayo ayo!

_Akaim tam yandopep aka aman mapeŋ tai pukundimbep ayo, ayo, ayo!_
Akaim, you never took the dogs to the bush without thinking of me [and giving me part of their kill], ayo, ayo, ayo!

65

_Akaim o, ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim o!_
Akaim oh, ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim oh!

_Ayo, ayo! Akaim o, Akaim o!_
Ayo, ayo! Akaim oh, Akaim oh!

_Ayo! Ayo! Akaim oh, Akaim oh!_
Ayo! Ayo! Akaim oh! Akaim oh!

_Niy ambla koloponakŋay, Akaim oh, ayo, ayo!_
I think I’ll be alone now, Akaim oh, ayo, ayo!

_Akaim o, ayo, ayo!_

70

_Akaim tumungumgoy, andamba pengumaman, ayo, Akaim o?_
Oh my Akaim, why did you leave me, ayo, Akaim oh?

_Akaim o!_

~

_Kunanja andomba pangumaman, ayo, Akaim o?_
Why did you take your leave of your children, ayo, Akaim oh?

_Akaim pakalay ekepenakim?_
Akaim, who will I go and ask [for anything]?

_Lewa ia, Akaim, lewa ia!_
Oh my heart, Akaim, oh my heart!

75

_Ake, ake, Akaim o!_
Oh dear, oh dear, Akaim oh!

_Akaim, pakalay ekepenakim nombemba, Akaim?_
Akaim, who will I ask for food, Akaim?

_Amonga amongam, Akaim o, yao aka pinisimbapomon, Akaim, yao nanomgoy._
Why oh why, Akaim oh, you haven’t finished the house, Akaim, your house.

_Akaim o, amgwa amgwam paulimhapundiman tumgoy mimik?_
Akaim oh, why oh why did you break my heart?

_Niy ambla amgwa tonakim?_
How will I be by myself?

80

_Ayo, Akaim o, Akaim! Akaim! Akaim! Akaim! Akaim!_
Akaim o, yao nanumgoy aka pinisimbapomangay! Akaim! Akaim! Akaim! Akaim!
Akaim oh, you haven’t finished your house! Akaim! (x4)

Akaim o, kanjan amanin? Ayo, Akaim o!
Akaim oh, where did you go? Ayo, Akaim oh!

Akaim, kolon-usa kakayjay nan pekemangoy.
Akaim oh, I think this is your footprint, you must have come down this way.

Akaim tungungoy, mimik manga!
Oh my Akaim, my heart!

85 Kasipa manga ambla enjenanakjay.
I think I’ll have to go to Kasipa hill by myself.

Kulakap manga ambla enjenanakjay, ayo, Akaim o!
I think I’ll have to go to Kulakap hill by myself, ayo, Akaim oh!

Mundumi manga ambla enjenanakjay.
I think I’ll have to go to Mundumi hill by myself.

Kulakap manga ambla enjenanakjay, ayo, Akaim o!
I think I’ll have to go to Kulakap hill by myself, ayo, Akaim oh!

Yao aka endemanyay, yao amgwa peaman?
You haven’t finished your house yet, why did you take your leave of us?

90 John aluuka aka yakay, ayo, Akaim o!
John [Akaim’s son] hasn’t become a man yet, ayo, Akaim oh!

Ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim o!

Akaim o, yao tenga aka pinisimbapomanay, ayo, Akaim o!
Akaim oh, you haven’t finished the awning over your veranda yet, ayo, Akaim oh!

Amgwa amgwa tonakim, aka ekendoman!
Why oh why did you take your leave of us, you hadn’t let me know/asked me!

Niij pakan ekemenakim?
Who will I ask [for anything] now?

95 Akaim o!
Akaim oh!

Niij ambla amgwa tonakim, Akaim o?
How will I be by myself now?

Akaim o, ake, ake, ake! Akaim o!
Akaim oh, oh dear, oh dear, oh dear! Akaim oh!

Akaim o, Akaim o, ayo, ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o!

Ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o!

100 Akaim amgwam amgwam, niij ambla inakim, ayo, Akaim o?
Akaim, why oh why, what will I do by myself, Akaim oh?

Nam pisip walopman tay niij kon panainga wambopok tay, unja kele aka panaingakjay tay.
You were pounding sago like a real woman, and I was asking you for it, now I won’t be asking you for it anymore.

Akaim o, aka ekendiman mapey ambemba!
Akaim oh, you didn’t ask me to go to the bush [hunting] with you.

Mundumi manga enjen-ambemba.
We’ll go up to Mundumi hill.

Olanmay mapa ambemba.
We’ll go to Olanmay hill.
Mapej aka anajim, Embekembia mapa Kanam mapa, Akaim o!
We didn’t go to the Embekembia bush, we didn’t go to the Kanam bush, Akaim o!

Andamba pendimaman kuñanja wakon niñ ambla aka lukautimbapem-pisip, Akaim o!
Why did you take your leave of us, I won’t be able to take care of all the children, Akaim oh!

Kuñanja lukautimbapopalungoy sapot tungumgoy, Akaim o!
We were taking care of our children together, you were my support, Akaim oh!

Ayo, Akaim o!
Ayo, Akaim oh!

Tem ambla mulakanak, Akaim o!
I alone will be looking at the sun, Akaim oh!

Kasipay aka anajay
I don’t think we’ll go to Kasipa hill
Tanekumbi aka anajay, Akaim o!
I don’t think we’ll go to Tanekumbi, Akaim oh!

Ayo, Akaim o, ayo, Akaim o!
Ayo, Akaim oh, ayo, Akaim oh!

Wok misin ambla aka mokoym-mokoym-pisippopalik, ayo, Akaim o!
I don’t think I can do my mission work by myself, ayo, Akaim oh!

Wok misin ayo, Akaim o!
Mission work, ayo, Akaim oh!

Akaim tungumgoy, ayo, Akaim tungumgoy!
My Akaim, ayo, my Akaim!

Ayo, ayo, ayo, amgwa amgwa pendimaman, Akaim?
Ayo, ayo, why oh why did you leave us, Akaim?

Akaim, kanjan aman, ayo, Akaim o?
Akaim, where did you go, ayo, Akaim oh?

Akaim tungumgoy o, kanjan aman, Akaim?
My Akaim, where did you go, my Akaim?

Ayo, aye, aye, aye, aye!
Ayo, oh dear, oh dear, oh dear!

Ayo, ayo, ayo, lewa o!
Ayo, ayo, ayo, my heart!

Akaim o, aye, aye, ayo!
Akaim oh, oh dear, oh dear, ayo!

Akaim o, ambla tonakñay niñ.
Akaim oh, I think ‘m alone now.

Kanjan aman, Akaim?
Where did you go, Akaim?

Ayo, Akaim o, ayo, ayo, Akaim o!
Ayo, Akaim oh, ayo, ayo, Akaim oh!

Ayo, Akaim o, taymba aka ekepaininga wamonakñay kolokotnba kuñanja asumgoy makaimba.
Ayo, Akaim oh, I won’t be coming to ask you for sago and meat to feed our children.

Ayo, Akaim o, taymba aka ekepaininga wamonakñay kolokotnba kuñanja asumgoy makaimba.

Wesley sakay, Jennifer sakay kola-imbia aka noman, ayo, Akaim o!
Ayo, Akaim oh, you haven’t eaten the dirt of Wesley’s and Jennifer’s hands. [you haven’t lived of the sweat of Wesley’s and Jennifer’s brows]

Ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o!
Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o!

Amgwa amgwa pendimaman??
Why oh why did you leave us?

130 Gavman wok pisip koy piakanapok, wok-misin-plaka koy aka piakanak, Akaim o!
Were I working for the government I would resign, but I can’t abandon mission work, oh Akaim!

Ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o!

Akaim o, kanjan aman, Akaim o?
Akaim oh, where did you go, Akaim oh?

135 Aye, aye, aye, ayo, ayo, ayo!
Ayo, Akaim oh, ayo, my heart!

Akaim o, ake, ake, ake, Akaim o!
Akaim oh, oh dear, oh dear, oh dear, Akaim oh!

Akaim o, ake, ake, Akaim o!
Akaim oh, oh dear, oh dear, Akaim oh!

[...??]
Akaim o, tungumgoj kanjandang amanim?
Oh my Akaim, where did you go?

Taymha aka ekepainga wamonakjhay kolokotnba kujanja asumgoy makaimba.
Now I won’t be able to come and ask you for sago for feeding our children.

140 Wesley sakay, Jennifer sakay kolaimhia aka nomangay, ayo, Akaim o!
I think you won’t live of the sweat of Wesley’s and Jennifer’s brows, ayo, Akaim oh!

Ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim o, Akaim o!

Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o!

Akaim o, as aka nambokonjinjy ongwa yakam.
Akaim oh, we didn’t grow up with a sister.

As ambla oluka enda yakam.
Only us men...

145 Ayo, ayo, ayo, ayo, ayo, ayo, ayo!

Lewa bilong mi, wok bilong misin, yu save helpim mi, ayo, Akaim o!
Oh my heart, you helped me with mission work, ayo, Akaim oh!

Bilong wanem yu brukim mi olsen, ayo, lewa bilong mi, Akaim o, ayo, ayo!
Why did you break my heart like this, ayo, Akaim oh, ayo, ayo!

Ayo, ayo, Akaim o!

Kujanja asumgoy amgwa amgwa pangumaman?
Why oh why did you take your leave of our children?

150 [at the same time Akaim’s mother Kununda is crying]

MOYAMBE

Akaim tungumgojy!
Oh my Akaim!

[two persons’ weeping overlaps]
Akaim, amgwa amgwa ponakim, Akaim!
Akaim oh, why oh why, what will I do now, Akaim!

Ayo, ayo, amba inkaim, Akaim tungungoy?
Ayo, ayo, what will I do, oh my Akaim?

Akaim o, yao kulamba eyenainjay, ayo, Akaim o!
Akaim oh, your house will be cold now, ayo, Akaim oh!

Kasipa aka aninanggim?
Won’t we go to Kasipa [hill]?

Tanekumbi aka aninanggim?
Won’t we go to Tanekumbi [hill]?

Mundumi mangga aka aninanggim?
Won’t we go to Mundumi hill?

Ayo, amgwa amgwa pendimaman?
Ayo, why oh why did you take your leave of me?

Ayo, ayo, ayo!

Kuṇanja aka kandeyi pua, pisikanda amgwa amgwa pendimaman?
The children are not big yet, why oh why did you take your leave of them so soon?

Kuṇanja mengangumbeke opendinga pekepman menge-kamia onga.
When the children were hungry you would come and bring me some meat.

Ayo, Akaim o!
Ayo, Akaim oh!

Akaim o, aunda musuaya pisip koy piakanapok wok misin palaka koy aka piakanak, Akaim o!
Were it any kind of job I would leave it, but I can’t abandon mission work.

Ayo, amba inakim, Akaim o, Akaim o, Akaim o?
Ayo, what will I do, Akaim oh, Akaim oh, Akaim oh?

Ayo, ayo, ayo, temun ambopon.
Ayo, ayo, ayo, the sun is setting [time is passing].

Yara yara ambla mulakanak, tepaya tepaya ambla mulakanak.
Year after year I will watch alone, moon after moon I will watch alone.

Wok misin niq ambla mokonakjhay, ayo, Akaim o!
I’ll have to be doing my mission work alone, ayo, Akaim oh!

Nanday aka opiaiakjhay haus lotuj.
I won’t see you in the church.

Ayo, ayo, Akaim o!

Wai na yu brukim mi olsem, ayo, Akaim o!
Why did you break me like this, ayo, Akaim oh!

Akaim o, Akaim o, amgwa amgwa paulimbapundiman?
Akaim oh, Akaim oh, why oh why did you break me like this?

Kuṇanja nanumgoy amgwa amgwa pangumaman, ayo, Akaim o?
Why oh why did you take your leave of your children, ayo, Akaim oh?

Ambaydaj amanim kuṇanja emepanda lukautimbapangumpmongoy [kakaruk i krai]
Wherever you went you used to take good care of children […]

Wok aka penak wok marimari, ayo, Akaim o.
I won’t abandon the work of mercy, ayo, Akaim oh.

Ayo, Akaim o, Akaim tungungoy, Akaim o.
Ayo, Akaim oh, my Akaim, Akaim oh.

Akaim o, nan ambla lukautimbapundiman wok misin mokopokoy.
Akaim oh, you alone were taking care of me when I was doing my mission work.

_Nan kuluk pisip toman._
You were like my father.

_Tungoy kunanja makandimbopman niŋ wok misin mokopokoy._
You were taking care of my children when I was doing mission work.

_Ayo, amba endiman, ayo, ayo, ayo!_
Ayo, what are you doing to me, ayo, ayo, ayo, ayo!

_Ayo, ake, ake, ake, Akaim o!_
Ayo, oh dear, oh dear, Akaim oh!

180_Ayo, Akaim tungumgoy o, Akaim, aka opia inakŋay longpela yia._
Ayo, oh my Akaim, Akaim I won’t see you for many years.

_Ayo, ake, ake, ayo, Akaim o!_
Ayo, oh dear, oh dear, ayo, Akaim oh!

_Akaim, amgwam amgwam, ayo, ayo, Akaim!_
Akaim, why oh why, ayo, ayo, Akaim!

_Tamba inga amangay mapeŋ menge pokoinba._
You only took your dog and went to the bush to hunt [that’s why your house is empty, you’re not dead].

_Ayo, Akaim o, Akaim tungumgoy, Akaim o!_
Ayo, Akaim oh, oh my Akaim, Akaim oh!

185_Aunda tonapokoy wok misin plaka pukumalik ples nogut ia, sevim lai_ctx bilong komuniti._
If I didn’t have a job [I would give up], but I’m concerned about the mission work – it’s not a good place, I’m saving the life of the community.

186_Hauss lotu yakayke, anŋ wok profeti pisip tohnj kumbi._
But the church is here and we’ve got prophetic work, so I’m staying in the village.

_Konpremasio nan kakamangoŋ koŋ oŋga koŋ mokoŋ kumbiŋ, ayo, ayo!_
You talked about Confirmation and we made it in the village, ayo, ayo.

_Amgwa amgwam pendimaman, ayo, ayo, Akaim o!_
Why oh why did you take your leave of me, ayo, ayo, Akaim oh!

_Akaim o, amgwam amgwam pundiman pakan katibmpaim nangoy lai_ctx, ayo, ayo, ayo, Akaim o, Akaim tungumgoy o!_
Oh Akaim, why oh why did you take your leave of me like that, who shortened your life like that?

190_Ayo, ake, ake, ake, amgwam amgwam pundiman, Akaim o!_
Ayo, oh dear, oh dear, why oh why did you take your leave of me like that, Akaim oh!

[Moyambe finishes his lament, continued by Kununda]

KUNUNDA

191_Ai, ai, Akaim a!_
Ai, ai, Akaim a!

_Akaim a! Akaim a!_
Akaim a! Akaim a!

MOYAMBE

193_Niŋ omuk aka pplatupi, bikos niŋ haibel rid pinisimbapok makunŋ yakak._
I’m not shaking [I’m not afraid] because I’ve read the whole Bible from scratch.

_Sapos wok bilong gavaman, inap mi lusim; wok bilong misin na bai mi stap._
Were it a government job I had I’d abandon it, but because it’s mission work I will stay.

[KUNUNDA crying]

MOYAMBE
Am, a, am, tai okokondimben.
Mum, hey, mum, follow my way. [my example]

Ambia enda aka yakaim.
Don’t stand on one path.

Taim okokondimango endunj yakanman.
If you follow me [do the same as I do], you will be on the [right] path.

An anda endanj wame.
He [Akaim] went up.

Kambanjanda aka mongumbe.
He didn’t wait for us at all.

[KUNUNDA crying, calling Akaim with her weak, hoarse voice]

MOYAMBE

Ambi, baibelunj tanan kakay: mae man i aipas, i no save long Jisas, em bai krai planti, man i save olsem em i bilip long mi, em bai mi kirapim em long las de.
Mum, it says so in the Bible: before, when the man was blind and didn’t know about Jesus, he’d cry a lot, but the man who knows me, believes in me, I will bring this man back to life on the last day.

Bai yu lukim pikinini bilongyu long las de.
Yu will see your child on the last day.

Dispela tok em i strongpela tok.
These are powerful words.

Nan emep putim-iaubapem.
Listen carefully.

Wari save bagarapim man.
Grieving can destroy you.

Mom tungumgiay okok.
Follow my words.

Mom tungumgoy okokonmamgoy, emep endan kamapaponman.
If you follow my words, you will find yourself on the right path.

[KUNUNDA crying]

MOYAMBE

Mama, inap nau!
Mother, enough now!

Stopim dispela maux!
Stop this kind of crying.

Yu mas lukluk long mi!
Follow my example.
I've got very special work.

Mum, you must follow my example. If you break my heart, you will cry again.

What if you lose me as well?

The one who doesn’t believe will cry a lot.

If you know Jesus, no crying.

He went to a place of joy.

You too are only here for a short while, mum.

Mum, stop now!

I'm carrying the same kind of pain.

I [feel] the same.

Why are you choosing the path of sorrow?

You too will go this way.

Why will you too go? p. 41

Come on, come back!
Appendix I:

The myth of Kaunjambi

Told by its owner Alus Mandum on 19 July 2004. Kambras is his ancestor

Transcription conventions followed below:

1 line numbers

Awiakay

Tok Pisin

[background information or other interpolations]

interlinear glosses

[clarification of translation]

1 Koponan we, kopoñan wonmun kele nambokonja pukiyambianj, pukiyambianj, pukiyambianj.

A brother died and his sister grieved, grieved and grieved while walking around.

puki-yamb-
carry.in.thoughts-walk.around-

Ya kele. tiaij, tiaij, tiaj kay teman miman konda injakay konda paulmbepe.

She kept grieving while walking around and at a certain point she realised she got lost.

Paulimbepeke aunda Simay sakay kumbij kamawape.

She kept wandering and eventually came to [her brother’s] Simay’s place.

Aunda Simay sakay kumbij kamaapwamunm ya kele, Simayan konda ekepe:

So she came to Simay’s place and he asked her:

5 “Amba iman?”

“What are you doing?”

“M, kopoñikmun wonmun konj pukuyamban aundauñi konj kamawaponga pekek nangoy kumbij. “

What, my brother died and I’m grieving while walking around, and so it happened that I wandered into your place.”

“O, inja, kamawapoman unja endinawa lain elak amgoy.”

That’s good that you came here, they’re going to sing now.

Misim epla pi.

They’re just collecting decorations and painting their faces.

[ol i bilas]

Misim epiñ, endamuñ konda yakay.

It was late afternoon by the time they decorated themselves.

Ya kele, konda eke punjim mumbia pokopimbakay.

And so she heard the sound of hand-drums that they were beating.

Poko alo pimbakay, konda endi wamba.

They were beating the hand-drums and went up singing.

Endi wambakay, wambakay, wambakay, wambakay aunda yawñ wamba.

The song [singers and dancers] was coming up, coming up, coming up, coming up into the house.

An nam yok mamda emambipe mat kulambay.

Before that, he [Simay] had hidden the woman into a mat.
Endipiaji, endipiaji, endipiaji, endipiaji, endipiaji kandokoy tem konda endiwa tem endiwa.
They went on singing and dancing all night until the sun came up and they sang the song of the sun.

Tem endipuaakiya konda opeyaniwa olukunjana yok.
When they sang the song of the sun, they noticed a person [hiding rolled in a mat].

Ya, konda auttsaimbape kopanda mamda matunjoyke.
Having been hidden in a mat, at that point she stuck her head out.

Kele, konda yahimba: "Nam yok mat kulamba mangoy mupipe," pinba.
And they said: "Let’s take a look at this woman hiding in the mat."

Kele, mupilakay anamgoy kopoña mae ope.
As she looked out, she saw her brother.

Kopoña anda nambokonja mae ope.
And the brother saw his sister.

Aunda konda angulusinmiña.
They hugged each other.

Tuka konda tumbanjiwa kele, yawanda toe.
Some [spirits] ran away and the house was nearly empty.

Misim anda tanan pokokapina mungupua yawjyon tanan.
They stripped off their decorations and left them in the house.

Kele, tanan pemba.
And so they left.

Pembakay ya kele, yawa kopoña misim pakapasiña yon tanan pakalwi monga makamkopan.
The ‘son of the house’ [TP papa bilong haus] collected all the decorations and hung them onto the main post.

Tan an bungimbape.
He collected them all.

Ya Simayan konda ekepe: “Nan pukupanim?”
And Simay asked [Kambras]:

“Nan pukupanim?”
“Have you learnt it?”

“Endiwa kalak.”
“These songs.”

“Tuka anda pukupalik, tuka aka pukupalik” pi.
“I remember some of them, but not all,” she said.

Okey, tom kele injakainña konda lainimbapi.
Okay, so he got up and taught her.

Anamgoy punjim moinkeléna alay anda kay punjimba mae i.
He took his hand-drum and he took another one and gave it to her.

Lainimbapim angoy angoy angoy angoy nam yokon Kambrasan konda savemba pe.
He was teaching her, and teaching her, and teaching her, until she knew the whole song-cycle.

Ya konda ekepe: “Pukupanim,” epi “endiwa kalak?”
And he asked her: “Do you know all the songs now?”

“Omgusanda o” pi, “pukupalik” pi, “ek” pi.
“I know them all,” she said. “I remember and understand them all.”

“Ya kele, namgoy kumbiipakambem” pi “tambu agalon” pi.
“So you can now take them to your place,” he said, “it’s not forbidden.”

Tan an yañi.

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So he told her.

An yomoiña ponde mamdateke injakaiña aunda anamgoy kumbinj an.
She went to sleep and the following morning she woke up and went back to her place.

Ya kele, kumbi angon konda ekepua:
And everybody was asking:

“Nan yok kanjaij tomankoym?”
“Where have you been?”

“O, nij tanjandam kumbianj tok,” paŋgay.
“Yes, I was in this kind of a place,” she told.

“Pakasakay kumbianj toman?”
“Whose place are you coming from?”

“O, Simay sakay kumbianj tok,” paŋgay.
“It’s Simay’s place”, she told them.

“Nij endiŋ epep wambuk,” paŋgay.
“I’d learnt a song-cycle and came back,” she told.

“Unja endiŋ lainimbaongunakim,” epaŋgay.
“I will teach you the songs now,” she said to them.

“Yes,” they said, “teach us.”

Ya, konda. lainimbaongay.
So she taught them the songs.

Lainimbaongunmun konda savembaopa.
She taught them all, and so they know how to sing.

Oluken ikapua emepanda an.
The men tried and it went well.

Inja, paŋgay.
Good, she thought.

Oluken emep endimiŋ, paŋgay.
The men sing really well, she thought.

Ya kele, oluken koŋ endipalanŋ unja nambun kele aka endipala.
And so it’s now the men who sing, and women don’t.

Aunda umbupala.
They only dance.

Endiŋ yok kondakay stori anamgoy.
This is the story of our songs, no more at this point.

Em tasol, stori bilong singsing.
That’s all, the story of singing.

Singsing em meri i bin kisim na lainim ol man.
A woman had learnt these songs and taught all men.

Nem bilong meri Kambras.
Her name is Kambras.
[var. Kamplas]
Appendix J:  

A transcript of *Kaunjambi*  

Preamble:  

*Kaunjambi*: An all-night song/dance cycle that defies transcription in an ordinary way

Transcribing *Kaunjambi* was not an ordinary transcription task. I first recorded a live performance in 2004, continued with transcription in 2006, checked it again in 2009 and re-recorded and discussed it again in 2012. In the recording of a proper performance, the sound of the hand-drums and slit-drums, combined with the noise made by the dancers and onlookers, often overpower the singers’ voices to the extent that it was impossible for me to hear what they were singing and I had to rely completely on my Awiakay assistants. However, not everybody could assist me in transcription, as it is only the lead singers who actually understand (or are closest to understanding) the text of what they were singing. Although an ordinary Awiakay speaker would have a much better ear for hearing Awiakay parts of *Kaunjambi* than me, in my discussions with them they were not even able to repeat the parts which are in ‘spirit language’ unless they knew them by heart. The lead singers, however, have never been trained as transcription assistants and cared little for my wanting to hear the words spoken. *Kaunjambi* is never spoken – it is always sung and they would often sing parts of the text when I was transcribing. Moreover, singing *Kaunjambi* does not feel proper without the drums, so even if I initially insisted on not beating them, my assistants would eventually start, at least quietly, drumming the rhythm. To just focus on the text, apart from its combination with melody and rhythm, is very difficult—which further enforces the point I have made in Chapter 7 about Kaunjambi being a synergy of all these elements. The transcription has therefore taken a long time and I now think that the song transcripts in this appendix mostly faithfully follow one of the recorded versions. Although I kept striving to faithfully transcribe the recordings for my analytical purposes, the Awiakay singers helped me realise that there is no such thing as exactness in an inseparable mix of sounds and sensations.
This song is sung outside. People say that the spirits are singing now, that is why there is no meaning. The woman will now see her deceased brother. The spirit of the dead will now come up into the house. The woman was mourning, now her brother will come. The song is sung outside, the singers will now enter the house. They have gone around the house and are now starting to climb the ladder pole. The song finishes while some are still standing on kausarj.

1.1.  **O-ya, aiwa**  
     **kundia-a**  
     **yakiama**  
     **wambuk**  
     **e-e**  
     white.cockatoo  
     ??  
     ??  
     is.coming.up  

   **oro maman**  
   **wambuk**  
   **e-e**  
   ??  
   ??  
   is.coming.up  

   **yakiama**  
   **wambuk**  
   **e-e**  
   ??  
   is.coming.up  

   **oro maman**  
   **wambuk**  
   **e-e**  
   ??  
   ??  
   is.coming.up  

5.  **yakiama**  
**wambuk**  
**e-e**  
??  
is.coming.up  

**oro maman**  
**wambuk**  
**e-e**  
??  
??  
is.coming.up  

---

**O aiwa**  
**kundia-o**  
**yakiama**  
**wambuk**  
**a-e**  
white.cockatoo  
??  
??  
is.coming.up  

**oro maman**  
**wambuk**  
**e-e**  
??  
??  
is.coming.up  

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O yaki mundaso e-e  

2.1 Lines 2-4 were added in the version recorded in 2012. It depends on the leading singer how the song turns.

2.2 Lines 2-4 were added in the version recorded in 2012. It depends on the leading singer how the song turns.

Notes: (x 2) The song is usually sung twice.

2 AYKMARI PAMBALO [2004/001-1]

The second song is sung upon entering the house. It’s an announcement: ‘I’m now coming up into the house.’ I’m coming up to the yumbun. I’m climbing the ladder, want to come to the makam...

2.1 O-yo, aykmari pambalo, waromaman pambalo ??

yao wambopalik (x7, last one fades out)
I’m coming up to the house

3 Yao wambopalik, e-e  

CHANGE OF RHYTHM

yumbunuj wambopalik, e-e  

I’m coming up to the house

[all posts which are on the floor]

5 makanbung wambopalik  

I’m coming to the main post

pasituij wambopalik  

I’m coming to the diagonal post

yao wambopalik  

I’m coming up to the house

[repetitions of lines vary]
The house is bent with weight now, it is full of people and the songs of the house start. The whole house is shaking when the song enters.

3.1 Kambiak mae, tumbiak mae (*x2*)
I’m going to compose [a song] first, I’m going to jump first
[check with notes]

kambiak mae, kimbiak tumbiak mae
I’m going to compose [a song] first, I’m going to [??], I’m going to jump first

yaw)j andandupon, (*x2*)
house is shaking/moving

pasilin andandupon
diagonal post is shaking

yumbunun andandupon
women’s posts (ground posts) are shaking

kañima isopon, kañima ee
the coconut shell spoon (arch.) is shaking, ee

palandem isopon, palandem ee
the coconut cup is shaking, ee

ipi isopon, ipi ee
the coconut spoon is shaking, ee

wako isopon, wako ee
tongs are shaking, ee

kañima isopon, kañima ee.
the coconut shell spoon (arch.) is shaking, ee

* Each lead singer tends to make some variations to the song. While Kamaqgip sang the first line as transcribed above, Kangam insisted that the first line be Kambiak mae, tumbiak mae, simbiak mae

4.1 O- andi apan, andi kulum apan
??

mamba kuri, kaunjan karuk – e
[kuri might be the root of ‘pinch off’ (e.g. a banana or a betelnut from the whole bunch), however, the informants didn’t recognise it as such)

karuruk is onomatopoeic word denoting a crunching sound]

Wabin-jay karuk – e (*x3*)
Wabi [female name]-LOC crunch

karuruk karuruk – e (*x3*)
crunching sound (*x2*) – e

4.5 Wabin-jay karuk – e
Wabi [female name]-LOC crunch

ALL REPEATED
kuri (line 2) could be the root of the verb meaning ‘to pinch off’ (a banana or a betelnut from the whole bunch)
The lead singer sings first, others follow behind him. Even if they don’t know the words he leads them. Some say this song should come later, but it always depends on the lead singer. The lead singer is not necessarily one person, though they like to boast that nobody else is ‘fit’ for the task. During the dance they don’t care whether the LS is ‘wrong’, but they sing along with a slight delay.

5 IMANA MARIŇAWK  [011.waw]

Imana mariňawk (x5 – lead singer)
name of Ambonwari man talk (Kwr)

Imana mariňawk (x10 – other singers)
name of Ambonwari man talk (Kwr)

Imana mariňawk (x13, fading out)
name of Ambonwari man talk (Kwr)

Imana marin kawiningingia
name of Ambonwari man

kawi kopa ari – e  (x4)
give me the head of a kawiyam – e
kawiyam is a monitor lizard, but can also be a personal name

kakomay kopa ari – e  (x4)
?? head give me e

6 KAMBIA TAIŇO  [013.waw]

[singsing tasol, nogat mining stret]

Kambia taiňo

tem kambia = adze for making canoe

kambia torokay
adze spear (for pig hunting)

kambalam Pinjay (x3)
?? name of Ambonwari man

angrina grinjay (x2)

panona grinjay (x2)

panona grinjay, angrina grinjay

kambla Pinjay.
?? name of Ambonwari man

7 MALA ARI MALA  [014-2]

O-o, mala ari mala (LS)
O-o, betel pepper, give me betel pepper

mala ari mala (x7)
betel pepper, give me betel pepper
o-a, takwi ari takwi (LS)
betel pepper, give me mountain pepper
[takwi = type of pepper betel that grows in the mountain]

takwi ari takwi, (x7)
betel pepper, give me mountain pepper

5 aypoñ ari aypoñ, (12)
betel pepper, give me yellow pepper
[aypoñ = yellowish pepper betel]

wi mendus pokoy (many repetitions)
lime (tp Imanmeri) tongue hit
quicklime’s burning the tongue

kombonya mendus pokoy (many repetitions)
the shell is burning the tongue
[kombonya = river shell used for making lime]

Takapan kumbia takanu,
let’s go and chew betel nut at Takapan

E- Wasayman kumbia takanu [many repetitions]
let’s go chew betel nut at Wasayman [ancestral place at Amogao]

8 AYM KUMUÑA

8.1 O-ya, aym kumuña (x4 + x4 + x4 last one fades out)
Death adder’s mother
[aym = New Guinea death adder]
o, yanjam kumuña (x4 + x4 + x4 last one omitted)
python’s mother

nunjulañ kumuña (x2)
gigantic python’s mother
[nunjum = New Guinea olive python]
memban kumuña (x2) [var. tepan kumuña ‘mother of moon’]
mother of night
[nocturnal snake; ondomboy ‘small-eyed snake’]

5 aym kumuña (x4)
death adder’s mother

nunjulañ kumuña (x2)
gigantic python’s mother

memban kumuña (x2 – fading out) [var. tepan kumuña ‘mother of moon’]
mother of night

5 o-yo, malay wapuk (x6)
I pounded wild sago

10 malay wapuk, tay wapuk (x3)
I pounded wild sago, I pounded sago

Akiak kopay yumbunuk taway ende-wakapa-imia.
Akiak sago.stand type.of sago shoots pick-put.in-3PL.FUT
‘They’ll pick yumbunuk-sago shoots at Akiak and put them [into your bilum]’
[Akiak = name of a hill, a sago stand at Amogao – ancestral settlement
yumbunuk = sago with very short thorns, small, stap long fil]
[some follow the hills at the landscape in the order, many old paul, just name them all, pinisim ol]
- saksak i stap long ol dispela ples, but not necessarily this type

Uuspiay kopay wanggoñońik taway kopay ende-wakapa-imua.
Usupiay sago stand type of sago shoots sago stand pick-put in 3PL FUT
‘They’ll pick wanggoñońik sago shoots at Uuspiay and put them [into your bilum]’
[Usupiay = a hill at Amogao with a sago stand
wanggoñońik = sago with red leaves when young, short thorns, ‘i no strong saksak’]

Kulakap kopay umbum taway ende-wakapainua.
‘They’ll pick umbum sago shoots at Kulakap and put them [into your bilum]’
[Kulakap = the top of a hill at Amongao with a sago stand
umbum = sago without thorns]

Usupiay Panjiñjay kopay yamok taway ende-wakapainua.
‘They’ll pick yamok sago shoots at Panjiñjay and put them [into your bilum]’
[Panjiñjay = a hill at Amongao with a sago stand
yamok = type of sago similar to wail saksak (TP); dark stems, red shoots, reddish pith, with thorns]

*Kamangip complained about those who had mistakenly repeated the name of another ancestral place, Usupiay

Aiwa pepep wakapatinau
‘They’ll shoot a white cockatoo and put it [into your bilum]’

Kaykwa pepep wakapatinau
‘They’ll shoot a hornbill and put it [into your bilum]’

Ambay pepep wakapatinau
‘They’ll shoot a crown pigeon and put it [into your bilum]’

Angiñay pepep wakapatinau
‘They’ll shoot a black cockatoo and put it [into your bilum]’

Opum-ba pepep wakapatinau
‘They’ll shoot a pigeon and put it [into your bilum]’

Pangasay pepep wakapatinau
‘They’ll shoot a big brown bird and put it [into your bilum]’
[pangasay is found in swamps, brown back, light belly, yellow beak, long wings, long tail, as big as an eagle, making sounds peñ-peñ-peñ]

Wangay pepep wakapatinau
‘They’ll shoot a little pigeon and put it [into your bilum]’
[namba tu opum]

Taman waeñ wakapatinau
‘They’ll put it into a long bilum string-net’

Manga-manga waeñ wakapatinau [are these adjectives?]
‘They’ll put it into a rather short bilum’

Punje-punje waeñ wakapatinau
‘They’ll put it into a rather long bilum see comparisons reduplications’

Pokombak waeñ wakapatinau
‘They’ll put it into an oblong bilum’

O-yo, Akiak en-makam yambuka-imua
Akiak main path hang on the neck 3PL
‘They’ll hang [the bilum] on their neck on the main path to Akiak’
[hill at Amongao]
Usupiay en-makam yambukainua
‘They’ll hang [the bilum] on their neck on the main path to Usupiay’
[hill at Amongao]

Tawim en-makam yambukainua
‘They’ll hang [the bilum] on their neck on the main path to Tawim’
[creek]

Kukay en-makam yambukainua
‘They’ll hang [the bilum] on their neck on the main path to Kukay’
[creek, tributary of Tawim]

Mumiam en-makam yambukainua
‘They’ll hang [the bilum] on their neck on the main path to Mumiam’
[creek, tributary of Tawim]

Kumbikin en-makam yambukainua
‘They’ll hang [the bilum] on their neck on the main path to Kumbikin’
[creek, tributary of Tawim]

Amiam en-makam yambukainua
‘They’ll hang [the bilum] on their neck on the main path to Amiam’
[creek, tributary of Tawim]

9 KUMBUYN MOMOY KUMBUYN

[komposed by Ambros Ambukan and Wandak, na putim long Kaunjambi – harim dispela pisin tasol na composim]

9.1 Kumbuyn momoy kumbuyn (x4)

kumbuyn [type of bird] is singing

palak mambay momoy
singing down in the plains
[palakay = plains between the riverbank and hills]

mungam mambay momoy
singing down at Mungam [lake]

anday mambay momoy
singing down at Anday [sago swamp]

5 O-yo, anday nambun eke
the woman in the swamp has heard it
mungam nambun eke
the woman at the lake has heard it

palak nambun eke
the woman in the plains has heard it

10 EKAY TUMTUM

sapos man yet composim, em bai i gat mining, tasol em i singsing bilong ol spirit
- parallelism in dance too!

10.1 O-ya, ekay tum-tum

ekay tum-tum (x7; last one fades out)

kyay tum-tum (x8), kyay
tum-tum, kyay tum-tum

LOWER MELODY

kyay tum-tum (x2)

ekay tum-tum (x2; last one fades out)

Yo, oni tum-tum

oni tum-tum (x10)

kyay tum-tum (x4)

kanjin – e, Maynbun kanjin – e

teeth – e, Maynbun’s teeth – e
[Maynbun = spirit]

kanjin – e, Takapan kanjin – e

teeth – e, Takapan’s teeth – e
[Takapan = spirit]

kanjin – e, Yaynbun kanjin – e

teeth – e, Yaynbun’s teeth – e
[Yaynbun = spirit]

kanjin – e, Takapan kanjin – e

teeth – e, Takapan’s teeth – e

kanjin – e, Awa kanjin – e

teeth – e, Awa’s teeth – e
[Awa = spirit crocodile]

kanjin – e, Takapan kanjin – e

teeth – e, Takapan’s teeth – e

kanjin – e, Yaynbun kanjin – e

teeth – e, Yaynbun’s teeth – e

kanjin – e, Takapan kanjin – e

teeth – e, Takapan’s teeth – e

kanjin – e, Maynbun kanjin – e

teeth – e, Maynbun’s teeth – e

kanjin – e, Takapan kanjin – e (x3; last one fades out)
teeth – e, Takapan’s teeth – e

11 YAKENJIMARI KAPUS MANBA

11.1 Yakenjimari kapus manba

tongay yakanan, tongay (x3)
wild betel nut, he’ll turn into a wild betel nut
[like a songuma ‘assault sorcerer’ turns into a pig
tongay is an archaic Awikanay word for ‘wild betel nut’]

Yakenjimari kapus manba

tongay yakanan, tongay ee
wild betel nut, he’ll turn into a wild betel nut
5 *panay yakanan, panay ee*
black palm, he’ll turn into a black palm
[Bipo ol tumbuna i save long tp bilong olgeta ples. Nau tasol mipela paul.]

12 **YAI YAWIAN YIMBUK**

12.1 *yai yawian yimbuk,*
I slept in a pig’s house  
*kayma yawian yimbuk,*
I slept in a cassowary’s house

*tison aka yojondi,*
omosquitos didn’t bite me  
tasaposun aka yojondi,*
little mosquitos didn’t bite me

5 *tamokun aka yojondi.*
gnats didn’t bite me.

*Panjam yakanbuk, panjam ee,*
I turned into a rubbishman, rubbishman, ee.  
*[panjam = the useless person who doesn’t go hunting, doesn’t kill anything, doesn’t provide any food]*

*kangakum yakanbuk, kangakum ee,*
I turned into a rubbishman, rubbishman ee.

*kamiayn yakanbuk, kamiayn ee.*
I turned into a rubbishman, rubbishman ee.

[kamiayn kamia – nambamgo y kamia = injua]

woman’s meat = vagina

[kamiayn → lip bilong diwai i gat naispela smel stret; strong, longpela, big spiral fern. I no bilong kaikai, em i bilong singsing. Bipo ol meri bai putim long kuna taim bilong singsing, em bai smel gut]

13 **AKUTMAN AKUT**

[tp bilong bipo – ol i mas mixim kainkain tp stret]  

13.1 *Akutman akut, mana tanajimba*

*Tambay pasaki, kumbi pasaki*  
(x3)  
the.dog ?? village ??

*Api a wakapaye, ipia wakapaye*  
(x3)  
?? when he put [in] ?? when he put [in]

[the Awiakay say that apiia and ipia are archaic words, but nobody knows what they mean. They say that the spirits composed Kaunjambi using different languages, and Awiakay of different periods]

14 **YAKENJIN MARI**

[Tino’s variant]

14.1 *Yakenjin mari sipingarom*
14.1a  
*Yakenjii mari, yakenjiman kulajapan* (x3)  
simari wandali kinan  
sampan alom  
sika sikay  

5 impinji alom  
in 2012 the singers insisted that this line be changed into *musin narom*  
sika sikay  

15 MANJUAN PANDANGOYN MAÑGA  

15.1  
**Manjuan pandangoynan maña**  
Manjuan [male name] weaved leaf ball  
‘Manjuan’s [twisted like] a weaved leaf ball’  

**Manjuan yambukuru-papaka-imb-a**  
Manjuan wrap in a leaf-PAST-3PL  
‘They wrapped Manjuan in a leaf’  
[In the past a captured enemy was wrapped into a leaf like a pig or other kill in the bush]  

**Manjuan pikisi-papaka-imb-a**  
Manjuan tie up in a leaf-PAST-3PL  
‘They tied Manjuan up in a leaf’  

**Manjuan aka wambuke**  
‘Manjuan didn’t come up here’  

5 penay wambuke  
?? came up here  
aka pekendie (x2)  
didn’t come down here  
imas aka wambuke  
?? didn’t come up here  

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Manjuan aka pekendi
Manjuan didn’t come down here
-ndi [ending for something that acts upon a person]
imas aka pekendi
?? didn’t come down here
aka pekendi (x2)
didn’t come down here
[all repeated again]

16 ELENUK, ELENUK

16.1 Elenuk, Elenuk, Elenuk, Elenuk.
[name of a spirit]
Akakaymuy, Akakaymuy, Akakaymuy, Akakaymuy.
[name of a spirit]
Yambunjambi-o, tasia-ke
Yambunjambi, oh, spirit
[this and all the following are names of the spirits of Musu kunai]
Kokolosambin-yo, tasia-ke
Kokolosambin, oh, spirit
Anjanjawn-o, tasia-ke
Anjanjawn, oh, spirit
*Tawaymakan-o, tasia ke
Tawaymakan, oh, spirit
*Musiningi-o, tasia ke
Musiningi, oh, spirit

Kimdi goa, takia ke
spirit of Kimdi basin
[takia is archaic AwiaKay form of tasia ‘spirit’. People say that ‘in the mountains’ (the Imboin??, Meakambut, still use this term - all pools (TP basis) are spirit places] - the following pools are on Amwi creek on the way to Mayna, a previous AwiaKay settlement

Amwi goa, takia ke
spirit of Amwi pool, oh, spirit

Asapon goa, takia ke
spirit of Asapon pool, oh, spirit

Memeir goa, takia ke
spirit of Memeir pool, oh, spirit

tao kanja yomba, takia ke
sago.thorn needle water
[sprits inhabit swamp places where there are sago thorns] spirit of thorny sago swamp water, oh, spirit

wao kunda yomba, takia ke
spirit of water where there are roots where one can prepare sago grubs, oh, spirit

kongonon kunia yomba, takia ke
broad-bladed grass (Mungam) roots
spirit of the water of the broad bladed grass roots, oh, spirit

15 tendem kunia yomba, tasia ke
[edible.leaves roots - vine...]
spirit of tendem roots water, oh, spirit
kiakay kunia yomba, takia ke
spirit of pandanus roots water, oh, spirit
awe kunia yomba, takia ke
spirit of kunai roots water, oh, spirit
* lines 6 and 7 (two more spirits from the same place) were added in the 2012 recording

17 Alan Kandum Kanga

17.1 alan kandum kanga  TREES
[tree] cane?? leaf
kandum-ee

wayman kandum kanga,
mama blg binatang
kandum-ee

5 temek, temek kanga,
lip blg diwai
temek-ee

tikiñaj, tikiñaj kanga
mountain tree
tikiñaj-ee

pukuman, pukuman kanga
tree growing in swamp, good for firewood
pukuman -ee.

18 Kasari Yuari

18.1 kasari yuari alon-gambi, yao-ee
?? house – e
mongon-gambi, yao-ee

yao-ee

5 aynagas kamboya, yao-ee
wonky stone-axe, house – e
pokombak kamboya, yao-ee
skewwhiff stone-axe, house – e
payingaj kamboya, yao-ee
off-kilter stone-axe, house – e

19 Sapon Aray Sapon
19.1 *sapon aray sapon*

*aray masambi*

**kyakay yuponan**
pandanus (wail karuka blg wara), is about to ripen and fall off

**kyakay yupon – ee**
pandanus (wail karuka blg wara), is about to ripen and fall off

5 *kumbuñ aray masambi*
black bird from *kunai* ??

**kyakay yuponan**
pandanus (wail karuka blg wara), is about to ripen and fall off

**kyakay yuponan – ee**
pandanus (wail karuka blg wara), is about to ripen and fall off

The sound is always distorted, so no wonder they quarrel about it later: chew betel nut and smoke while singing – the echoing is important!

20 **ASAN YAWK ASAN**

20.1 *asan yawk asan*
go now (IMN)

*mangan yawk*

? *jamin kambia Imanan-marin junguin*
? stone axe *Imanmeri* ?

*sangimay, sangima – ee*
head-dress made of cassowary feathers

5 *sangima – ee (x 3)*
head-dress made of cassowary feathers

*yao pame, kumbi pame*
house ? village ?

21 **AYKMAY NUMBA KUNAMBEK**

21.1 *Aykmay numa (x9)*
Aykmay’s husband

[ZH, strictest taboo relationship]

*kunambek (x9, fades out, lead singer stops earlier)*
my brother-in-law

*Embenda numa (x12)*
Embenda’s husband

*kunambek (x13, fades out)*
my brother-in-law

5 *Aykmay numa (x9)*
Aykmay’s husband

*kunambek (x13)*
my brother-in-law

LINES 7 8 Akiak angen, Tomba pi angen

IRRELEVANT Akiak and his [family], say, Tomba and his [family]
Tukmak angen, Yakmak angen
Tukmak and his [family], Yakmak and his [family]

kanunanga, kanunanga
black palm seeds, black palm seeds

yuwain manga, wasit manga
limbun seeds, wild betel nut seeds
[areca palm, growing at higher altitudes (?) Rhopaloblaste sp.]
tumbar manga, pambar manga
limbun seeds, flowering tree seeds
[areca palm with short stems]
angoyam manga
[another type of] flowering tree seeds

Yamam en-makam, [yambuka-inua pi]*
Konmei path-main hang up on neck 3PL.FUT
on the main path along the Konmei, they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck, say
*[~] in lines 13-20 in some versions left out

Yambom en-makam, yambuka-inua pi
Yambom creek, a tributary of the Konmei upriver from Mayna towards Aulalak (lines 10-16 all tributaries of the Konmei)
on the main path along the Yambom, they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck, say

Wanak en-makam, yambuka-inua pi
on the main path along the Wanak, they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck, say

Nomet en-makam, yambuka-inua pi
on the main path along the Nomet, they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck, say

Palaij en-makam, yambuka-inua pi
on the main path along the Palaij, they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck, say

Imbisim en-makam, yambuka-inua pi
on the main path along the Imbisim, they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck, say

Tanduij en-makam, yambuka-inua pi
on the main path along the Tanduij, they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck, say

Asao en-makam, yambuka inua-pi
on the main path along the Asao, they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck, say

asia pepep wakapa-inua
they’ll spear a [fish with mustache] and put it into a bilum

mangway pepep wakapa-inua
they’ll spear an eel and put it into a bilum

kangwiyam pepep wakapainua
they’ll spear a small fish with scales (big name) and put it into a bilum

kos sa pepep wakapainua
they’ll spear a small kangwiyam and put it into a bilum

one ya pepep wakapainua
they’ll spear a big kangwiyam and put it into a bilum

pia pia wae yambuka-inua
they’ll hang torn bilums on the necks

manga manga wae yambuka-inua
they’ll hang very short bilums on their necks

punje punje wae yambuka-inua
they’ll hang very long bilums on their necks

pokombak wae yambuka-inua
they’ll hang wide, short bilums on their necks
wasipi wae yambuka-inua
they’ll hang man’s apron bilums on their necks

kolanjij wae yambuka-inua
they’ll hang huge bilums on their necks

**Wanak en-makam, yambukainua**

on the main path along the Wanak [creek] they’ll hang up bilums on their necks

**Nomet en-makam, yambukainua**

~ the Nomet creek ~

**Yambom en-makam, yambukainua**

~ the Yambom creek ~

**Palain en-makam, yambukainua**

~ the Palain creek ~

**Imbisim en-makam, yambukainua**

~ the Imbisim creek ~

**Tanduq en-makam, yambukainua**

~ the Tanduq creek ~

**Asao en-makam, yambukainua**

~ the Asao creek ~

**Angaj yombon (x4)**

the water of Angaj [creek]

**Angaj yombon** (fades out)

the water of Angaj

**Mikyao yombon (x2)**

the water of Mikyao
[creek name on Imanmeri land]

**Pakoy yombon (x2)**

the water of Pakoy [a lake on Imanmeri land Pakit]

**Kasakmay yombon (x2)**

the water of Kasakmay [a tributary of Aimos]

**Tisis yombon (x2)**

the water of Tisis [a tributary of Aimos]

**ewey wakiij, eweya,**

hand-net (TP umben) made of gomba tree bark string

**wakiij eweya (x2)**

hand-net made of gomba tree bark string

**pamok eweya (x2)**

tulip-string hand-net (x2) [Gnetum gnemon]

**temeneij eweya (x2)**

temeneij tree bark hand-net (x2)

**umbrupoyn eweya (x2)**

sandal wood hand-net (x2) [very strong rope]

**wanay eweya (x2)**

flowering vine for making rope

**wanay eweya endia-inua**

they’re going to scoop [fish] into a wanay hand-net

[Some men are still repeating, others singing on ➔ echoing effect]

**umbrupoyn eweyaj endia-inua**

they’re going to scoop [fish] into a umbrupoyn hand-net
temenen eweyan endia-inua
they’re going to scoop [fish] into a temeney hand-net

pamok eweyan endia-inua
they’re going to scoop [fish] into a tulip-string hand-net

wakij eweyan endia-inua [variation: inoa]
they’re going to scoop [fish] into a wakij hand-net

ay mangga yombaj, endia-inua
they’re going to collect the seeds of the kunai grass on the water
[ay = kunai grass; Imperata cylindrica]

kolon mangga yombaj endia-inua
they’re going to collect the seeds of a xx tree on the water
[xx tree has yellow pith]

kendek mangga yombaj, endia-inua
they’re going to collect the seeds of the short sharp grass on the water
[kendek = short sharp grass, it cuts one’s skin]

kulaj mangga yombaj endia-inua
tree xx underneath long dispela diwai bai ol i kisim yu ??
they’re going to collect the seeds of the tree on the water

kaman-guk tenja endia-inua
they’re going to scoop my baby crocodile

min-guk tenja endia-inua
they’re going to take my wild duckling

kakukm-guk tenja endia-inua
they’re going to take my chick of the nocturnal bird from kunai
[the bird has a long neck and a sharp beak]

kakoy-k tenja endia-inua
they’re going to take my white heron chick

kumbuñu-k tenja endia-inua
they’re going to take my bird from kunai

Tarapian egemba, endia-inua
male.name leg they will take
they’re going to take Tarapian’s leg
[the Awiaokay say Tarapian was an Ambonwari big man. The implication was that they will kill him and put his leg into the bilum like any other kill]

Kamukunjir egemba, endia-inua
male.name leg they will take
they’re going to take Kamukunjir’s leg
[Kamukunjir was a ‘big man’ in Ambonwari]

apanawi egemba, endia-inua
they’re going to take a leg of apanawi bird
[apanawi = a bird living at lakes]

22 TAMBAIK, TAMBAIK, TAMBAIK

22.1 o, tam-baik, tambaik, tambaik,
dog-inalienable POSS.1SG
my dog, my dog, my dog

tambaik, tambaik, tam
my dog, my dog, dog

o, tambokom, tambokom, tambokom
your dog, your dog, your dog

the whole set repeated
he’s cutting the rope and barking threateningly, he’s barking threateningly
when hunting, dogs often intimidate an animal by barking, so it feels trapped and
can’t escape

he barks excitedly [as it smells an animal], he barks excitedly

he’s barking, he’s barking [in an ordinary way]

he’s whining with joy, whining with joy

he’s killed [an animal] and is barking-and-jumping with joy, he’s killed [an animal]
and is barking-and-jumping with joy

look, up there, look, up there

look, [the animal] will run away, look, it will run away
[ tumbuambon means ‘run for life’ and is used primarily when speaking about
animals in the bush]

he [the dog]’s blocking it [an animal], he’s blocking it

he saw a bandicoot, he saw a bandicoot
he saw a cuscus, he saw a cuscus
he saw a rat, he saw a rat
he saw a long-tailed rat, he saw a long-tailed rat
he saw a big bush rat, he saw a big bush rat
[one that stays close to water and dives for fish]

bandicoot only bilum-LOC hang.up.on.the.neck-3PL.FUT
they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck with only a bandicoot in it

he saw a long-tailed rat, he saw a long-tailed rat
he saw a big bush rat, he saw a big bush rat
[one that stays close to water and dives for fish]

they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck with only a long-tailed rat in it

they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck with only a big bush rat in it

they’ll hang up a bilum on the neck with only a big bush rat in it

falling.apart bilum-LOC hung.up.on.the.neck say (to someone)
say, they’ll hang up very old bilums on their necks

say, they’ll hang up very short bilums on their necks
pokombak waeŋ yambuka-inoa pi
say, they’ll hang up an oblong bilum on their necks
kolajij waeŋ yambuka-inoa pi
say, they’ll hang up huge bilums on their necks
wasipi waeŋ yambuka-inoa pi
say, they’ll hang up men’s bilums on their necks
wasipi = bilum used for men’s apron
taman waeŋ yambuka-inoa pi
say, 1
taman wae = bilum for spears

23  ANDI-SAUN ANDI-A

23.1  andi saun andi-a, andi-simbun andi-a...
      ABAa ACAa

      pambalo musiniŋ gala, andi masa masa
      bundle.of.spears
      ABAa ACAa

      andi saun andia, andisimbun andia

      andi masa masa, andia-ee
      AGG A-e

      andia-ee (x4)  A-e (x4)

      [all the above repeated]
When many men sing, it all echoes. This effect is more important then understanding what
the words are. People say: em bilong spirit.
The spirit composed this song and is singing now.

24  MANGINSAT, MANGINSAT

24.1  O, Manginsat — o, Mangisat — o  (x6)
      D

      Manginsat — o  (x6)
      B  →  A

      Manginsat — o  (x6)

      O, Imasinay, Imasinay  (x4)
      D

      Imasinay  (x12)
      B  →  A

      Imasinay  (x2)

      Yo, Pambahmay, Pambahmay  (x5)
      D

      Pambahmay  (x4)
      B  →  A

      Pambahmay  (x4)
kaman epop, papaka-imbuk-e
I thought you were a crocodile and I went and threw you [into the water]
tasiam epop, papaka-imbuk-e
I thought you were a spirit and I went and threw you [into the water]
asin epop, papaka-imbuk-e
I thought you were a krokodil and I went and threw you [into the water]
[asin MYK ‘crocodile’]
awai epop, papaka-imbuk-e
I thought you were a cocodrille and I went and threw you [into the water]
[awai ARCH ‘crocodile’]
Papuap epop, papaka-imbu-ke
I thought you were spirit Papuap and I went and threw you [into the water]
[several repetitions of the parallel set in lines 10-14]
kolok mamgoy piakainbuk-e
I let you go from my hands
nangauk mamgoy piakainbuk-e
I let you go from my arms
[two repetitions of the parallel set in lines 15-16]
tambuka-imbepep, piakainbuk-e
I’d been nursing you [like a baby], and I let you go
isaimbepep, piakainbuk-e
I’d been holding you like at breastfeeding, and I let you go
me-imbepep, piakainbuk-e
I’d been kissing you, and I let you go
[= pusopep]
wambik-mamgoy, piakainbuk-e
[holding you] on my thighs, and I let you go
tambukwi ‘lap’ Aymakanan tay tambukundi ‘Aymakan em i slipim mi long lek bilong em’
[three repetitions of the parallel set in lines 17-20]
[Yayput wangay piakainbuk-e
I let you go in Yayput river-pool
[Wangay Wamblamas for ‘pool’]
Wagandem engay piakainbuk-e
I let you go into the froth of Wagandem pool
[Wagandem is a creek in southern Awikay land, close to the Maramuni]
Kisipangum engay piakainbuk-e
I let you go into the froth of Kisipangum pool
[Kisipangum is a creek in northern Awikay land, close to Pakoy lake (Imanmeri name Pakit)]
[+ several repetitions of lines 22-23]

Kamban ara wambunun

Kamban ara wambunuŋ kamban aray
[kamban is a tree growing close to water, yellow, hibiscus-like flowers]
kisipunduŋ kamban ara

kiao, kiao, kiao, wapayk, wapayk, wapayk
[wapayk = wakapayk ‘I put it in’]
Simao, Simao, Simao, wapayk, wapayk

[name of Imanmeri man, but people say that the song does not refer to him. ‘Just singing’]

(ax2)

ayŋ kapapayŋ, taŋayŋ ee

ayŋ = grass-woven basket-like ‘mosquito net’

taŋayŋ = little basket for carrying fish

waymuyŋ kapapayŋ, waymuyŋ ee

waymuyŋ = little long basket for carrying sago, made of gomba bark; not used by the Awiakay any more, but still made in Yamandim

10 taŋgain piawa, piawa ee.

‘little basket is torn’

26 Wanjanmari Pikimbisi Wakay

26.1 Wanjanmari pikimbisi wakay, wimba wakape

yambunsat wapat, painbinsat wapat (x4, last one fades out)

yamben nongamuyŋ

[yambensat wapat, e-e

5 painbinsat wapat, e-e

5 e-e-e

27 Yanagyi, Yanagyi

27.1 Yanagyi, Yanagyi, Yanagyi

[female name, Apimarj’s mother]

(ax2)

(ax2)

(ax2)

2 Yakalikipan, Yakalikipan, Yakalikipan, Yakalikipan

[female name]

Yanaggay, Yanaggay, Yanaggay

[female name]

Kambaygay, Kambaygay, Kambaygay

[female name]
tenjakay, tenjakay, tenjakay
little one/son
nungulakay, nungulakay, nungulakay
daughter

Amiam ape, tenja-kay
[creek name] where son/little one
Where’s Amiam, you little one?
[Amiam = a tributary of Tawim, a tributary of Yamam]

Kukay ape, tenja-kay (x4)
‘Where’s Kukay, you little one?’
[Kukay = a tributary of Tawim

Amiam ape, tenja-kay (x4)
[creek name]
‘Where’s Amiam, you little one?’

Kumbikin ape, tenja-kay (x4)
[creek name]
‘Where’s Kumbikin, you little one?’

Tawim ape, tenja-kay (x4)
[creek name]
‘Where’s Tawim, you little one?’

Tawim pandombao, tenja-kay (x4)
[creek name] collared.brush.turkey little one
‘a brush turkey of Tawim, little one’

Amiam pandombao tenja-kay (x4)
[creek name] collared.brush.turkey little one
‘a brush turkey of Amiam, little one’

Momiam pandombao tenja-kay (x4)
[creek name] collared.brush.turkey little one
‘a brush turkey of Momiam, little one’

Kukay pandombao tenja-kay (x4)
[creek name] collared.brush.turkey little one
‘a brush turkey of Kukay, little one’

Kumbikim pandombao tenja-kay (x4)
[creek name] collared.brush.turkey little one
‘a brush turkey of Kumbikim, little one’

Kasom pandombao tenja-kay (x4)
[mountain name] collared.brush.turkey little one
‘a brush turkey of Kasom, little one’

Pawi pandombao tenja-kay (x4)
[mountain name] collared.brush.turkey little one
‘a brush turkey of Pawi, little one’

Kasom kayma tenja-kay (x4)
[mountain name] cassowary little one
‘a cassowary of Kasom, little one’

Tawim kayma tenja-kay (x4)
[creek/mountain name] cassowary little one
‘a cassowary of Tawim, little one’

Momiam kayma-e tenja-kay (x4)
[creek name] cassowary little one
‘a cassowary of Momiam, little one’
Pawi kayma-e tenja-kay  (x4)
[mountain name] cassowary little.one
‘a cassowary of Pawi, little one’

Kumbikin kayma-e tenja-kay  (x4)
[creek name] cassowary little.one
‘a cassowary of Kumbikin, little one’

Kukay kayma tenja-kay  (x4)
[creek name] cassowary little.one
‘a cassowary of Kukay, little one’

28 KAPON ALAY, NUMBUK ALAY

28.1 kapon alay, numbuk alay
? he my.husband he
sapon alay, numbuk alay,


\[\text{takus alay, numbuk alay,}\]

\[\text{tamandin tiay, numbuk alay,}\]
twine that holds spears together, my husband
[toman = spear; tia = twine with which spears are tied together into a bundle]

\[\text{masandin tiay, numbuk alay,}\]
a bundle of spears tied together, my husband
[masay]

\[\text{ena tianjin tiay, numbuk alay,}\]
spears tied with a twine, my husband
[en = ARCH for toman ‘spear’, but still in use]

\[\text{toroka tianjin tiay, numbuk alay,}\]
bamboo/wild buai spear for shooting pig and people, tied with a twine, my husband

\[\text{masay tianjin tiay, numbuk alay,}\]
a bundle of spears tied together, my husband

\[\text{enemunj tianjin tiay, numbuk alay,}\]
a split in the bamboo spear handle tied together, my husband

\[\text{kaykot kaykola tianjin tiay, numbuk alay,}\]
hooked deadly spears for killing man tied together, my husband

\[\text{ena tianjin tiay, numbuk alay,}\]
spears tied with a twine, my husband

\[\text{kusukupa tianjin tiay.}\]
bamboo spear with a twine

[29 TISIP AMBA MENDAM?

[in 2012 Kamaqgip argued that the song should start with line 3]

29.1 Tisip amba menda-m  (x2)
male.name what talk/language-Q.MARKER
What kind of talk is Tisip talking?

Sangon amba mendam, ee
What kind of talk is Sangon talking?
[Sangon = another name of the same man]
**Us-Kala Maposa**

**30.1 Us-kala maposa, Tangum**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dirt name</th>
<th>mountain name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanjiin kali wapat, ee</td>
<td>ironwood tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wambuj kali wapat, ee</td>
<td>bird name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kanjiin, TP kwila ‘ironwood’; Intsia bijuga**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ironwood tree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angon-W kole wambunga, ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree with small leaves-LOC they are sitting bird name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘x birds are sitting on a A tree’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Vocabulary**

- *andai komhan yawa, ee* at a swamp house
- *wao pembe yawa, ee* sago grub hole house
- *sago-grub house*
- *[hole in a rotting sago trunk inhabited by sago grubs]*

**Translation**

5 *tasia Wayput mambon kalay, ee*

spirit Wayput’s mouth is foaming with saliva

*Akandao mambon kalay, ee* *

[spirit] Akandao’s mouth is foaming with saliva

*Komdasak mambon kalay, ee*

[spirit] Komdasak’s mouth is foaming with saliva

*Yaypu pokan kalay, ee**

[spirit] Yaypu’s face is foaming with saliva

*Komdasak kanjin imika-m, kanjin imika-m, ee*

Doesn’t [spirit] Komdasak have huge teeth, doesn’t he have huge teeth?

10 *Akandao kanjin-manda, ee.*

[spirit] Akandao’s teeth [are like a turtle] shell

11 *Maynbun kanjin-manda, ee.*

[spirit] Maynbun’s teeth [are like a turtle] shell

[no meat on them]

* variation of lines 10-11 suggested in 2012

10a *Akandao kanjin imika, ee*

[spirit] Akandao’s got huge teeth

11a *Maynbun kanjin imika, ee*

[spirit] Maynbun’s got huge teeth

* lines 6-8 were not there in the 2004 recording, but the singers participating in 2012 discussion of Kaunjambi agreed that they should be added

** lines 5-8 repeated several times; the number of repetitions depends on the leading singers and varies from one performance to another

30 **Us-Kala Maposa**

30.1 *Us-kala maposa, Tangum* an-kala maposa, ee

**Dirt Mountain Name**

- *kanjiin kali wapat, ee* ironwood tree
  - *kanjiin, TP kwila ‘ironwood’; Intsia bijuga*
- *wambuj kali wapat, ee* bird name
  - *wambuj = small black bird with long beak resembling that of a cookaburra, singing in the morning, announcing that sb who’s been away is coming back to the village; possibly a kingfisher*
- *kanjiin kali wapat, ee* ironwood tree

5 **angoñ-un** **kole wambunga, ee**

tree with small leaves-LOC they are sitting bird name

‘x birds are sitting on a A tree’
miplay kole wambunga, ee
ton.tree they.are.sitting bird.name
'x birds are sitting on a B tree'
[miplay = a small variety of mip, TP ton (Pomentia pinnata)]

isonom-buŋ kolo wambunga, ee
strong.tree they.are.sitting bird.name
'x birds are sitting on a C tree'
[ison = patched wood]

kongiam-buŋ kolo wambunga, ee
fig.tree-loc they.are.sitting bird.name
'x birds are sitting on a fig tree'
[kongiam = fig tree, TP bikus (Ficus sp.)]

Waki ope wambunga, ee
'x bird sees an Ambonwari man'
[and he's wearing all these decorations]

saunak ope wambunga ee
'x bird sees a heron'

kayma ope wambunga ee
'x bird sees a cassowary'

papulun ope wambunga ee
'x bird sees a head decoration made of cassowary feathers'

taka ope wambunga ee
'x bird sees a white possum'
[the following lines added in 2012 recording]

kaykay pe wambunga, ee
'kay-kay, sings x bird'

kwaykway pe wambunga, ee
'kway-kway, sings x bird'

soksok pe wambunga, ee
'sok-sok, sings x bird'

31 ASI MEK, MEK, MEK, MEK

Men say they don't like singing this song: "You have to sing very fast so you get breathless."

31.1 Asi mek mek mek mek  [repeated many times as if echoing]
[dog's name]
‘Asi come, come, come, come’
[mek = arch. for calling a dog, now they say mae]

mek, mek, mek, mek
'come, come, come, come'

Takapan mek, mek, mek, mek
[dog's name]
‘Takapan come, come, come, come’

nambahnjip numbanjip
wife.inalienable.poss husband.inalienable.poss
‘with-wife, with-husband’ [married]

5 pamba-njip numguk tia
paddle's.fork-inalienable.poss my.elbow skin
‘my elbow’s [bent] like a paddle’s fork’

numgu numguk kula-i
‘my elbow’s [bent] like bamboo tongs’
32  KAMBAN ARA WAMBUNUŊ [basket song]

32.1  Kamban ara wambunuŋ
[kamban is a tree growing close to water, yellow, hibiscus-like flowers]
[the Awiakay explained wambunuŋ as a Karawari term for ‘freshly pounded sago pith’]

kamban ara, ee

kisipunduŋ kamban ara, ee

wambunuj  kamban ara, ee
new.sago.pith water.tree

5  aiŋ kapapayŋ, ee
grass-woven.mosquito.net

tanayŋ kapapayŋ, ee
tanayŋ = little basket for carrying fish

waymuŋ kapapayŋ, ee
waymuŋ = little long basket for carrying sago, made of gomba bark; not used by the
Awiakay any more, but still made in Yamandim

kundambi kapapayŋ, ee
kundambi = little grass-woven ‘mat’ for storing tobacco  [picture with Tomi]
yalukambi  piawa,
small.basket.for.fishing. tear.3PL.FUT
‘they’ll tear a yalukanbi basket’

10  piawa piawa, ee
‘they’ll break it, they’ll break it’

kundambi piawa, piawa, ee
‘they’ll tear a kundambi, they’ll tear it’

waymuŋ piawa, piawa, ee
‘they’ll tear a waymuŋ, they’ll tear it’

tangaiŋ piawa, piawa, ee
‘they’ll tear a tangaiŋ, they’ll tear it’

yalukan piawa, piawa, ee
‘they’ll tear a yalukan, they’ll tear it’

15  aiŋ piawa, piawa, ee.
‘they’ll tear a grass-woven mosquito-basket, they’ll tear it’
yalukan agalon, yalukan, ee.
‘there’s no more yakułan, yakułan, ee’

tangaiŋ agalon, tangaiŋ, ee
‘there’s no more tangaiŋ, tangaiŋ, ee’

kundambi agalon, kundambi, ee
there’s no more kundambi, kundambi, ee

waymuŋ agalon, waymuŋ, ee
there’s no more waymuŋ, waymuŋ, ee

20  tangaiŋ agalon, tangaiŋ, ee
there’s no more tangaiŋ, tangaiŋ, ee
aiŋ agalon, aiŋ, ee
there’s no more aiŋ, aiŋ, ee
yalukan kapapayŋ, yalukan, ee

tangaiŋ kapapayŋ, tangaiŋ, ee

kundambi kapapayŋ, kundambi, ee

25 waymug kapapayŋ, waymug, ee

26 aŋ kapapayŋ, aŋ, ee.

33 AYK MAMAY KE mejŋ

33.1 Ayk mamay keŋjen [var. keke] (x3)

stinging, nettles

ayk mamay keŋjen (x3)

stinging, nettles

yambus mamay keŋjen (x3)

stinging, nettles

ala mamay keŋjen (x3)

stinging, nettles

5 paplug pukia, takus alay imbia

head dress 3ACC black

[paplug = head dress made of cassowary feathers]

takus alay imbia

3ACC black

takus alay imbia

3ACC black

kandukya mamay

white stinging nettles

[nettles found in the village]

imbia mamay

black stinging nettles

[these do not exist. The Awiakay say that this and the following line are sug just to 'decorate the song']

10 tolia mamay

yellow stinging nettles

[do not exist]

pawia mamay

red stinging nettles

[found in the mountain, very painful]

34 WANMAY KUI

34.1 Wanmay kui (x3)

[male name; Mapuk's ancestor]

[kui is for 'decorating the song' only]

(x2)
Singiakmay kui (x3)  
[male name]  
(x2)  

3 Yambis-numba kunam (x3)  
[fem.name]-husband ZH  
Yambis’s husband, brother-in-law  
(x2)  

* Kapingas numba kunam  
Kapingas’s husband, brother-in-law  

*5 Embenda numba kunam  
Embenda’s husband, brother-in-law  

Asu pi kolope (x3)  
As u tell to sit down  
(x2)  

tangun kulum bun (x2)  
spear  
(x2)  

Tamin yai tapuka (x2)  
[hill name] pig old  
‘what a pig on Tamin’  
[Tamin = name of a hill on Imanmeri land]  
(x2)  

Alukas yai tapuka (x2)  
[creek name]  
‘what a pig at Alukas’  
(x2)  

10 Tangum yai tapuka  
what a pig at Tangum  
[Tangum = name of a hill on Ambonwari land; marks border with the Ambonwari]  

Kawas yai tapuka  
what a pig at Kawas  
[Kawas = name of a creek on Imanmeri land]  

Kasakmay yai tapuka  
what a pig at Kasakmay  
[Kasakmay = creek name, a tributary of Aimos, northern Awia kay land]  

* Tamia mamba pokope  
jaw touched  

* Tumbunja mamba pokope  
jaw touched  

15* Alukasin mamba pokope  
jaw touched  
[creek on Ambonwari land going towards lake Virginia]  

* lines 4-5 and 13-15 added in 2012 recording
35 APISIMBUN WARA

35.1 apisimbun wara
  - saimo wara yambenengamun
  - saimo wara saimo yambenengamun ee
  - kulay ee.

36 AKUT MAN AKUT

36.1 akut man akut manda tanga-imba
  - tambay pasaki
  - kulupi pasaki
  - wasakonman kupi pasaki
  - apia wakapayke (x8)
    - pulumapim
  -

37 PAMBRIKONBAN SIPI YANTA

37.1 pambrikonban sipi yanta mong’an
  -* yongandok komban
  -* yongandok sipi yanta monan
  -* panbri komban monan
  -*5 sipi yanta monan
    - awa kanjinbri
      - pambri komban pambri sipingarom
      - mungan awana kanjinbri
      - sapia wara
      -
    10 awa kanjinbri
    -
sapia sapia wara

maman sapia wara

* lines 2-5 were added in 2012 in order to replace the 'insufficient' first line

TEM ENDINGA 'Songs of the sun'

38 YAYTAN YAYT YAYT

38.1 Yayt-an Yayt Yayt (x8)
[fem.name]-AGENT

O. Nandombuŋ asia-ik molak
my asia fish rotted at Nandom creek
[asia = ]
[Nandom = a tributary of Aimos]

Nandom asia-ik molak
my asia fish rotted at Nandom creek

Pakoy an asia-ik molak
[type.of.fish-INAL.POSS]
my asia fish rotted at Pakoy lake
[Pakoy = a lake on Imanmeri land; Imanmeri name Pakit]

Suandom an asiaik molak
my asia fish rotted at Suandom creek
[Suandom = a tributary of Aimos]

Nandom kabam-buk molak
[type.of.fish-INAL.POSS]
my perch rotted at Nandom creek

Pakoy kabam-buk molak
my perch rotted at Pakoy lake

Suandom kabam-buk molak
my perch rotted at Suandom creek

39 SUAN SUK SUK

It is dawn and the fog has covered the ground...

39.1 suan suk suk, map
down came the fog

mapaij map map
to the ground

saypan sayp sayp

Iman nambun kajgay
an Imanmeri woman cried

5 Waki nambun kajgay
an Ambonwari woman cried
Tuas nambun kănggay
a Tuas woman cried
[Tuas = a hill on Konmei/Kundiman land]

Namh"i nambun kănggay
a Yamandim woman cried

40 Kangapan kangapmay

40.1 kangapan kangapmay
you’re crying, she’ll be crying

* penauk-an penauk
sweet potatoe, sweet potatoe

Iman nambun kănggay
an Imanmeri woman cried

Waki nambun kănggay
an Ambonwari woman cried

5 Tuas nambun kănggay
a Tuas woman cried

* [in 2012 recording the singers started with line 2 and continued with 1]

41 Mongon kali

41.1 mongon kali apan konan
type.of.snake

sipin kali sapan konan

* simari apan konan
sun [KWR]
yungun yapa konan, pasin ee [in 2012 recording the singers sang pasi-le]

5 sipi yapa konan, pasin ee

* alon alon konan, pasin ee

* yoloy yoloy konan, pasin ee

simay yakandimbon temun yaka-kand-imbon
small.lizard is.rising the.sun is.rising

asapi yakandinbon
sun [ARCH] is.rising

* [lines 3, 6, 7 added in 2012]

42 Sipin-gari yapa konan

42.1 sipin garî yapa konan
[gari = kali; variation in pronunciation]
mokon garî yapa konan
small.lizard
sago.pancake [KWR]

5 temun yakandi
the sun [is about to] rise

asapi konganjinbon
sun [ARCH] it's giving light
the sun is giving light now
[asapi = the language of spirits, Awiakay from faraway past]

temun konganjinbon
the sun is giving light now

asapi konganjinbon
the sun [ARCH] is giving light now

* asapi niminakinan [KWR]

simari niminakinan
sun. KWR
the sun [KWR] is giving light now

yongon yamba konan
turtle fire
fiery carapes konan

simay yakandi
the sun [KWR] [is about to] rise

temun yakandimbon, temun ee
the sun is rising, sun - ee

asapi yakandimbon, asapi ee (x2)
the sun [ARCH] is rising, sun - ee

15 temun yakandimbon, temun ee
the sun is rising, sun - ee

* [lines 9-15 added in 2012]