One hundred Paiwan texts

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One hundred Paiwan texts

Robert Early and John Whitehorn



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Preface

This collection of texts is offered:

- to the Paiwan people, as a repository of some very small part of their oral literature heritage;
- to Austronesianists, as a source of lexical and grammatical information about one of the higher-order languages in the Austronesian language family;
- to the linguistic community, as preserving a corpus of partially-analysed natural texts of an endangered language; and
- to anthropologists, as a primary source of information about a culture and a way of life which has largely passed away.

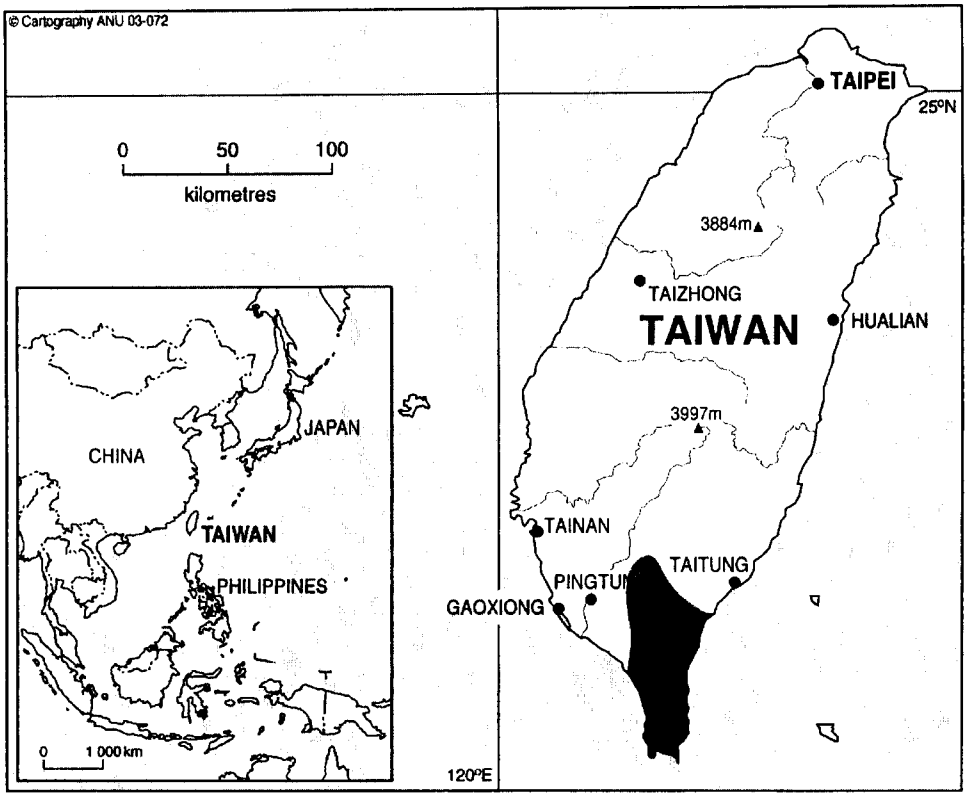
Dr Malcolm Ross provided useful oversight at various stages of the project, and his input is gratefully acknowledged. Also, the Research Committee of the University of the South Pacific provided some funds to enable a short period of face-to-face collaboration between the two editors, and this support was much appreciated.

This volume is dedicated to Pali Padadaɬ, Giɬgiɬaw Patsinglaw and Tjukar Padjulu who helped John Whitehorn to begin to learn their Paiwan language.

Abbreviations and symbols

-	normal morpheme break
=	infix morpheme break
AF	actor/agent focus
C	construct marker
COMPL	complement
EXC	exclusive
EXCL	exclamation
F	focus
F	Ferrell (1982)
H	honorific
HORT	hortative
IF	instrument focus
IMP	imperative
INC	inclusive
INVOL	involuntary
Jap	Japanese
LF	locational focus
LOC	locational preposition

Min	Minnan Chinese
NOM	nominalizer
NUM	number
OA	Ogawa and Asai (1935)
OBL	oblique argument
P	plural (of pronoun)
PAST	past tense
PERF	perfective aspect
PF	patient/object focus
PL	plural
QAL	quality
RED	reduplicated element
S	singular (of pronoun)
STAT	stative
3RD.PERS	third person



Map of Paiwan language area

1 *Introduction*

This volume presents a collection of one hundred texts in the Paiwan language, which is an indigenous language of the island of Taiwan, and a member of the Austronesian language family. The first seventy-four texts were collected by two Japanese anthropologists, Naoyoshi Ogawa and Erin Asai, before the Second World War, and the remaining twenty-six were collected by one of the co-authors of this volume, Reverend John Whitehorn, from England, when he was working with the Presbyterian church in the Paiwan area in the early 1950s.

This chapter gives some introductory background to the Paiwan language, and to the text collection. The texts are given in Chapter 2, and are followed by a concordance (Chapter 3), which gives all Paiwan morphemes with their glosses and an exhaustive list of references to their location in the texts. Chapter 4 is a reversal or finder list, which gives an alphabetical list in English of all glosses, with their Paiwan forms.

After learning and using Paiwan for many years, Whitehorn prepared a sketch grammar of the language which, although used as a source by Ferrell (1982), has never been published. It is included as an Appendix to this volume.

1.1 The Paiwan language and its speakers

The Paiwan are one of the indigenous ethnolinguistic minority groups of Taiwan. Along with those of other similar groups, their language is a member of the vast Austronesian language family, and belongs to its northernmost and most ancient subgroup. Ten such groups are commonly listed as having living languages, but another three languages are barely surviving. We know the names of at least another nine languages once spoken by related groups which have been almost entirely assimilated to Chinese culture and language.

The traditional homelands of the groups are the mountains which cover the eastern two-thirds of Taiwan and the narrow plain between hill ranges parallel to the east coast. The Paiwan area includes the mountains of the southern tip of the island, with a highest peak of 10,000 feet. In recent years, many of the indigenous peoples have migrated to the cities and towns of the western plain, especially the Amis people. Many Paiwan people work in the Chinese cities, but comparatively few have moved permanently to them.

The total population of the ten groups is about 325,000, or 1.6% of the island's population. After the Amis, the Paiwan are the second largest group. Ho (1995:307) notes that the 1964 data gave the population of the Paiwan as 44,682, and Tsuchida (1983) gives a 1978 figure of 53,000. The current population is probably in the vicinity of about 60,000, but it needs to be remembered that this is a socioethnic categorisation which is not

to be taken as a claim regarding how many people speak the language. A modern generation has grown up which uses the Paiwan language less and less. Children have been encouraged by their parents to speak the national language, Mandarin, to get a good start in the highly competitive world of education and commerce; and in their leisure time they watch television programmes in Mandarin, there being of course none in Paiwan. Egli stated in 1990 that the language was in danger of dying out.

There is however an Indigenous Peoples' Rights movement which stresses indigenous non-Chinese culture, and there are activists who, for example, insist on using their 'real' names, not their official Chinese ones. This may help with the survival of the old cultures, including the stories and oral history associated with them. Other non-linguistic features of the different cultural groups, such as the quite distinct costumes and traditional ceremonial dress associated with each, are retained as important indicators of ethno-social identity.

In the past, the government of the Republic of China discouraged the use of the indigenous languages, but in recent years there has been a belated policy change to encouraging their use. So, for example, the Pingtung county government (covering the larger part of the Paiwan-speaking area) has produced a textbook to teach Paiwan children to read and write the mother tongue, and this includes one of the old stories. Unfortunately however, this seems to have been produced without reference to other sources which exemplify a more linguistically grounded orthography.

Dr Malcolm Ross visited the Paiwan language area in 1992 with a Paiwan speaker, and on carrying out some spot-testing of children's knowledge of the language found the results rather saddening: "not only could they not speak, they hardly understood anything", although he recognised that this might not be the case in villages that were more remote than the area he visited (letter to John Whitehorn, 15 January 1993).

Tsuchida (1983) notes that the Paiwan language has often been referred to as Paiuan or Payowan, and other names that have been used include Kadas, Kale-whan, Kapiangan, Katsausan, Li-li-sha, Samobi, Samohai, Saprêk, Tamari, Tsalisen, and Tsarisen. Some of these are particular village names, and Tsalisen and Tsarisen are corruptions of the north-west Paiwan word *katsalisian* 'people of the mountain slopes'. The Rukai word is similar, so 'Tsarisen' is found on some maps of the Japanese era covering the Rukai and north-west Paiwan areas, and so sometimes Paiwan has been listed in conjunction with the Rukai or Puyuma languages.

1.2 Previous study of Paiwan

The key published materials for Paiwan are:

- The texts of Ogawa and Asai (1935), which are published in Japanese translation and which make up the bulk of the content of this present volume, now in English translation.
- The Paiwan–English dictionary published by Ferrell (1982). The dictionary also includes an English–Paiwan finder list, and other useful introductory material.
- The grammar of Paiwan, *Paiwangrammatik*, written in German by Egli (1990).
- Various published materials by Ho Dah-an, especially an introduction to the language and wordlist (Ho 1995).
- A grammar of Paiwan written in Chinese (Chen 1986).

- Chen Kang's *Notes on High Mountain Language (Paiwan)*, Institute of Nationalities, Beijing (1986).

Egli (1990) is obviously a substantial work, but our lack of knowledge of German has restricted its usefulness. Ferrell (1982) also contains a significant amount of introductory material in addition to the actual dictionary, but in places the analyses of these two grammatical descriptions appear to diverge.

In the early stages of language learning Whitehorn also prepared a short grammar sketch, which has remained unpublished until now, and in keeping with the archival purposes of the current volume, that sketch is reproduced here as an appendix.

Details of some other materials, along with brief annotations in some cases, are listed in the References.

1.3 Literature in Paiwan

Amongst the earliest literacy materials produced was a primer *A Paiwan First Reader*, published in 1967. At this time, there was official resistance to the use of Roman script in vernacular publications, and so it was produced in modified Chinese script, which was also referred to as MPA ('Mandarin phonetic adaptation'). This script was used to help children in the first years of primary school with the pronunciation of ideographs, being printed beside them. The same reader was not published in Roman script until 1988 after government policy changed.

Separate books of the New Testament part of the Bible were published from 1959 in the MPA script, and the whole New Testament in 1973. The chief translator was Pali of Vaɬulu, and his work was reviewed by committees of Paiwan speakers. From 1985 to 1991 two-thirds of the Old Testament was translated, and the New Testament was revised. These formed the Shorter Bible, which was published in 1993 in romanised script. The chief translator was Tukar of Butan district, and again his work was reviewed by committees representing several protestant denominations, under the supervision of the Bible Society in the Republic of China.

The Swiss Roman Catholic missionary Fr Guntern also translated the four Gospels into the eastern dialect. A book of Bible stories and several hymnbooks have also been prepared over the years.

Other Paiwan material includes some poetry published on the Internet. Also, ten Paiwan traditional songs were including in a recording *Taiwan Tribal People's Music Collection* produced many years ago by Swan Records.

A book on Amis culture (in Amis, Chinese and English) has been produced (Bible Society of the Republic of China 1993) and the Mother Tongue Promotion Committee of the Atayal Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has published a booklet including some old Atayal stories. It is to be hoped that Paiwan speakers may do the same for their own language and culture.

1.4 The text collection

The one hundred Paiwan texts in this volume are written in a modified Roman script orthography, and include two levels of interlinearisation and English translation. For details of the interlinear format, see §1.6. The texts comprise two separate collections: Texts 1-74 represent the complete corpus of Paiwan texts obtained around 70 years ago by

two Japanese scholars, and Texts 75-100 were recorded by Whitehorn in the 1950s. These two collections of texts are now described more fully.

1.4.1 Ogawa and Asai's texts

In 1935 the Institute of Linguistics at the Taihoku Imperial University, which was located in Taipei, published a volume in Japanese whose title is translated as *The myths and traditions of the Formosan native tribes (texts and notes).* A scanned image of the bibliography details with Japanese script (taken from Ho 1978:679) is given here:

> Ogawa, Naoyoshi and Erin Asai (小川尚義與淺井惠倫). 1935. Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes (原語による臺灣高砂族傳說集). Taipei.

This book had been compiled by two Japanese anthropologists, Naoyoshi Ogawa and Erin Asai, and will be referred to here as "Ogawa and Asai 1935", or simply "OA". It contained material on twelve Austronesian languages from Taiwan, including Paiwan. The Roman script transliteration of the Japanese title of OA is *Gengo ni yoru Taiwan Takasagozoku Densetsushū* (from Ho 1977:616).

In OA, the section on each language includes a brief description of important features of the phonetics, grammar and syntax of that language – written of course in Japanese. Other material is mainly traditional stories which the authors had collected from speakers of these languages. The stories were recorded in July and August of 1932. The names of the narrators, interpreters and 'assistants' are recorded, but it is a fair assumption that after nearly 70 years none of those involved are still alive, so we can't know just how the recording was done. The text of the stories is written in modified Roman script, including some IPA symbols, and has interlinear glosses in Japanese for each word, some notes on grammar, and a running translation in Japanese.

Scanned images of the title page of OA and a sample text page from it appear on the next two pages (Figures 1 and 2).

It appears that of all the languages, Paiwan held special interest for Ogawa. He had published three papers specifically about Paiwan in 1930, and OA contains 165 pages devoted to the language, and includes mention of a total of ten distinct dialects.

Those who have come to the study of Paiwan subsequently have had a great interest in the texts in OA. These include Ho Dah-an, who points out that the data in OA contains some problems of phonemicisation and inadequate handling of morphophonemic alternations, but also notes that the more recent work by Ferrell also had similar defects (Ho 1977:618).

Whitehorn's interest in the OA texts began during residence in Taiwan from 1951 to 1970, and continued from that time, including during subsequent visits to Taiwan in the period 1986–1991, associated with the translation of the Bible into Paiwan. Whitehorn has had a particular interest in publishing these texts for an English audience, and had correspondence about this with Dr Paul Li. In 1989, Dr Li stated in a letter to Whitehorn that he faintly recalled that some of the Ogawa and Asai texts had been translated and published in English in a primarily French language journal, some ten years previously, with the name of the journal including the words "d'Asie", but no reference for this was able to be traced at that time, or subsequently up until now.

上山元臺灣總督記念事業

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF KAMIYAMA FOUNDATION

原語による

臺灣高砂族傳說集

THE

MYTHS AND TRADITIONS

OF THE

FORMOSAN NATIVE TRIBES

(TEXTS AND NOTES)

臺北帝國大學

言語學研究室調查

INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

TAIHOKU IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY

昭和十年

1935

Figure 1: Title page of *Myths and traditions*.

1. カチライ社
(qatsilai)

1. ti sapulalujalujan
サプラルヤルヤン

ti sapulalujalujan tsug ʔa marevo atoa
はサプラルヤルヤン よく其 爭 と

valau / nu kiman ini pakani / marʔa
妻 時 食 不 使食 惡

vulacin / qau ⌊imutsiŋ azoa valau / vaik
所 打 そこで 怒 其 妻 行

a lita⌊aj toa viroŋ noa tsoqo / qau
其 入 に 孔 の 茄麥 そこで

tsoatsoaj-aŋa ma⌊ap ti sapulalujalujan toa
爲 了 持 は サプラルヤルヤン な

pucau / sa pucavi ʔa tsoqo / ʔa more pa-
斧 面 所伐 は 茄麥 其 愚

likatsawan toa valau / manu tiŋ aja /
使出現 な 妻 突然 トンといふ

mi⌊ajap ʔa sma cai ⌊ikuz toa lavik /
視 其 赴 方 向 の 海

tsoatsoaj-aŋa mapovaroŋ ti sapulaluja-
爲 了 心配 は サプラルヤ

lujan / qœmaqeivu toa siʔataqalan to vaik
ルヤン 呼 な 下 爲に 行

a qœmalup / qau ʔilavaran ti sapulaluja-
其 持 そこで 着 は サプラルヤ

1. サプラルヤルヤン

サプラルヤルヤンはよく妻と喧嘩した。食事の時も食はさないで,殴つたりした。それで其妻は怒つて,茄麥の木の孔の中へはひつてしまつた。暫くしてサプラルヤルヤンは,斧を持つて茄麥を伐つて,妻を出さうとした。するとトーンといふ音がして[妻は]海の向うへ飛んだ。

とサプラルヤルヤンは心配して,狩に行く爲に僕下を呼んだ。そこでサプラルヤルヤンが言ふには[私は海岸

採錄期：昭和七年六月高雄州屏東郡カチライ社にて調査.
口授筆授者：kavak ʔa ⌊osiazan (楠一郎) 28歳. 男. 臺南師範學校出身. 高士佛公學校訓導.

1. ti 人名, 及び人名詞の冠詞. 主格. IN. si.
2. ʔa 普通名詞(人名詞を除くし動詞名詞の主格. 又關係代名詞の如く用ゐられ同格を表はすことあり. 此處にてはサプラルヤルヤンは卵う爭ふ者の義. IN. ka.
3. k-im-an 食ふ. 主體主. ini pa-kan-i 食はさぬ. 客體主. IN. kan.
4. vulac-in 打つ. 客體主. v-in-ulac 主體主.
qau 接續詞. そこで, それで, すると, などの義. トクアン其他北部パイワン ʔau.
5. li-ta⌊aj 中にはひる, ta⌊aj 內. li- 進む, 行く.
to-a …な, …に, …で, などの義. 又略して ta.
no-a …の, 又略して na.
6. tsoa-tsoaj-aŋa<tsoai 久しい, -aŋa に續くとき tsoaj-aŋa. -aŋa 過去, …だ, …だよ, など.
7. pucau <蕃語譯, 蕃頭. pho-thau). pucav-i <pucau-i 斧で伐る. 客體主. 茄麥.
sa 面して.
ʔa more 此處にては, サプラルヤルヤンは卵う しようと思ふ者といふ意. 比. 註. 2.
8. pa-li-katsaw-an 出す者. 主體主. katsau 外. katsaw-an 外の處. pa-li- 行かせる. 比. 註. 5.
manu 原意, 何. Seed. manə 何, Atay. nano 何. パイワンにては何の意味に使用されず, 或事を豫期してゐたところが意外, これは何だといふかり驚く意, 又轉じて, ところが, ふと, 突然, 或時, 丁度などの意となる.
aja さういふ, さうする.
9. sma <s-m-a. 其方へ行く, 赴く. sa …へ.
cai <ca-i. ca <ta 處の意. 比. Tag. taga. i 處所. 又はその場所に在る人, 物.
⌊ikuz 背後, 海の向ふに在る處の方へ行く意. Tag. likod.
toa 位置の關係を示す場合は noa を用ゐず, toa を用ゐる.
10. ma-po-varoŋ 心配する, 心が置かるゝ意. varoŋ 心.
11. q-œm-aqeivu 呼ぶ.
to … の爲に, to-a の to に同じ. 比. 註. 5.
12. q-œm-alup 持する. Atay. q-əm-alup.
ʔi-lavar-an <ki-lavar-an 自分でいふ. ma-lavar 互に話す. ʔe-revo <ki-rivo 不平, 比. 142頁. 4行.～ma-revo 互に爭ふ. 2行.

Figure 2: Sample text page of *Myths and traditions*.

Whitehorn had also met Dr Stanley Starosta in Taiwan at an early stage in the work that each was doing, perhaps in around 1964, but they did not meet again until May 1992. At that time, Rev. Whitehorn shared his ideas on working with the Ogawa and Asai texts, and Dr Starosta referred him to Dr Malcolm Ross, who, as an Austronesianist and member of the Editorial Board of *Pacific Linguistics*, was then able to advise on how the project could proceed. One particular and appropriate specification was that rather than just publish the texts in English translation, *Pacific Linguistics* would only be able to publish them if more detailed linguistic information expressed in interlinear format was included, and this has now been accomplished.

Another earlier scholar with interest in Paiwan was Fr Hans Egli, a Catholic missionary in the area, who wrote a grammar of the language in the east Paiwan area (Egli 1990). In a letter to Whitehorn in 1991, Fr Egli indicated that he planned to publish the Ogawa and Asai texts in German, and that he had also published a volume of one hundred Paiwan folktales which he had collected. This volume is thought to be entitled either *Mirimiringan* or *Milimilingan*, but has not come to hand in the course of this current project. In 1994, Fr Egli confirmed that he had completed the translation of the OA texts into German, but indicated that the plan to publish them was somewhat indefinite, with the major concern being that publication in German would limit their availability. Accordingly, in the absence of any other publication of these texts for an English readership it was decided to proceed with preparing this current volume.

1.4.2 Whitehorn's texts

The last 26 texts include a variety of traditional stories, first-person narratives, speeches, sermons and prayers. Whitehorn relates how they were collected:

> I began learning Paiwan in 1952. The only helps I had were the brief descriptions given in OA, and Ogawa's Japanese–Paiwan Wordbook of the southernmost dialect. A man in his early twenties at the time, Gilgilaw of Valulu, was chosen to be my informant, and until I had learnt a little Paiwan we were able to converse in Japanese, in which he had had some years of elementary schooling. When we had worked out a suitable orthography I encouraged him to write about aspects of Paiwan life and his own life story, to provide me with material to analyse and to increase my knowledge of vocabulary and grammar. Gilgilaw's texts are Texts 75–88 in the collection.
>
> The remaining texts, Texts 89–100, are a group of texts recorded on tape in 1954, partly to provide material which I could take back to Britain so that staff at the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University could help me with the analysis of the phonetics and grammar of Paiwan. Those who took part were a group of men and women from various dialect areas who had migrated temporarily or permanently to the Chinese town of Pingtung near the Paiwan area. These people, then mostly in their twenties to forties, had lived most of their lives under Japanese rule and had had elementary schooling in Japanese. But they knew the old stories, and some were good at retelling them. This group of texts also includes some prayers and farewell messages that were recorded at that time.

1.4.3 Preparation of this collection

Whitehorn is responsible for the translation of all the texts into English, and has been the key resource for making decisions about appropriate glosses and renderings. Translating the OA texts drew on his knowledge not only of Paiwan, but also of Japanese and Chinese. He prepared fairly literal sentence-by-sentence translations of the texts, and also produced computer files which contained some word-level glosses and occasional notes. Robert Early came into the project at a later stage, once the translations had been completed for a number of years. His role was to take the computer files of the translated texts, which were in simple text file format, and migrate them to a database format. The program of choice for this purpose was *Shoebox* (version 5), which facilitated the automated interlinearisation of texts and the development of an online dictionary file which interacted with the interlinearisation process. *Shoebox* also provided automation of the task of producing concordance data. Early has also been responsible for the formatting and preparation of this volume for publication.

1.4.4 Purposes of the collection

This volume has three main functions.

- It is a resource of fascinating Paiwan cultural materials. In particular, it makes the Ogawa and Asai texts available for the first time in English translation. This is a valuable record of the Paiwan culture from a previous era, and will be of great interest to those speakers of the language who can read the Roman-based script, as well as to ethnographers, especially students of indigenous literatures and oracy.
- The presentation of morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and English translations, along with the concordance, makes the texts a highly accessible corpus of Paiwan language materials. The texts are older, and presumably the language has undergone changes since the time they were recorded, but these are not likely to be too significant in this time frame. And if change has taken place, it can only be established by reference to such earlier materials as these texts, so the existence of this corpus is a crucial contribution. Despite the possibility of language change, it is still considered that this collection of texts provides a useful resource of semi-analysed data which will be of interest to linguists working with the languages of Taiwan, as well as those researching the history of the Austronesian language family.
- This volume also serves an archival purpose by making available the sketch phonology and grammar of Paiwan prepared by Whitehorn in 1967. More detailed treatments by Ferrell (1982) and Egli (1990) have appeared subsequently, and a doctoral dissertation on Paiwan grammar is currently in preparation at the Australian National University by Anna Chang, but it is important that the ground-breaking work of Whitehorn be preserved in published format.

1.4.5 List of texts

The table over the next few pages gives a listing of the various texts that are included in this volume. The source is either the page number in OA in which the printed text is

found, or the year of collection for those texts compiled by Whitehorn. The OA texts are given their Paiwan name with an English translation, while the texts collected by Whitehorn are named after their main topic. Each text is placed into a group relating to a broad categorisation of its content.

Text	Source	Name	Type
001	OA p.141	ti sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan (person)	G. Husband & wife
002	OA p.145	vaɬaw nua qatjuvi The snake's wife	E. Monsters
003	OA p.150	malutjulutjuk a uqaɬay The stupid man	J. Foolish person
004	OA p.154	marekaka The brothers	J. Foolish person
005	OA p.157	ti sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan kati sa Simidalu P. and S. (both people)	F. Superhumans
006	OA p.160	tjugelui katua ngangay White owl and brown owl	D. Animals
007	OA p.162	maqinatsap a se Qalu The Qalu people go head-hunting	D. Animals
008	OA p.164	mareḍava kati sa Kidadaw Women friends and Kidadaw	G. Husband & wife
009	OA p.166	qam katua gang The ant-eater and the crab	D. Animals
010	OA p.170	ti sa Kapurar Kapurar (person)	H. Sex/Love
011	OA p.173	vaɬaw a uqaɬay a qintsi nua vavayan The husband killed by his wife	G. Husband & wife
012	OA p.178	namengeḍuq tua lima a se Tjakuvukuvuɬ The Tjakuvukuvuɬ man who cut off his hand	K. Miscellaneous
013	OA p.180	ti sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan kati sa Suɬaɬuɬaɬui Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan & Suɬaɬuɬaɬui (people)	G. Husband & wife
014	OA p.183	mareḍava katua mareqali Women friends and men friends	H. Sex/Love
015	OA p.184	imatsatsukes Stone gate	B. Origins
016	OA p.185	kakeḍian a ɬevavaw itjua kalevelevan The child who went up to heaven	I. Rejected girl
017	OA p.189	vatu Dogs	D. Animals
018	OA p.190	ti Savaɬi Savaɬi (person)	E. Monsters
019	OA p.192	milingan Old treasures	B. Origins

Text	Source	Name	Type
020	OA p.193	sipaizan a qatsiłay The stone fan	B. Origins
021	OA p.193	ałis nua kutji Teeth in the vagina	H. Sex/Love
022	OA p.194	maparumał a kadjunangan Earthquakes	B. Origins
023	OA p.194	qatsa a załum The flood	A. Cosmos
024	OA p.196	seman pana Making rivers	D. Animals
025	OA p.197	keman tua qatjuvi Eating snakes	E. Monsters
026	OA p.199	Tjimu Tjimu (person)	F. Superhumans
027	OA p.199	venan vavuy sizi takets Deer, wild pig, goat and muntjac deer	D. Animals
028	OA p.201	ḍiḍi Pigs	D. Animals
029	OA p.202	kutsu Lice	C. Customs
030	OA p.202	pumuqan katua ngilu Ulcers and pain	C. Customs
031	OA p.203	saviki Areca/betel tree	C. Customs
032	OA p.204	ti sa Qalamudis katua valałuvał Qalamudis and the water monster	E. Monsters
033	OA p.206	kadjułean nua vatu Where the dog settled	B. Origins
034	OA p.207	ti Sapayas katua ła Qavulung Sapayas and the Qavulung family	C. Customs
035	OA p.209	se Tjauvalivali The people of Tjauvalivali	B. Origins
036	OA p.210	vatu Dogs	D. Animals
037	OA p.211	takets Muntjac deer	D. Animals
038	OA p.214	ti sa Tsudjuy Tsudjuy (person)	F. Superhumans
039	OA p.216	pałi The evil-eye man	F. Superhumans
040	OA p.218	Tjukutjuku Tjukutjuku (person)	I. Rejected girl
041	OA p.222	Kului Kului (person)	E. Monsters
042	OA p.224	ti ḍail kati gagang The monkey and the crab	D. Animals

Text	Source	Name	Type
043	OA p.227	ti Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan kati Tjukutjuku P. and Tj. (both people)	G. Husband & wife
044	OA p.228	ti Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan katua qaḍis P. and the hawk	F. Superhumans
045	OA p.230	keman tua tsautsau A cannibal	F. Superhumans
046	OA p.230	pana a palisi The taboo river	A. Cosmos
047	OA p.231	ti Kuɬeɬuɬeɬu Kuɬeɬuɬeɬu (person)	J. Foolish person
048	OA p.234	ḍakasi A two-headed monster	F. Superhumans
049	OA p.234	maɬeveq Origin of the five-year festival	C. Customs
050	OA p.236	qalitsi a metsautsau The penis which became a man	H. Sex/Love
051	OA p.242	ti sa Idjuidjung Idjuidjung (person)	H. Sex/Love
052	OA p.244	ti sa Vatjuɬayan Vatjuɬayan (Mr Iron)	D. Animal
053	OA p.245	qatsa a zaɬum The flood	A. Cosmos
054	OA p.248	maɬevuq The five-year festival	C. Customs
055	OA p.250	tjatjiw The black drongo bird	D. Animals
056	OA p.251	qaruqaruman kata ḍail The ant-eater and the monkey	D. Animals
057	OA p.254	ti Valuliaw Valuliaw	F. Superhumans
058	OA p.255	Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan and Tjukutjuku P. and Tj. (both people)	G. Husband & wife
059	OA p.265	ngangay katua tjugeluy White owl and brown owl	D. Animals
060	OA p.268	quzang kati tjingangaḍuy Shrimp and tree-lizard	D. Animals
061	OA p.269	Muakakai Muakakai (person)	H. Sex/Love
062	OA p.271	paɬi The evil-eye man	F. Superhumans
063	OA p.273	se Padain kata se Kapayuanan The people of Padain and K.	B. Origins
064	OA p.274	ḍusa a qadaw Two suns	A. Cosmos
065	OA p.274	Ḍiququ Ḍiququ	H. Sex/Love

Text	Source	Name	Type
066	OA p.276	kemsa ta vaqu Cooking millet	C. Customs
067	OA p.277	Tumapalapalai kata Kavulungan T. and K. mountains	A. Cosmos
068	OA p.277	qatsa a zaɬum The flood	A. Cosmos
069	OA p.279	Saulivan Saulivan (person)	A. Cosmos
070	OA p.280	Tail kati Piri Tail and Piri (both people)	B. Origins
071	OA p.281	mapuɬu katua qaqa The orphans and the crow	K. Miscellaneous
072	OA p.285	Sapulungan kati Muakai Sapulungan and Muakai (both people)	G. Husband & wife
073	OA p.288	Muakai Muakai (person)	G. Husband & wife
074	OA p.292	mui i Valivaliw The white stone at Valivaliw	B. Origins
075	W 1952	Ant-eater and the rabbit	D. Animals
076	W 1952	Children up a tree	K. Miscellaneous
077	W 1952	Dreams	L. Factual
078	W 1952	Work in fields	L. Factual
079	W 1952	My life	L. Factual
080	W 1952	Playing at hunting	K. Miscellaneous
081	W 1952	Mice soldiers	K. Miscellaneous
082	W 1952	Owls and children	L. Factual
083	W 1952	Pangolin (Ant-eater)	D. Animals
084	W 1952	Piyaqan and Tsabɬiɬaq	H. Sex/Love
085	W 1952	Shaman	L. Factual
086	W 1952	Snails	D. Animals
087	W 1952	Taboos	C. Customs
088	W 1952	Weddings	C. Customs
089	W 1954	The drunkard returns home	K. Miscellaneous
090	W 1954	Harvest prospects	K. Miscellaneous
091	W 1954	Kuɬeɬeɬeɬe and Pulelelengan	B. Origins
092	W 1954	Wedding consultation	K. Miscellaneous
093	W 1954	Message to people in England (1)	M. Exhortation
094	W 1954	Message to people in England (2)	M. Exhortation
095	W 1954	Prayer	M. Exhortation
096	W 1954	Sermon and prayer	M. Exhortation
097	W 1954	Farewell message (1)	M. Exhortation
098	W 1954	Farewell message (2)	M. Exhortation
099	W 1954	Farewell message (3)	M. Exhortation
100	W 1954	Farewell message (4)	M. Exhortation

The categorisation of these texts can be summarised as follows:

Type	Texts
A. Cosmos	023, 046, 053, 064, 067, 068, 069
B. Origins	015, 019, 020, 022, 033, 035, 063, 070, 074, 091
C. Customs	029, 030, 031, 034, 049, 054, 066, 087, 088
D. Animal	006, 007, 009, 017, 024, 027, 028, 036, 037, 042, 052, 055, 056, 059, 060, 075, 083, 086
E. Monsters	002, 018, 025, 032, 041
F. Superhumans	005, 026, 038, 039, 044, 045, 048, 057, 062
G. Husband & wife	001, 008, 011, 013, 043, 058, 072, 073
H. Sex/Love	010, 014, 021, 050, 051, 061, 065, 084
I. Rejected girl	016, 040
J. Foolish person	003, 004, 047
K. Miscellaneous	012, 071, 076, 080, 081, 089, 090, 092
L. Factual	077, 078, 079, 082, 085
M. Exhortation	093, 094, 095, 096, 097, 098, 099, 100

This categorisation clearly echoes themes found in the folklore of other Austronesian ethnolinguistic minority groups elsewhere in Taiwan. Based on an analysis of the stories of the Paiwan and the other indigenous peoples of Taiwan, Covell (1997) identifies the following broad themes: origin of the cosmos, origin of human beings, origin of life as it is today, tales of cosmology, tales about the spirits, ritual myths, sexual fantasies, tales of animals, culture heroes, and miscellaneous.

1.4.6 The role of traditional oral texts in Paiwan culture

The bulk of the stories in this collection have undergone oral transmission, presumably for many generations or even centuries, and have only been put into written form in recent times. Covell (1997) writes about the functions of oral tradition in the Taiwanese aboriginal communities:

> These legends have several functions: to trace origins, to explain the mysteries of life as the people experience it, to give reasons for behaviour, to heighten self-identity, to give meaning for common ceremonies, to give pride in a past ideal existence, and possibly to entertain.

Covell (1997) also summarises the key features of this genre of text in Taiwan, which appear to hold true for many of the Paiwan texts in this collection:

1. Many stories are multi-thematic.
2. The scope of the themes is very broad – from the beginning of the human race through an ideal mythical past and to the present.
3. Much of the present life – foods, animals, birds, insects, life-style, rituals and customs – can be explained by the use of these legends.

4. Some topics – sexual fantasies, for example – are perennial topics of discussion in any society. Even here specific past events explain common taboos.
5. The existence and similarity of many common themes in Taiwan and among non-Taiwan Asian peoples suggest a common origin of these mongoloid peoples.

1.5 Paiwan orthography

The orthography used for the Paiwan texts is phonemic, using a modified Roman script, and conforms to that used in Ferrell (1982). The phonemic inventory used in these texts has four vowels, *a*, *e* (=[ə]), *i*, and *u*, along with 23 consonants which are displayed in conventional format in the chart below.

The common symbols represent expected phonetic values. Phoneme *q* is manifested in some dialects as a glottal stop, and in others as a backed-k [k̲] and in texts 095–098, where some forms are found with the [ʔ] glottal stop phoneme in the text, this symbol is replaced in the glosses with *k*, because that is the phoneme that occurs in these same morphemes in all other locations in the texts. An exception to this is the borrowed form *ʔaming*, which always occurs with the actual phonetic glottal stop, and so it is glossed as *qaming*. The digraph *ng* represents the velar nasal [ŋ], *ɬ* is a lateral affricate, *r* is a trilled approximate, and *ḍ* is a retroflexed alveolar plosive.

p	t	k	q
b	d	g	
m	n	ng	
	ts	tj	
		dj	
	s		h
v	z		
	l		
	r		
	ɬ		
	ḍ		
w		y	

The alphabetical order that is followed for Paiwan here is:

a b d (dj) ḍ e g h i k l ɬ m n ng p q r s t (tj) (ts) u v w y z

Although it would have been possible to have given the digraphs *dj*, *tj* and *ts* their own place in the sort order (so that all forms beginning with phoneme *t* are listed before all forms beginning with phoneme *tj*, etc.), the convention for alphabetising these forms in Paiwan is to incorporate the forms that begin with *tj* and *ts* into the listing of forms

beginning with *t*. Digraph *ng* is however sorted separately from other forms beginning with *n*.

Unfortunately, there are other different orthographies that have been used in various other sources, such as in Ho Dah-an's papers on Paiwan dialects, and Chen Kang's *A study of the high mountain tribe language (Paiwan)* (1986, in Chinese). In his *Paiwangrammatik*, Egli (1990) chose to use the orthography used by two other Swiss Catholic missionaries, Hurni and Guntern, who had published some Bible translations in Paiwan. A major problem with this orthography was the use of just the single digraph *tj* for both /tj/ and /dj/ phonemes.

As well, the Paiwan Shorter Bible – which can claim to utilise the only orthography decided upon by native Paiwan speakers themselves – differs from Ferrell (1982), which was the major publication about the language to that point.

The main area of distinction between these various orthographies is in regard to the series of alveopalatal and liquid sounds. The symbols used by some of the various orthographies are given below.

Source							
Ferrell (and here)	tj	dj	ts	ḍ	r	ɬ	l
Egli	tj	tj	ts	dr	rh	l	r
Bible	t̲	d̲	c	r̲	r	l̲	l
originals of Whitehorn texts	tj	dj	ts	dr	r	_l	l

Note that the texts use some other spelling conventions that have been adopted for Paiwan. In particular, capital letters are not used at the beginnings of sentences, but only for proper names of people and places. Also, the symbol "ʻ", representing some value (non-phonemic glottal stop) in Japanese and Chinese, is retained in the loan words *tauʻiyu* and *kisiaʻan*.

1.6 Interlinear format

The Paiwan texts in Chapter 2 are presented in numbered interlinear sections, where each section represents a single sentence. In Chapter 3, text numbers are three digits in bold, and section numbers are in lower case without leading zeros, so "**010** 5" means "section/sentence 5 of text **010**". Sections are made up of one or more interlinear blocks, followed in some cases by a supplementary note or comment where required, and in all cases by an English translation of the whole sentence. Each interlinear block contains three levels of text on separate lines; also, at the end of each text, the English translation of the whole text is given as running text. Some further comments on each of these different kinds of material are given.

1. Text line

The first level of text in each interlinear block is the plain Paiwan text. This text is exactly as contained in the original source, with a few minor changes. The only changes

are cases where it is clear that there is an obvious typo or mistranscription. Most of the latter involve cases where a Paiwan *r* has been heard as an *l* by the Japanese researchers. Note that sentences do not begin with a capital letter, but names and places do. Where changes have been made to the original source, these are described in comments at the end of each sentence.

Although it will not be easy to do, a Paiwan speaker who wishes to just read the story can simply read the first line of each interlinear block and ignore the rest of the material.

2. Morpheme break line

The second level gives word-by-word morpheme breaks. The morpheme break character is '-', but '=' is used, following the affix, to indicate an infix. Infixes are always placed before the morpheme into which they are infixed.

This level presents morphemes in morphophonemic representation, rather than phonemic. This means that each morpheme is regularly represented in the same form, and sometimes will be slightly different from the surface form on the first line. There is not a large amount of morphophonemic process in Paiwan, so in the very large majority of cases the morpheme given in this second line is identical to the surface form in the first line. Where there is some change, the derivation of the surface form from the underlying morpheme structure is usually quite evident. For example, the Patient Focus marker *-en* can be observed to occur as *-in* following vowels.

There is one exception to this. The Agent Focus marker *em=* occurs in several different forms (*em=*, *en=*, *m-*, *m=*, *me-*, *mi-*, *min-*, and *n=*), as prefix or infix, and it seemed more helpful to the reader to give the phonemic representation of each of the allomorphs of this form.

3. Morpheme gloss line

The third line of each interlinear block gives morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. A basic guideline adopted was that Paiwan lexical items would be glossed with English glosses in lower case, and grammatical particles would be glossed with a suitable structural or functional label or abbreviation in SMALL CAPS.

However, the complex verb morphology in Paiwan frequently throws up instances where it is not easy to decide whether a morpheme is a lexical item or a grammatical particle (e.g. *ka* 'main' as a verbal prefix), and also, the concatenation of fairly long strings of abbreviations of grammatical labels makes it difficult to decipher, or to relate to the running translation that follows. Where a fourth line of interlinear text could be given, representing word-by-word translations, this might not be so much of a problem, but for reasons of space, it was not possible to include this extra line. As a result, many morphemes that would be regarded as grammatical particles are in fact glossed with English lexical items in lower case (e.g. 'cause'). This strategy is adopted to facilitate the reading of the third line of interlinearisation, but is not to be taken to mean anything about the word class designation of these forms.

All names of people and places are simply glossed as (name) and (place) respectively. Morpheme glosses often require more than one English item, and these are separated by '.' (e.g. 'last.night'). This convention carries over to the concordance and finder list chapters. Sometimes this is because the morpheme is portmanteau, representing values of more than

one category (e.g. as in pronouns marking person and number), but otherwise it is simply because there is no single-word English gloss.

Many difficulties arise because the interlinearisation process is geared to giving a unique gloss label to each distinct morpheme, so that the interlinearisation and assigning of glosses can proceed as automatically as possible, with each morpheme being treated the same way wherever it occurs and eventually being referenced accordingly in the concordance. Of course, genuine homophones are allocated distinct glosses as they are different morphemes, and in the process of interlinearising the texts, it is necessary to manually select which gloss is appropriate out of the possible meanings when a homophone occurs. The "worst" form in this regard in Paiwan is *ka-*, which has seven different glosses. In a few cases, especially in verbal morphology, it was difficult for Whitehorn to decide which of a number of homophonous morphemes was represented by a particular form.

It became necessary to depart from this ideal of having one gloss for each morpheme in a couple of instances. The form *nu/nua* could have been glossed regularly as GEN for 'Genitive Marker', but in keeping with an earlier guideline, it was decided that using the English gloss 'of' was more useful for the reader. However, in many instances, this marker indicates some kind of semantic actor role, in which case a 'by' gloss was more appropriate. While it would have been possible to gloss all occurences as 'of/by', it was decided to variously gloss these forms as 'of' or 'by' as seemed most appropriate.

Another difficulty arose where long vowels were used to show the effect of emphasis on the pronunciation of the word. To allow for this would mean that most of the lexemes in the language would have to be allowed to have two forms in the dictionary that provided the glosses for the interlinearisations. To avoid this, the forms have all been altered to the regular shape, with a note provided indicating that the original form was actually something else, including vowel lengthening for emphasis (e.g. **075** 40).

A key feature of the syntax of Paiwan, as for all other closely related languages, is the marking of focus on verbs, and on clause arguments. It is not within the scope of this current volume to add anything to the description or analysis of this system for Paiwan, but it is important to note the labels that are applied in these texts to the affixes and particles that track this system, particularly as a number of different sets of labels have been used by other writers.

The following table shows the four affixes that occur on verbs to indicate the role of the clause argument that is focused in relation to the situation expressed by the verb. The glosses that have been used in these texts combine terms from the English labels in Ferrell 1982 and the German ones in Egli 1990.

Morpheme	Gloss here	Ferrell	Egli
em=	AF	Agent Focus	Agensaffix
-en	PF	Object Focus	Patiensaffix
-an	LF	Referent Focus	Lokalaffix
si-	IF	Instrument Focus	Instrumentalaffix

The second component of the focus-marking system is the marking of clausal arguments, with what are arguably prepositions, but which Ferrell refers to as "construction markers". Both Ferrell and Egli discuss the functions that are carried by these particles, and it appears to be a complex system. While these texts simply provide a consistent identification and labelling of these forms, and do not add anything to the analysis of the function of these forms, it is true that such analysis depends on carefully observing a large number of occurences of these forms in a wide-range of natural text types, and this is certainly provided in these texts. The following table of these focus markers or construction markers again shows how the labels used in these texts draw on the previous work of both Ferrell and Egli. Here, C is 'construction marker', and OBL is 'oblique'.

Morpheme	Gloss here	Ferrell	Egli
a	C	Equational (CM=)	Fokus
nu(a)	of, by	Genitive (CMgen)	Genitiv
tu(a)	OBL	Non-equational, non-genitive (CM≠)	Obliquus

One interesting feature of Paiwan is its complex array of verbal affixes, and the combinatorial possibilities which they exhibit. Some "pesky particles" like *a-* and *ka-* seem to carry a range of meanings, and as well, combinations of affixes seem to have idiosyncratic or idiomatic meanings. An example of this latter situation is with the combination of *ma* NUM / STAT and *ka* main / PAST / STAT / etc. Ferrell (1982:19) says that when these two morphemes occur together, they give the meanings 'go past, via, having finished', so it is hard to know whether to gloss the pair as a single unit (which is what we ended up doing here) with one of these meanings as appropriate, or to keep giving each separate form its own separate gloss.

Readers familiar with less agglutinative Austronesian languages will be interested in the kinds of morphological concatenations that are permitted in Paiwan, for example:

100 11

namaparutsunuq	*kipapupitsupitsul*
na-ma-ar=pu-tsunuq	ki-pa-pu-pitsu-pitsul
PAST-STAT-randomly=have-scree	do-cause-have-RED-strong
'be in a muddle'	'strengthen'

Other interesting morphological constructions include apparent double reduplications:

093 12 *pazazekazekatj*
pa-za-zeka-zekatj
cause-RED-RED-share
'command'

and nested derivations:

094 12 *kematsalisianan*
em=ka-tsalisi-an-an
AF=main-slope-NOM-NOM
'language of mountain area'

Once again, as presented here, the texts do not go beyond the task of identifying morphemes and providing regularised glosses for them, which as noted, is, in some cases, already a somewhat problematic task. However, while the analytical difficulties of such complex formations are not solved here, it is hoped that attempts by others to unravel the structural and functional features of these affixes will be assisted by the investigation of the occurrence of these forms in a corpus of authentic and natural texts as provided here. The concordance in Chapter 3 contains exhaustive references to every occurrence of each morpheme-level form, and this makes it possible for a researcher to assemble and investigate the total range of contexts in which a particular form occurs.

4. Sentence translation

Following the interlinear blocks is a translation of the whole sentence into English. These translations are intentionally literal, but it will be noted that occasionally, in the interests of naturalness, the translations do not use the same sentence breaks as the original texts. Question marks sometimes occur in the translations to indicate some kind of uncertainty about the rendering.

5. Notes

For some sections, various comments, notes, queries and so on are included in square brackets. Many of these comments note places where the original OA texts have been modified in some way, particularly where there are apparent errors in the original transcriptions by OA. For example, there are quite a few instances of mistranscription of words with *l*, *ɬ*, or *r*, and some instances of confusion between *u* and *e*. There are also some notes which are intended to help the reader understand how some forms are derived, or how certain derivations convey the meanings that they do.

6. Text translation

Each text concludes with a full translation of the whole text in English. This will facilitate accessing the content of the texts by readers who are not concerned with the form of the Paiwan original or its linguistic features.

2 *The texts*

This chapter contains the corpus of one hundred texts described in the previous chapter. Each text has a name, which is either a translation of the Paiwan name (given in the second line of the title) or a description of the contents. The title also indicates the village or dialect of the original narrator of the story, a page number reference for the OA stories and, where known, an indication of the dialect of Paiwan used.

The contents and composition of the three-line interlinear blocks of text have been described earlier. The numbered sections into which each text is divided correspond directly to the occurrence of sentence breaks in the original text. Note that these breaks are sometimes not followed directly by the English translations, which may break or join the original sentences.

For ease of reading, following each text is a full English translation, which repeats the content of the free translations provided with each sentence in the text. Some paragraph breaks are supplied in the full translation, but these are inserted on the basis of appropriateness to the narrative, and not in response to any linguistic marking of such levels in the texts themselves.

The reader is reminded that in the interlinearisations the approach is to provide a single gloss for each morpheme. This means that where polysemy occurs, it can be detected only where the reader compares the morpheme gloss given with the meanings that the morpheme has attributed to it in the translation. For example, *pa-* functions as a derivational particle, usually indicating causative. With verbs, it usually means to cause the situation of the verb to come about, but there are some special senses as well. For example, with a noun that is the name of an animal, *pa-* means 'to make the noise characteristic of that animal', such as *pa- + ngiaw* 'cat' = 'to meow'. However, in the morpheme glosses that are given, *pa-* is simply glossed as meaning 'cause', and the reader has to look at the translation to discover that 'cause' + 'cat' = 'to meow'.

001 PUŁAŁUYAŁUYAN

ti sa Pułałuyałuyan (Qatsiłay village, p. 141)

001 *ti sa Pułałuyałuyan tsug a marivu katua vaław.*
ti sa Pułałuyałuyan tsug a ma-rivu ka-tua vaław
F.H H (name) like C STAT-quarrel and-OBL spouse
Pułałuyałuyan liked to quarrel with his wife.

002 *nu keman ini pakani, marka vełatjen.*
nu em=kan ini pa-kan-i marka vełatj-en
when AF=eat not cause-eat-PF PL hit-PF
When they ate he didn't give her food, but they hit one another(?).
[*marka*: from *mare-* 'having reciprocal relationship'?]

003 *qau limutseng azua vaław; vaik a łetaladj tua verung nua tsuqu.*
qau li-mutseng a-zua vaław vaik a łe-taladj tua verung nua tsuqu
so QAL-angry C-that spouse leave C go.to-inside OBL hole of bischoffia
His wife was angry, and went into a hole in a bischoffia tree.
[*verung*: F64 has *berung*]

004 *qau tsuatsuay anga malap ti sa Pułałuyałuyan tua putjaw, sa*
qau tsua-tsuay anga m-alap ti sa Pułałuyałuyan tua putjaw sa
so RED-long.time indeed AF-take F.H H (name) OBL axe and

putjavi a tsuqu, a muri pałekatsauan
putjaw-i a tsuqu a ma-uri pa-łe-ka-tsau-an
axe-PF C bischoffia C STAT-will cause-go.to-become-being-NOM

tua vaław.
tua vaław
OBL spouse
After a time Pułałuyałuyan took an axe and chopped at the tree to get his wife out.
[*pałekatsauan*: see F310 under *tsau*: 'to make st. appear in full or as a whole person/being'.]

005 *manu "teng," aya, milayap a sema tjai likuz tua łavek.*
manu teng aya mi-layap a em=sa tja-i likuz tua łavek
then EXCL say AF-fly C AF=go more-LOC back OBL sea
But it (or she) said "Tung," and she flew to the far side of the sea.

006 *tsuatsuay anga mapuvarung ti sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
tsua-tsuay anga ma-pu-varung ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
RED-long.time indeed STAT-have-chest F.H H (name)
After a time Pułałuyałuyan got anxious.

007 *qemaqivu tua sikataqałan tu vaik a qemałup.*
em=qa-qivu tua si-ka-ta-qała-an tu vaik a em=qałup
AF=RED-speak OBL IF-main-?-outsider-NOM OBL leave C AF=hunt
He called his fellow-villagers to go hunting.

008 *qau kiłavaran ti sa Pułałuyałuyan: "tiaken makamaza ken i*
qau ki-łavar-an ti sa Pułałuyałuyan ti-aken maka-maza aken i
so do-speak-LF F.H H (name) F-I via-here F.I LOC

dungdung tua łavek.
dungdung tua łavek
near OBL sea
So Pułałuyałuyan said: "I'll go along here near the sea.

009 *timun pakazua-u itjua pungayan."*
ti-mun pa-maka-zua-u i-tjua pungayan
F-you(P) cause-via-that-IMP LOC-there cliff
You go along by the cliffs."

010 *manu neka nu satsemel.*
manu neka nu satsemel
then no of wild.game
There was no wild game.

011 *nu paluku, qatjuvi marka ngaḍi sakamaya.*
nu pa-luku qatjuvi marka ngaḍi sakamaya
when cause-find.game snake PL badger only
If they started anything, it was just snakes and badgers.

012 *qau kirivu a sikataqałan.*
qau ki-rivu a si-ka-ta-qała-an
so do-quarrel C IF-main-?-outsider-NOM
The villagers complained:

013 *"aku neka nu satsemel?" aya kivadaq tjai sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
aku neka nu satsemel aya ki-vadaq tjai sa Pułałuyałuyan
why no of wild.game say do-ask OBL.H H (name)
"Why is there no game?" they asked Pułałuyałuyan.

014 *qau kiłavaran ti sa Pułałuyałuyan: "nuka qatjuvi, nuka ngaḍi kuangu,"*
qau ki-łavar-an ti sa Pułałuyałuyan nuka qatjuvi nuka ngaḍi kuang-u
so do-speak-LF F.H H (name) even snake even badger firearm-IMP

aya kiłavaran.
aya ki-łavar-an
say do-speak-LF
He replied: "Shoot even snakes and badgers," he said.

015 *qau timadju izua i łavek a qarawqawqaw sakamaya.*
qau ti-madju i-zua i łavek a ar=qaw-qawqaw sakamaya
so F-3RD.PERS LOC-that LOC sea C QAL=RED-shout only
And he was there by the sea shouting away.
[*qarawqawqaw* was originally *qarauqauqaw*]

016 *qau a sikataqałan: "anema kudakudain nazua tsautsau?"*
qau a si-ka-ta-qała-an a-nema kuda-kuda-en nua-zua tsau-tsau
so C IF-main-?-outsider-NOM ?-what RED-do.what-PF of-that RED-being

aya kinemnem.
aya kinemnem
say think
The villagers thought: "What's this fellow up to?"

017 *qau vaiken a kiqenetj.*
qau vaik-en a ki-qenetj
so leave-PF C do-see
They went to have a look.

018 *mintu "łaułauławu a djarałap," ayaya semenasenay.*
mintu łau-łauław-u a djarałap ay-aya em=sena-senay
sudden RED-stretch-IMP C banyan RED-say AF=RED-chant
And he was singing: "Stretch out, banyan tree!".
[*mintu*: W has *'(?mingtjus)'* which in F177 (as *mingetjus*) means to 'be startled']
[*łauławu*: F135 has *łauł* 'roar', *łaułau* 'crazy' (under *łau*) and F138 under *ław* has *vuliławław* 'whirlwind']

019 *qau tsuay anga łemauław a djarałap a sema tjai likuz*
qau tsuay anga em=łauław a djarałap a em=sa tja-i likuz
so long.time indeed AF=stretch C banyan C AF=go more-LOC back

tua łavek.
tua łavek
OBL sea
After a time the tree stretched out to the far side of the sea.

020 *qau azua ti sa Pułałuyałuyan semusu a vaik tua djarałap.*
qau a-zua ti sa Pułałuyałuyan em=susu a vaik tua djarałap
so C-that F.H H (name) AF=proceed C leave OBL banyan
And Pułałuyałuyan went along the tree.

021 *mintu tsaluman tua qinałivan nua tapaw nua vaław.*
mintu tsalum-an tua in=qałiw-an nua tapaw nua vaław
sudden reach-LF OBL PERF=roof-NOM of hut of spouse
He reached the roof of his wife's house,
[*qinałavan*: F210 has 'rafters; ceiling']

022 *qau sualapen a itung, sa vułuqan a pałeteku.*
qau su-alap-en a itung sa vułuq-an a pa-łe-teku
so remove-take-PF C cloth and throw-LF C cause-go.to-down
and took off his clothes and threw them down below.

023 *manu djumaken nua ałak nua vaław.*
manu djumak-en nua ałak nua vaław
then find-PF by child of spouse
His wife's child found them.

024 *"aku uzaitsu a itung, kina?*
aku uza-i-tsu a itung kina
why here-LOC-this C cloth mother
"Why are these clothes here, mother?

025 *matu su inalangan."*
ma-tu su in-alang-an
STAT-alike your(S) PERF-make-NOM
They look like ones made by you."

026 *"maka inu ti tjama tua ɬavek?"*
maka inu ti tjama tua ɬavek
via where F.H dad OBL sea
"How did your father get here across the sea?"
[*tjama*: this form is used when a particular father is addressed or referred to.]

027 *qau sualapen ni sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan a dangiɬan, sa vuɬuqan uta.*
qau su-alap-en ni sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan a dangiɬan sa vuɬuq-an uta
so remove-take-PF by H (name) C apron and throw-LF also
Then Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan took off his apron (loincloth?) and threw that down too.
[*dangiɬan*: F67 has *dangiɬ-an* but no other meaning or form like *dangiɬ*.]

028 *qau djumaken nua kakeḍian*
qau djumak-en nua ka-keḍi-an
so find-PF by RED-small-NOM
The child found it.

029 *"aku uzaitsu a dangiɬan?*
aku uza-i-tsu a dangiɬan
why here-LOC-this C apron
"Why is this apron here?

030 *matu su inalangan."*
ma-tu su in-alang-an
STAT-alike your(S) PERF-make-NOM
It looks like one made by you."

031 *qau ɬetsasaw a kina, sa kiqenetji a pasa qinaɬivan.*
qau ɬe-tsasaw a kina sa ki-qenetj-i a pa-sa in=qaɬiw-an
so go.to-outside C mother and do-see-PF C cause-go PERF=roof-NOM
The mother went out, and looked up at the roof.

032 *mintu djemelidjeli ti sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan i vavaw tua qinaɬivan.*
mintu em=djeli-djeli ti sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan i va-vaw tua in=qaɬiw-an
sudden AF=RED-laugh F.H H (name) LOC RED-above OBL PERF=roof-NOM
There was Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan laughing on the roof.

033 *qaqivuin anga nua vaɬaw a pasa qumaqan.*
qa-qivu-en anga nua vaɬaw a pa-sa qumaq-an
RED-speak-PF indeed by spouse C cause-go indoors-NOM
His wife called to him to come indoors.

034 *qau maseleman anga, keman tua kaiven.*
qau ma-selem-an anga em=kan tua kaiv-en
so STAT-dark-NOM indeed AF=eat OBL meal-PF
After dark they sat down to supper.
[*tua*: was *tu*]

035 *manu ini kan ti sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
manu ini kan ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
then not eat F.H H (name)
Pułałuyałuyan didn't eat.

036 *qau kivadaqan nua vaław: "anema su tjenglayan a keman?" ayain.*
qau ki-vadaq-an nua vaław a-nema su tjenglay-an a em=kan aya-en
so do-ask-LF by spouse ?-what your(S) like-LF C AF=eat say-PF
His wife asked him: "What would you like to eat?"

037 *"avan a vałetjuk sakamaya a tjenglayan a keman."*
avan a vałetjuk sakamaya a tjenglay-an a em=kan
exact C citrus only C like-LF C AF=eat
"I would just like to eat an orange (or oranges)."

038 *qau siyaya tua vałetjuk sa pakani.*
qau si-yaya tua vałetjuk sa pa-kan-i
so IF-harvest OBL citrus and cause-eat-PF
So she picked an orange for him and gave it to him to eat.

039 *qau muri qemereng anga.*
qau ma-uri em=qereng anga
so STAT-will AF=lie.down indeed
When they were going to lie down,

040 *kiłavaran ti sa Pułałuyałuyan: "qemereng aken i kulakula," aya*
ki-łavar-an ti sa Pułałuyałuyan em=qereng aken i kula-kula aya
do-speak-LF F.H H (name) AF=lie.down F.I LOC RED-foot say

kiłavaran tua vaław.
ki-łavar-an tua vaław
do-speak-LF OBL spouse
Pułałuyałuyan said: "I'll lie at the foot end," he said to his wife.

041 *a vaław: "maya qemereng i kulakula; makulakula sun."*
a vaław maya em=qereng i kula-kula ma-kula-kula sun
C spouse don't AF=lie.down LOC RED-foot STAT-RED-foot F.you(S)
His wife said: "Don't lie at the foot end; you'll have trouble with the feet."
[*makulakula*: "be footed", ie. kicked out?]

042 *"qemereng aken i łaving," aya ti sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
em=qereng aken i łaving aya ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
AF=lie.down F.I LOC side say F.H H (name)
"I'll lie at the edge," said Pułałuyałuyan.

043 *kiłavaran a vaław: "maya qemereng i łaviłaving; małaviłaving*
ki-łavar-an a vaław maya em=qereng i łavi-łaving ma-łavi-łaving
do-speak-LF C spouse don't AF=lie.down LOC RED-side STAT-RED-side

sun.
sun
F.you(S)
His wife said: "Don't lie at the side; you'll have trouble at the edge.

044 *qerengu izua itjua qeluz," aya a vaław.*
qereng-u i-zua i-tjua qeluz aya a vaław
lie.down-IMP LOC-that LOC-there main.post say C spouse
Lie there by the pillar," said his wife.

045 *qau vaik a qemereng sema tjua qeluz ti sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
qau vaik a em=qereng em=sa tjua qeluz ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
so leave C AF=lie.down AF=go there main.post F.H H (name)
So Pułałuyałuyan went to lie by the pillar.

046 *ita vengin inika taqed, qaritjqitjqitj.*
ita vengin ini-ka taqed ar=qitj-qitjqitj
one night not-after sleep QAL=RED-grind.teeth
The whole night he didn't sleep; he was just grinding his teeth.

047 *kivadaqan nua vaław ti sa Pułałuyałuyan: "makuda sun?*
ki-vadaq-an nua vaław ti sa Pułałuyałuyan ma-kuda sun
do-ask-LF by spouse F.H H (name) STAT-do.what F.you(S)
His wife asked him: "What's the matter with you?

048 *aku ini sun a taqed?*
aku ini sun a taqed
why not F.you(S) C sleep
Why don't you sleep?
[*sun*: was *su*]

049 *aku qaritjqitjqitj sun?"*
aku ar=qitj-qitjqitj sun
why QAL=RED-grind.teeth F.you(S)
Why do you grind your teeth?"

050 *"maitazuangata nu keman aken tua vałetjuk," aya ti sa*
ma-aya-ta-zua-anga-ta nu em=kan aken tua vałetjuk aya ti sa
STAT-be.thus-?-that-indeed-? when AF=eat F.I OBL citrus say F.H H

Pułałuyałuyan.
Pułałuyałuyan
(name)
"It's always just like that when I eat oranges," he said.

051 *manu pentjupetjuq tua qeluz nua tapaw.*
manu in=petju-petjuq tua qeluz nua tapaw
then PERF=RED-extract OBL main.post of hut
In fact he was pulling out the pillar of the house.

052 *qau sa pasusu-i tua naɬemauɬaw a djaraɬap a tapaw.*
qau sa pa-susu-i tua na-em=ɬauɬaw a djaraɬap a tapaw
so and cause-proceed-PF OBL PAST-AF=stretch C banyan C hut
And he caused the whole house to follow the line of the stretched out banyan tree.

053 *qau maɬianga patseged anga tiamadju a mapuɬat.*
qau ma-ɬia-anga pa-tseged anga ti-a-madju a ma-puɬat
so STAT-dawn-indeed cause-alert indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS C NUM-all
Next day they all woke up.

054 *mintu i ɬaviɬaving anga tua ɬavek.*
mintu i ɬavi-ɬaving anga tua ɬavek
sudden LOC RED-side indeed OBL sea
And there they were on the edge of the sea.

055 *qau mingtjus anga azua vaɬaw.*
qau m-pingtjus anga a-zua vaɬaw
so AF-startled indeed C-that spouse
His wife was startled.

056 *"aku imazanga ken?" aya kiɬavaran.*
aku i-maza-anga aken aya ki-ɬavar-an
why LOC-here-indeed F.I say do-speak-LF
"Why am I here now?" she said.

057 *qau kiɬavaran ti sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan: "tiaken a nakematsu a pasa*
qau ki-ɬavar-an ti sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan ti-aken a na-em=katsu a pa-sa
so do-speak-LF F.H H (name) F-I C PAST-AF=carry C cause-go

maza.
maza
here
Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan said: "It was I who brought you here.

058 *ini anga nakuya aken.*
ini anga na-kuya aken
not indeed STAT-bad F.I
I'm not bad any more.

059 *mayanga mavilad.*
maya-anga ma-vilad
don't-indeed STAT-flee
Don't run away.

060 *a pareka nanguanguaqi anga itjen mapuɬat."*
a pareka na-ngua-nguaq-i anga itjen ma-puɬat
C mutual STAT-RED-good-HORT indeed F.we(INC) NUM-all
Let's all be good to one another."

Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan liked to quarrel with his wife. When they ate he didn't give her food, but they hit one another(?). His wife was angry, and went into a hole in a bischoffia tree. After a time

Pułałuyałuyan took an axe and chopped at the tree to get his wife out. But it (or she) said "Tung," and she flew to the far side of the sea.

After a time Pułałuyałuyan got anxious. He called his fellow-villagers to go hunting. So Pułałuyałuyan said: "I'll go along here near the sea. You go along by the cliffs." There was no wild game. If they started anything, it was just snakes and badgers.

The villagers complained: "Why is there no game?" they asked Pułałuyałuyan.

He replied: "Shoot even snakes and badgers," he said. And he was there by the sea shouting away. The villagers thought: "What's this fellow up to?" They went to have a look. And he was singing: "Stretch out, banyan tree!"

After a time the tree stretched out to the far side of the sea. And Pułałuyałuyan went along the tree. He reached the roof of his wife's house, and took off his clothes and threw them down below. His wife's child found them. "Why are these clothes here, mother? They look like ones made by you."

"How did your father get here across the sea?" Then Pułałuyałuyan took off his apron (? loincloth) and threw that down too. The child found it. "Why is this apron here? It looks like one made by you." The mother went out, and looked up at the roof. There was Pułałuyałuyan laughing on the roof. His wife called to him to come indoors. After dark they sat down to supper. Pułałuyałuyan didn't eat. His wife asked him: "What would you like to eat?"

"I would just like to eat an orange (or oranges)." So she picked an orange for him and gave it to him to eat. When they were going to lie down, Pułałuyałuyan said: "I'll lie at the foot end," he said to his wife. His wife said: "Don't lie at the foot end; you'll have trouble with the feet."

"I'll lie at the edge," said Pułałuyałuyan. His wife said: "Don't lie at the side; you'll have trouble at the edge. Lie there by the pillar," said his wife. So Pułałuyałuyan went to lie by the pillar. The whole night he didn't sleep; he was just grinding his teeth. His wife asked him: "What's the matter with you? Why don't you sleep? Why do you grind your teeth?"

"It's always just like that when I eat oranges," he said. In fact he was pulling out the pillar of the house. And he caused the whole house to follow the line of the stretched out banyan tree. Next day they all woke up. And there they were on the edge of the sea. His wife was startled. "Why am I here now?" she said. Pułałuyałuyan said: "It was I who brought you here. I'm not bad any more. Don't run away. Let's all be good to one another."

002 THE SNAKE'S WIFE

vaław nua qatjuvi (Qatsiłay village, p. 145)

001 *uzai a vuluvulung a tsautsau a navaik a qemałup.*
uzay a vulu-vulung a tsau-tsau a na-vaik a em=qałup
there C RED-old C RED-being C PAST-leave C AF=hunt
There was an old person who went hunting.

002 *manu djemumak tua vetsiar a bulabulay.*
manu em=djumak tua vetsiar a bula-bulay
then AF=find OBL flower C RED-beautiful
He found some beautiful flowers,

003 *kiyayain tu sipavai tua marka ałak a vavayavayan.*
ki-yaya-en tu si-pa-vay tua marka ałak a vaya-vavayan
do-harvest-PF OBL IF-cause-give OBL PL child C RED=female
and picked them to give to his daughters.

004 *manu nua qatjuvi a vetsiar a kiniyaya.*
manu nua qatjuvi a vetsiar a in=ki-yaya
then of snake C flower C PERF=do-harvest
The flowers he picked belonged to a snake.

005 *qau mangtjez a qatjuvi.*
qau m-pangetjez a qatjuvi
so AF-come C snake
The snake came along.

006 *"aku su kiyayain a ku vetsiar?*
aku su ki-yaya-en a ku vetsiar
why you(S) do-harvest-PF C my flower
"Why have you picked my flowers?

007 *patsikelu.*
pa-tsikel-u
cause-return-IMP
Put them back.

008 *nu ini su patsikeli, ku katsi sun," ayain nua qatjuvi a*
nu ini su pa-tsikel-i ku kats-i sun aya-en nua qatjuvi a
when not you(S) cause-return-PF I bite-PF F.you(S) say-PF by snake C

vuluvulung.
vulu-vulung
RED-old
"If you don't put them back, I'll bite you," said the snake to the old man.

009 *qau patsikelen pasa tjua qapulu azua vetsiar.*
qau pa-tsikel-en pa-sa tjua qa-pulu a-zua vetsiar
so cause-return-PF cause-go there ?-trunk C-that flower
So he put the flowers back to the roots.

010 *łakua ini anga a patsikel.*
łakua ini anga a pa-tsikel
but not indeed C cause-return
But he couldn't really put them back.

011 *nu patsikelen, matjanitjani.*
nu pa-tsikel-en ma-tjani-tjani
when cause-return-PF STAT-RED-fall
When he put them back, they fell over.

012 *kivadaq a qatjuvi: "uzai a nisun a ałak a vavayan, kemuda?"*
ki-vadaq a qatjuvi uzay a ni-sun a ałak a vavayan em=kuda
do-ask C snake there C of-you(S) C child C female AF=do.what
The snake asked: "Have you got a daughter by any chance?"

013 *"uzai," aya vuluvulung.*
uzay aya vulu-vulung
there say RED-old
"I have," said the old man.

014 *"nu maitazua, katsuu azua vetsiar, sa pavayan tua su*
nu ma-aya-ta-zua katsu-u a-zua vetsiar sa pa-vay-an tua su
when STAT-be.thus-?-that carry-IMP C-that flower and cause-give-LF OBL your(S)

ałak.
ałak
child
"In that case, take the flowers and offer them to your children.

015 *a tjenglay tazua vetsiar niaken anga a vaław.*
a tjenglay ta-zua vetsiar ni-aken anga a vaław
C like OBL-that flower of-I indeed C spouse
The one who likes the flowers will be my wife.

016 *nu ini su papuvaławan tjanuaken, ku katsi sun," ayain a*
nu ini su pa-pu-vaław-an tjanu-aken ku kats-i sun aya-en a
when not you(S) cause-have-spouse-NOM OBL-I I bite-PF you(S) say-PF C

vuluvulung.
vulu-vulung
RED-old
If you don't give her to me as my wife, I'll bite you," he said to the old man.

017 *qau katsuin nua vuluvulung azua vetsiar a pasa tjumaq; sa*
qau katsu-en nua vulu-vulung a-zua vetsiar a pa-sa tju-umaq sa
so carry-PF by RED-old C-that flower C cause-go there-house and

kivadaqi a ałak tu tima a tjenglay tazua vetsiar.
ki-vadaq-i a ałak tu ti-ima a tjenglay ta-zua vetsiar
do-ask-PF C child OBL F-who C like OBL-that flower
The old man took the flowers home, and asked his children which of them liked the flowers.

018 *manu masengats a tjałavuluvulungan a vavayan.*
manu ma-sengats a tjała-vulu-vulung-an a vavayan
then STAT-dislike C most-RED-old-NOM C female
The oldest daughter didn't like them at all.

019 *qau qemaung azua vuluvulung.*
qau em=qaung a-zua vulu-vulung
so AF=cry C-that RED-old
The old man cried.

020 *"nu masengats mun, muri katsen aken nua qatjuvi," aya tjemumał*
nu ma-sengats mun ma-uri kats-en aken nua qatjuvi aya em=tjumał
when STAT-dislike F.you(P) STAT-will bite-PF F.I by snake say AF=discuss

tua marka ałak.
tua marka ałak
OBL PL child
"If you all dislike them, I'll be bitten by a snake," he told his children.

021 *qau penaula a sipułałakan a vavayan.*
qau en=pa-ula a si-pu-łałak-an a vavayan
so AF=cause-lack C IF-have-child-NOM C female
His youngest daughter had pity on him.

022 *"nu maitazua, idan azua vetsiar tjanuaken anga.*
nu ma-aya-ta-zua id-an a-zua vetsiar tjanu-aken anga
when STAT-be.thus-?-that come-LF C-that flower OBL-I indeed
"In that case, give the flowers to me.

023 *puvaław aken tua qatjuvi," aya.*
pu-vaław aken tua qatjuvi aya
have-spouse F.I OBL snake say
I'll marry the snake," she said.

024 *sipavai nua vuluvulung.*
si-pa-vay nua vulu-vulung
IF-cause-give by RED-old
So the old man gave them to her.

025 *qau ka tjelutjeluan mangtjez a qatjuvi.*
qau ka tjelu-tjelu-an m-pangetjez a qatjuvi
so after RED-three-NOM AF-come C snake
On the third day the snake came.

026 *"inu anga niaken a vaław?" aya a qatjuvi.*
inu anga ni-aken a vaław aya a qatjuvi
where indeed of-I C spouse say C snake
"Where is my wife?" said the snake.

027 *qau situlek nua kama.*
qau si-tulek nua kama
so IF-point by father
The father pointed her out.

028 *qau katsuin azua vavayan nua qatjuvi a sema tjua tapaw nimadju.*
qau katsu-en a-zua vavayan nua qatjuvi a em=sa tjua tapaw ni-madju
so carry-PF C-that female by snake C AF=go there hut of-3RD.PERS
So the snake took the girl to his house.

029 *manu vaivaik tiamadju a maḍusa i djalan.*
manu vai-vaik ti-a-madju a ma-ḍusa i djalan
then RED-leave F-PL-3RD.PERS C num-two LOC road
The two of them were going along the path;

030 *mintu mapavalit tu tsautsau azua qatjuvi tu vangsangsar.*
mintu ma-pa-valit tu tsau-tsau a-zua qatjuvi tu vangsangsar
sudden STAT-cause-exchange alike RED-being C-that snake alike handsome.man
and then the snake changed into a handsome man.
[*vangsangsar*: F338 has *vangesangesar*]

031 *qau masalu aravats azua vavayan.*
qau ma-salu a-ravats a-zua vavayan
so STAT-believe C-true C-that female
The girl was very pleased.
[*masalu*: F254 has *salu* as 'believe', 'agree to'; 'pleased' is the Japanese gloss.]

032 *djemaɬun tiamadju a maḍusa itjua tapaw nua qatjuvi.*
em=djaɬun ti-a-madju a ma-ḍusa i-tjua tapaw nua qatjuvi
AF=arrive F-PL-3RD.PERS C NUM-two LOC-there hut of snake
The two of them reached the snake's house.

033 *mintu bulay aravats azua tapaw.*
mintu bulay a-ravats a-zua tapaw
sudden beautiful C-true C-that hut
The house was very fine,
[*mintu* might mean something like 'indeed']

034 *qaiɬungan a patsatsikel.*
qa-iɬung-an a pa-tsa-tsikel
?-glass-NOM C cause-RED-return
with mirrors all round.

035 *nu kidjekets a lalangaw, seḍelas tua kinabulay nua tapaw.*
nu ki-djekets a la-langaw se-ḍelas tua in=ka-bulay nua tapaw
when do-land.on C RED-fly INVOL-slide OBL PERF=main-beautiful of hut
When flies tried to alight on it, they slipped because it was so fine.
[*kinabulay* means 'very fine' here]

036 *qau azua qatjuvi ini paɬetsasatsasavi azua vaɬaw;*
qau a-zua qatjuvi ini pa-ɬe-tsasa-tsasaw-i a-zua vaɬaw
so C-that snake not cause-go.to-RED-outside-PF C-that spouse

marekutj tu maqunvułan.
ma-rekutj tu ma-qunvuî-an
STAT-fear OBL STAT-dusty-NOM
The snake wouldn't let his wife go outside. He was afraid of her (or the house) getting dirty.
[*maqunvułan*: F235 *qunevuł*]

037 *manu vaik azua qatjuvi a sema kavuavuan.*
manu vaik a-zua qatjuvi a em=sa ka-vua-vua-an
then leave C-that snake C AF=go main-RED-field-NOM
The snake went off to the fields.

038 *mangtjez azua kaka a tjałavuluvulungan a vavayan.*
m-pangetjez a-zua kaka a tjaîa-vulu-vulung-an a vavayan
AF-come C-that sibling C most-RED-old-NOM C female
His wife's oldest sister came.

039 *"aku bulay aravats a tsu a tapaw?*
aku bulay a-ravats a tsu a tapąw
why beautiful C-true C this C hut
"Why is the house so fine?

040 *kana tiaken a napuvaław," aya timadju a sałinga.*
ka-na ti-aken a na-pu-vaîaw aya ti-madju a sa-îinga
after-then F-I C PAST-have-spouse say F-3RD.PERS C QAL-desire
If only I had married him," she said in her longing for it.

041 *qau "nangaq a ku qetsin tsu a vaław nua qatjuvi," aya timadju*
qau na-nguaq a ku qetsi-en tsu a vaîaw nua qatjuvi aya ti-madju
so STAT-good C I fight-PF this C spouse of snake say F-3RD.PERS

a kinemnem.
a kinemnem
C think
"I must kill the snake's wife," she thought.

042 *kiłavaran a kaka tjałavuluvulungan: "nangaq a kiqaiłungan itjen,*
ki-îavar-an a kaka tjaîa-vulu-vulung-an na-nguaq a ki-qa-iîung-an itjen
do-speak-LF C sibling most-RED-old-NOM STAT-good C do-?-glass-NOM F.we(INC)

tima tjabulay itjen."
ti-ima tja-bulay itjen
F-who more-beautiful F.we(INC)
The oldest sister said: "Let's look in the mirror, to see who is more beautiful."

043 *qau kiqaiłungan tiamadju maḍusa.*
qau ki-qa-iîung-an ti-a-madju ma-÷usa
so do-?-glass-NOM F-PL-3RD.PERS NUM-two
The two of them looked in the mirror,

044 *manu tjabulay azua vaław nua qatjuvi.*
manu tja-bulay a-zua vaîaw nua qatjuvi
then more-beautiful C-that spouse of snake
and the snake's wife was more beautiful.

045 *qau ini kasalu azua tjałavuluvulungan.*
qau ini ka-salu a-zua tjała-vulu-vulung-an
so not STAT-believe C-that most-RED-old-NOM
The oldest sister was not convinced.

046 *"djałepan tu namitung sun tua bulabulay, avan su*
djałep-an tu na-ma-itung sun tua bula-bulay avan su
fit-NOM COMPL PAST-STAT-cloth F.you(S) OBL RED-beautiful exact you(S)

sikabulay," aya.
si-ka-bulay aya
IF-become-beautiful say
"Of course it's because you've got a fine robe on; that's why you look nice," she said.

047 *qau pavalivaliten a itung, sa kiqaiłungan.*
qau pa-vali-valit-en a itung sa ki-qa-iłung-an
so cause-RED-exchange-PF C cloth and do-?-glass-NOM
So they swopped robes and looked in the mirror.

048 *łakua tjabulay angata azua vaław nua qatjuvi.*
łakua tja-bulay anga-ta a-zua vaław nua qatjuvi
but more-beautiful indeed-? C-that spouse of snake
But the snake's wife was definitely more beautiful.

049 *kiłavaran anan uta azua tjavulung a vavayan: "nangaq a vaik*
ki-łavar-an anan uta a-zua tja-vulung a vavayan na-nguaq a vaik
do-speak-LF still also C-that more-old C female STAT-good C leave

itjen a kiqaiłungan a sema tjua laku,"
itjen a ki-qa-iłung-an a em=sa tjua laku
F.we(INC) C do-?-glass-NOM C AF=go there waterwell

ayain azua vaław nua qatjuvi.
aya-en a-zua vaław nua qatjuvi
say-PF C-that spouse of snake
The older said once more: "Let's go to the well to look at our reflections," she said to the snake's wife.

050 *qau vaik tiamadju a kiqaiłungan a sema tjua laku.*
qau vaik ti-a-madju a ki-qa-iłung-an a em=sa tjua laku
so leave F-PL-3RD.PERS C do-?-glass-NOM C AF=go there waterwell
They went to the well to look at their reflections.

051 *łakua tjabulay angata azua vaław nua qatjuvi.*
łakua tja-bulay anga-ta a-zua vaław nua qatjuvi
but more-beautiful indeed-? C-that spouse of snake
But the snake's wife was definitely more beautiful.

052 *limutseng azua tjavulung a vavayan.*
li-mutseng a-zua tja-vulung a vavayan
QAL-angry C-that more-old C female
The older girl was angry.

053 *sizurung a pałetaladj tua laku.*
si-zurung a pa-ɬe-taladj tua laku
IF-push C cause-go.to-inside OBL waterwell
She pushed her sister into the well.

054 *qau azua tjavulung a vavayan vaik anga kisan vaław tua qatjuvi.*
qau a-zua tja-vulung a vavayan vaik anga ki-sane vaław tua qatjuvi
so C-that more-old C female leave indeed do-make spouse OBL snake
And the older girl went to become the snake's wife.

055 *manu mangtjez a qatjuvi kasi kavuavuan, sa kiqenetji a vaław.*
manu m-pangetjez a qatjuvi kasi ka-vua-vua-an sa ki-qenetj-i a vaław
then AF-come C snake from main-RED-field-NOM and do-see-PF C spouse
The snake came back from the fields and looked at his wife.

056 *"aku sekulukulung anga a ku vaław?" aya timadju a kinemnem.*
aku se-kulu-kulung anga a ku vaław aya ti-madju a kinemnem
why INVOL-RED-awkward indeed C my spouse say F-3RD.PERS C think
"Why has my wife become ugly?" he thought.

057 *manu vaik timadju a tsałum a sema tjua laku.*
manu vaik ti-madju a tsałum a em=sa tjua laku
then leave F-3RD.PERS C carry.water C AF=go there waterwell
And he went to the well to get water.

058 *manu uzai a djurikuku: "hi hi hi hi. manu ku vaław, aya,"*
manu uzay a djurikuku hi hi hi hi manu ku vaław aya
then there C fowl hee hee hee hee then my spouse say

aya zemaing.
aya em=zaing
say AF=call
There was a cockerel there. "Hee hee; 'She's my wife' he thinks," it crowed.

059 *qau karimen azua djurikuku nua qatjuvi, sa*
qau ar=kim-en a-zua djurikuku nua qatjuvi sa
so randomly=search-PF C-that fowl by snake and

katsu-i a tjumaq.
katsu-i a tju-umaq
carry-PF C there-house
The snake looked for the cockerel and took it home.

060 *qau manu vaik azua qatjuvi a sema kavuavuan.*
qau manu vaik a-zua qatjuvi a em=sa ka-vua-vua-an
so then leave C-that snake C AF=go main-RED-field-NOM
And so the snake went off to the fields.

061 *"pagału-i tsu a djurikuku.*
pa-gału-i tsu a djurikuku
cause-slow-HORT this C fowl
"Take care of this cockerel.

062 *maya qemtsi," ayain a vaław.*
maya em=qetsi aya-en a vaław
don't AF=fight say-PF C spouse
Don't kill it," he said to his wife.

063 *manu ḍemasi tua kasał.*
manu em=ḍasi tua kasał
then AF=dry OBL rice.with.husk
She put some unhulled rice out to dry.

064 *manu tsug a keman azua djurikuku.*
manu tsug a em=kan a-zua djurikuku
then like C AF=eat C-that fowl
The cockerel kept eating it.

065 *qau limutseng azua vaław; qetsin a djurikuku nazua vaław.*
qau li-mutseng a-zua vaław qetsi-en a djurikuku nua-zua vaław
so QAL-angry C-that spouse fight-PF C fowl of-that spouse
The wife got angry, and she killed the cockerel.
[*nazua* = 'of' or 'by' here?]

066 *mangtjez azua qatjuvi.*
m-pangetjez a-zua qatjuvi
AF-come C-that snake
The snake came back.

067 *"inu anga ku djurikuku?" ayain a vaław.*
inu anga ku djurikuku aya-en a vaław
where indeed my fowl say-PF C spouse
"Where is my cockerel?" he said to his wife.

068 *"keman aravats tua kasał.*
em=kan a-ravats tua kasał
AF=eat C-true OBL rice.with.husk
"It kept eating the rice,

069 *qau ku qetsin anga," aya kiłavaran tua vaław a uqałay.*
qau ku qetsi-en anga aya ki-łavar-an tua vaław a uqałay
so I fight-PF indeed say do-speak-LF OBL spouse C male
so I killed it," she said to her husband.

070 *qau tsułuin anga azua djurikuku.*
qau tsułu-en anga a-zua djurikuku
so butcher-PF indeed C-that fowl
So the cockerel was butchered.

071 *nu djemamay a uqałay, seti; nu djemamay a vavayan, tsuqelał.*
nu em=djamay a uqałay seti nu em=djamay a vavayan tsuqelał
when AF=side.dish C male meat when AF=side.dish C female bone
When they ate it as a side dish, the husband always got meat, and the wife got bones.

072 *qau limutseng azua vavayan; siverits azua djamay.*
qau li-mutseng a-zua vavayan si-verits a-zua djamay
so QAL-angry C-that female IF-discard C-that side.dish
The wife was angry, and threw away the side dish.

073 *mintu tsemuvuq a seray itjua vinritsan.*
mintu em=tsuvuq a seray i-tjua in=verits-an
sudden AF=sprout C pine.sp LOC-there PERF=discard-NOM
A pine tree sprouted at the place where the dish landed.

074 *qau meqatsa azua seray, san sangelen.*
qau me-qatsa a-zua seray sane sangel-en
so AF-big C-that pine.sp make stool-PF
The pine tree grew tall, and the wood was used for a stool.

075 *nu qemiladj a uqaɬay, minseg.*
nu em=qiladj a uqaɬay m-ineseg
when AF=sit C male AF-be.still
When the husband sat on it, it was steady;
[*minseg*: in F101 under *inesug*]

076 *nu qemiladj a vavayan, maɬeqaɬeqad.*
nu em=qiladj a vavayan ma-ɬeqa-ɬeqad
when AF=sit C female STAT-RED-wobble
but when the wife sat on it, it wobbled.
[*maɬeqaɬeqad*: in F144 as *ɬiqad*]

077 *limutseng azua vavayan.*
li-mutseng a-zua vavayan
QAL-angry C-that female
The wife was angry,

078 *sipetsungu azua sangel.*
si-petsungu a-zua sangel
IF-make.fire C-that stool
and used the stool for firewood.

There was an old person who went hunting. He found some beautiful flowers, and picked them to give to his daughters. The flowers he picked belonged to a snake. The snake came along. "Why have you picked my flowers? Put them back. If you don't put them back, I'll bite you," said the snake to the old man.

So he put the flowers back to the roots. But he couldn't really put them back. When he put them back, they fell over. The snake asked: "Have you got a daughter by any chance?"

"I have," said the old man.

"In that case, take the flowers and offer them to your children. The one who likes the flowers will be my wife. If you don't give her to me as my wife, I'll bite you," he said to the old man. The old man took the flowers home, and asked his children which of them liked the flowers. The oldest daughter didn't like them at all.

The old man cried. "If you all dislike them, I'll be bitten by a snake," he told his children. His youngest daughter had pity on him. "In that case, give the flowers to me. I'll marry the snake," she said. So the old man gave them to her.

On the third day the snake came. "Where is my wife?" said the snake. The father pointed her out. So the snake took the girl to his house. The two of them were going along the path; and then the snake changed into a handsome man. The girl was very pleased. The two of them reached the snake's house. The house was very fine, with mirrors all round. When flies tried to alight on it, they slipped because it was so fine. The snake wouldn't let his wife go outside. He was afraid of her (or the house) getting dirty.

The snake went off to the fields. His wife's oldest sister came. "Why is the house so fine? If only I had married him," she said in her longing for it. "I must kill the snake's wife," she thought. The oldest sister said: "Let's look in the mirror, to see who is more beautiful." The two of them looked in the mirror, and the snake's wife was more beautiful. The oldest sister was not convinced. "Of course it's because you've got a fine robe on; that's why you look nice," she said. So they swapped robes and looked in the mirror. But the snake's wife was definitely more beautiful. The older said once more: "Let's go to the well to look at our reflections," she said to the snake's wife. They went to the well to look at their reflections. But the snake's wife was definitely more beautiful. The older girl was angry. She pushed her sister into the well. And the older girl went to become the snake's wife.

The snake came back from the fields and looked at his wife. "Why has my wife become ugly?" he thought. And he went to the well to get water. There was a cockerel there. "Hee hee; 'She's my wife', he thinks," it crowed. The snake looked for the cockerel and took it home. And so the snake went off to the fields. "Take care of this cockerel. Don't kill it," he said to his wife. She put some unhulled rice out to dry. The cockerel kept eating it. The wife got angry, and she killed the cockerel.

The snake came back. "Where is my cockerel?" he said to his wife. "It kept eating the rice, so I killed it," she said to her husband. So the cockerel was butchered. When they ate it as a side dish, the husband always got meat, and the wife got bones. The wife was angry, and threw away the side dish. A pine tree sprouted at the place where the dish landed. The pine tree grew tall, and the wood was used for a stool. When the husband sat on it, it was steady; but when the wife sat on it, it wobbled. The wife was angry, and used the stool for firewood.

003 THE STUPID MAN

malutjulutjuk a uqałay (Qatsiłay village, p. 150)

001 *uzai a marevaław ka sitsuayan.*
uzay a mare-vaław ka si-tsuay-an
there C pair-spouse after IF-long.time-NOM
Once upon a time there was a couple,

002 *uzai a uqałay a ałak.*
uzay a uqałay a ałak
there C male C child
and they had a son.

003 *sa nasemvał azua kina.*
sa na-em=sevał a-zua kina
and PAST-AF=carry.on.back C-that mother
The mother was carrying the child on her back.

004 *qau azua kina: "vaiku a kikasiw," ayain a kama.*
qau a-zua kina vaik-u a ki-kasiw aya-en a kama
so C-that mother leave-IMP C do-tree say-PF C father
The mother said to the father: "Go and get some wood."

005 *qau "ui, vaik aken a kikasiw," aya a kama.*
qau ui vaik aken a ki-kasiw aya a kama
so yes leave F.I C do-tree say C father
"Right, I'm off to get wood," said the father.

006 *qau kematsu ta tsalis a laḍuaḍuq, sa vaik a kikasiw.*
qau em=katsu ta tsalis a aḍu=łaḍuq sa vaik a ki-kasiw
so AF=carry OBL rope C RED=long and leave C do-tree
He took a long rope, and went to get wood.

007 *manu uzai a qanivung a ḍusa qapuluan.*
manu uzay a qanivung a ḍusa qa-pulu-an
then there C phoenix.bush C two ?-trunk-NOM
There were two phoenix bushes.

008 *ini seqasi; vengetjen tua tsalis, sa vatsaqi.*
ini seqas-i vengetj-en tua tsalis sa vatsaq-i
not chop-PF tie-PF OBL rope and carry.pole-PF
He didn't cut them, but tied them with the rope, and put them on a pole to carry.

009 *łakua ini pakakatsu.*
łakua ini paka-katsu
but not able-carry
But he couldn't carry them.

010 *qau ini katsu-i a kasiw; vaik a tjumaq.*
qau ini katsu-i a kasiw vaik a tju-umaq
so not carry-PF C tree leave C there-house
So he took no wood, and went off home.

011 *qau sa tjumał tua vaław: "liaw aravats a ku kinikasiw.*
qau sa tjumał tua vaław liaw a-ravats a ku in=ki-kasiw
so and discuss OBL spouse many C-true C I PERF=do-tree
And he told his wife: "I've collected lots of wood.

012 *ini pakakatsu aken.*
ini paka-katsu aken
not able-carry F.I
I couldn't carry it.

013 *vaiku a malap," ayain a vaław a vavayan.*
vaik-u a m-alap aya-en a vaław a vavayan
leave-IMP C AF-take say-PF C spouse C female
Go and get it," he said to his wife.

014 *qau pazazekazekatjen nua vavayan: "aitsu a kẹdikẹdi łała-u*
qau pa-za-zeka-zekatj-en nua vavayan aya-i-tsu a kẹdi-kẹdi łała-u
so cause-RED-RED-share-PF by female be.thus-LOC-this C RED-small heat-IMP

anga tua załum, sa papavanavi anga; sa supu-i anga
anga tua załum sa pa-pa-vanaw-i anga sa supu-i anga
indeed OBL water and cause-cause-bathe-PF indeed and count-PF indeed

a djurikuku," ayain a vaław a uqałay.
a djurikuku aya-en a vaław a uqałay
C fowl say-PF C spouse C male
The woman gave him an order: "Heat up some water for this child and bathe him; and count the chickens," said the wife to the man.

015 *qau a vaław a vavayan sa vaik a kikasiw.*
qau a vaław a vavayan sa vaik a ki-kasiw
so C spouse C female and leave C do-tree
And the wife went to get the wood.

016 *qau a uqałay a vaław łałain a załum a papinatuk, sa pataladjen*
qau a uqałay a vaław łała-en a załum a pa-pinatuk sa pa-taladj-en
so C male C spouse heat-PF C water C cause-boil and cause-inside-PF

a kẹdikẹdi.
a kẹdi-kẹdi
C RED-small
So the husband heated some water till it was boiling, and put the child in it.

017 *navungisir anga azua kẹdikẹdi a namatsay anga.*
navungisir anga a-zua kẹdi-kẹdi a na-m-patsay anga
bare.teeth indeed C-that RED-small C PAST-AF-die indeed
The child died with teeth bared(?).

018 *qau azua vaław a uqałay: "masalusalu a kẹdikẹdi a ku*
qau a-zua vaław a uqałay ma-salu-salu a kẹdi-kẹdi a ku
so C-that spouse C male STAT-RED-believe C RED-small C I

papavanavan," ayaya malevaleva tua namatsay anga
pa-pa-vanaw-an ay-aya ma-leva-leva tua na-m-patsay anga
cause-cause-bathe-LF RED-say STAT-RED-pleased OBL PAST-AF-die indeed

a kẹdikẹdi.
a kẹdi-kẹdi
C RED-small
The husband thought: "The child is glad I've bathed it," and he was happy about the dead child.

019 *qau pakanan a djurikuku uta, sa djameqi, sa penipeniḍi a liqu;*
qau pa-kan-an a djurikuku uta sa djameq-i sa peni-peniḍ-i a liqu
so cause-eat-LF C fowl also and catch-PF and RED-twist-PF C neck

qau sa kelayan pitjua djełep.
qau sa kelay-an pi-tjua djełep
so and hang-LF put-there wall
He fed the chickens too; then caught them and wrung their necks, and hung them up on the wall.
[*penipeniḍi*: F has *penid*, not *peniḍ*]

020 *qau azua vavayan vaik a malap tua kinikasiw.*
qau a-zua vavayan vaik a m-alap tua in=ki-kasiw
so C-that female leave C AF-take OBL PERF=do-tree
The woman went to collect the wood he had gathered.

021 *manu inika kasiw; qapulu nua qanivung.*
manu ini-ka kasiw qa-pulu nua qanivung
then not-after tree ?-trunk of phoenix.bush
But it wasn't wood; it was whole phoenix bushes.

022 *qau tsemikel a tjumaq azua vavayan.*
qau em=tsikel a tju-umaq a-zua vavayan
so AF=return C there-house C-that female
So she returned home.

023 *"su sinupu anga a djurikuku?" ayain a kivadaq a vaław a uqałay.*
su in=supu anga a djurikuku aya-en a ki-vadaq a vaław a uqałay
you(S) PERF=count indeed C fowl say-PF C do-ask C spouse C male
"Have you counted the chickens?" she asked her husband.

024 *"sinupu anga azua ku sinikelay," ayain.*
in=supu anga a-zua ku in=si-kelay aya-en
PERF=count indeed C-that I PERF=IF-hang say-PF
"I've counted the ones I've hung up," he told her.

025 *qenetjan nua vavayan; namatsay anga a djurikuku a penułat.*
qenetj-an nua vavayan na-m-patsay anga a djurikuku a en=puɬat
see-LF by female PAST-AF-die indeed C fowl C AF=all
The woman had a look; all the chickens were dead.

026 *limutseng aravats a vavayan.*
li-mutseng a-ravats a vavayan
QAL-angry C-true C female
The woman was very angry.

027 *qau kivadaqan uta: "pinapavanavan anga a kẹdikẹdi?"*
qau ki-vadaq-an uta in=pa-pa-vanaw-an anga a kẹdi-kẹdi
so do-ask-LF also PERF=cause-cause-bathe-LF indeed C RED-small

ayain a kivadaq.
aya-en a ki-vadaq
say-PF C do-ask
She also asked: "Has the child had a bath?" she asked him.

028 *"ui, ku pinapavanavan anga; masalu aravats,*
ui ku in=pa-pa-vanaw-an anga ma-salu a-ravats
yes I PERF=cause-cause-bathe-LF indeed STAT-believe C-true

djemelidjeli a naqemereng," aya tua namatsay anga.
em=djeli-djeli a na-em=qereng aya tua na-m-patsay anga
AF=RED-laugh C PAST-AF=lie.down say OBL PAST-AF-die indeed
"Yes, I've bathed him. He liked it very much; he's lying there smiling," he said about the dead child.
[*naqemereng*: originally *naqemeleng*.]

029 *vaiken a kiqenetj nua vavayan.*
vaik-en a ki-qenetj nua vavayan
leave-PF C do-see by female
The woman went to look at it.

030 *mintu namatsay anga.*
mintu na-m-patsay anga
sudden PAST-AF-die indeed
And it was dead.

031 *puvarung aravats azua vavayan; qemaung anga.*
pu-varung a-ravats a-zua vavayan em=qaung anga
have-chest C-true C-that female AF=cry indeed
The woman was very upset, and cried.

032 *qau kiɬavaran a uqaɬay: "aku qemaung sun a paqeteleng?*
qau ki-ɬavar-an a uqaɬay aku em=qaung sun a pa-qeteleng
so do-speak-LF C male why AF=cry F.you(S) C cause-randomly
The man said: "Why are you being so silly as to cry?

033 *a djemelidjeli a kẹdikẹdi."*
a em=djeli-djeli a kẹdi-kẹdi
C AF=RED-laugh C RED-small
The child is smiling."

034 *kiłavaran a vavayan: "aya itjen tua namatsay anga?" aya.*
ki-łavar-an a vavayan aya itjen tua na-m-patsay anga aya
do-speak-LF C female say F.we(INC) OBL PAST-AF-die indeed say
The woman said: "Do we talk like that about the dead?"

035 *qau sa qaung anga azua vavayan.*
qau sa qaung anga a-zua vavayan
so and cry indeed C-that female
And the woman cried.

036 *qau tsuay anga, "alapu tua titaw katua pungki," ayain a uqałay.*
qau tsuay anga alap-u tua titaw ka-tua pungki aya-en a uqałay
so long.time indeed take-IMP OBL hoe and-OBL basket say-PF C male
After a time she said to the man: "Take a hoe and basket.

037 *qau vaik a malap tua titaw katua pungki; sa vaik tiamadju a*
qau vaik a m-alap tua titaw ka-tua pungki sa vaik ti-a-madju a
so leave C AF-take OBL hoe and-OBL basket and leave F-PL-3RD.PERS C

sema tsemtsemel.
em=sa tsem-tsemel
AF=go RED-plant
So he went and got a hoe and basket; and they went off into the woods.

038 *qau "kali-u tsu a imaza," ayain.*
qau kali-u tsu a i-maza aya-en
so dig-IMP this C LOC-here say-PF
"Dig here," she told him.

039 *kaliin nua uqałay.*
kali-en nua uqałay
dig-PF by male
The man dug there.

040 *qau sa muri tsevełen azua kẹdikẹdi.*
qau sa ma-uri tseveł-en a-zua kẹdi-kẹdi
so and STAT-will bury-PF C-that RED-small
The child was to be buried.

041 *manu magarang a uqałay: "aku tsevełen a paqeteleng, a*
manu ma-garang a uqałay aku tsevеł-en a pa-qeteleng a
then STAT-scold C male why bury-PF C cause-randomly C

masalusalu a djemelidjeli a kẹdikẹdi?"
ma-salu-salu a em=djeli-djeli a kẹdi-kẹdi
STAT-RED-believe C AF=RED-laugh C RED-small
But the man was angry: "Why are you being so silly as to bury him? The child is happy and smiling."

042 *"namatsay anga," ayain nua vavayan.*
na-m-patsay anga aya-en nua vavayan
PAST-AF-die indeed say-PF by female
"He's dead," the woman told him.

043 *qau tsevełen anga nimadju.*
qau tsevełen anga ni-madju
so bury-PF indeed by-3RD.PERS
And she buried him.

044 *qau sa tulu-i anga azua uqałay: "nu mapuvaruvarung a tja*
qau sa tulu-i anga a-zua uqałay nu ma-pu-varu-varung a tja
so and teach-PF indeed C-that male when STAT-have-RED-chest C our(INC)

salasaladj, nu qemauqaung, tja pusaladjan a
sala-saladj nu em=qau-qaung tja pu-saladj-an a
RED-companion when AF=RED-cry we(INC) have-companion-LF C

mapuvarung a qemaung, saka nangaq."
ma-pu-varung a em=qaung sa-ka na-nguaq
STAT-have-chest C AF=cry and-after STAT-good
Then the man was taught: "When our friends are upset and cry, we join them in being upset and crying; that's the right thing to do."

045 *qau tsuatsuay anga manu uzai a pakaikaiv.*
qau tsua-tsuay anga manu uzay a pa-kai-kaiv
so RED-long.time indeed then there C cause-RED-meal
After a time some people gave a wedding supper,

046 *qau vaik a kiqepu tiamadju.*
qau vaik a ki-qepu ti-a-madju
so leave C do-associate F-PL-3RD.PERS
and they went to it.

047 *manu qemaung azua pinakaivan a vavayan.*
manu em=qaung a-zua in=pa-kaiv-an a vavayan
then AF=cry C-that PERF=cause-meal-NOM C female
The bride for whom the supper was given cried;

048 *mintu qemaung uta azua uqałay.*
mintu em=qaung uta a-zua uqałay
sudden AF=cry also C-that male
and then the man cried too.

049 *qau kirivuan nua vaław a vavayan: "aku qemaung sun a*
qau ki-rivu-an nua vaław a vavayan aku em=qaung sun a
so do-quarrel-LF by spouse C female why AF=cry F.you(S) C

paqeteleng?" ayain.
pa-qeteleng aya-en
cause-randomly say-PF
He was told off by his wife: "Why are you being so silly as to cry?" she said to him.

050 *"'nu qemauqaung a qaliqali, qemaung itjen a pusaladj,'*
nu em=qau-qaung a qali-qali em=qaung itjen a pu-saladj
when AF=RED-cry C RED-friend AF=cry F.we(INC) C have-companion

aya sun.
aya sun
say F.you(S)
"You said: 'When other people cry, we join them in crying.'

051 *aku kirivu sun a paqeteleng?" ayain a vavayan.*
aku ki-rivu sun a pa-qeteleng aya-en a vavayan
why do-quarrel F.you(S) C cause-randomly say-PF C female
So why on earth are you scolding me?" he said to her.

052 *qau keman ta tsengeł.*
qau em=kan ta tsengeł
so AF=eat OBL lunch
Once they were eating lunch.

053 *nu pałetekutekuin, pułapułaten a djemamay nua uqałay.*
nu pa-ł-e-teku-teku-en puła-pułat-en a em=djamay nua uqałay
when cause-go.to-RED-down-PF RED-all-PF C AF=side.dish by male
When the food was being put on the table, the man ate up all the side dishes.

054 *qau masiaq azua vavayan.*
qau ma-siaq a-zua vavayan
so STAT-shame C-that female
The woman was ashamed.

055 *"maya djemamay aravats.*
maya em=djamay a-ravats
don't AF=side.dish C-true
"Don't eat so much of the side dishes.

056 *ku qadjayay a su lima.*
ku qadjay-ay a su lima
I tie-LF C your(S) hand
I'll tie a string round your arm.

057 *nu ku tsiḍtsiḍen, djamayu," ayain.*
nu ku tsiḍtsiḍ-en djamay-u aya-en
when I tug-PF side.dish-IMP say-PF
When I tug it, you can eat some," she said to him.
[*tsiḍtsiḍen*: perhaps should be *tjirtjiren*.]

058 *nu tsuay anga ini tsiḍtsiḍi.*
nu tsuay anga ini tsiḍtsiḍ-i
when long.time indeed not tug-PF
For a long time there was no tug.

059 *"aku ini anga su tsiḍtsiḍtsiḍi?" aya a uqałay.*
aku ini anga su tsiḍ-tsiḍtsiḍ-i aya a uqałay
why not indeed you(S) RED-tug-PF say C male
"Why haven't you tugged yet?" said the man.

060 *manu tjemala tideq sa paqaqułuts a vatu.*
manu tjemala tideq sa pa-qa-qułuts a vatu
then enter space and cause-RED-tussle C dog
Then some dogs came into the space between them and started a tussle;
[*tjemala*: could be *m=tjala, tjemala, tjemała*?]

061 *qau matsiḍtsiḍ a lima.*
qau ma-tsiḍtsiḍ a lima
so STAT-tug C hand
and so his arm got tugged.

062 *tjadjaław anan a djemamay.*
tja-djaław anan a em=djamay
more-quickly still C AF=side.dish
He went at the side dishes even more crazily (?even quicker).
[*tjadjaław*: *tjałaułau* in OA, but probably a transcription error.]

063 *qau pułaten anga a djamay.*
qau pułat-en anga a djamay
so all-PF indeed C side.dish
He ate up all the side dishes;

064 *nekanga nu sidjamay nua qaliqali.*
neka-anga nu si-djamay nua qali-qali
no-indeed of IF-side.dish of RED-friend
there was nothing left for anyone else.

Once upon a time there was a couple, and they had a son. The mother was carrying the child on her back. The mother said to the father: "Go and get some wood."

"Right, I'm off to get wood," said the father. He took a long rope, and went to get wood. There were two phoenix bushes. He didn't cut them, but tied them with the rope, and put them on a pole to carry. But he couldn't carry them. So he took no wood, and went off home. And he told his wife: "I've collected lots of wood. I couldn't carry it. Go and get it," he said to his wife.

The woman gave him an order: "Heat up some water for this child and bathe him; and count the chickens," said the wife to the man. And the wife went to get the wood. So the husband heated some water till it was boiling, and put the child in it. The child died with teeth bared(?). The husband thought: "The child is glad I've bathed it," and he was happy about the dead child. He fed the chickens too; then caught them and wrung their necks, and hung them up on the wall. The woman went to collect the wood he had gathered. But it wasn't wood; it was whole phoenix bushes. So she returned home. "Have you counted the chickens?" she asked her husband.

"I've counted the ones I've hung up," he told her. The woman had a look; all the chickens were dead. The woman was very angry. She also asked: "Has the child had a bath?" she asked him. "Yes, I've bathed him. He liked it very much; he's lying there smiling," he said about the dead child. The woman went to look at it. And it was dead. The woman was very upset, and cried.

The man said: "Why are you being so silly as to cry? The child is smiling." The woman said: "Do we talk like that about the dead?" And the woman cried. After a time she said to the man: "Take a hoe and basket." So he went and got a hoe and basket; and they went off into the woods. "Dig here," she told him. The man dug there. The child was to be buried. But the man was angry: "Why are you being so silly as to bury him? The child is happy and smiling." "He's dead," the woman told him. And she buried him.

Then the man was taught: "When our friends are upset and cry, we join them in being upset and crying; that's the right thing to do."

After a time some people gave a wedding supper, and they went to it. The bride for whom the supper was given cried; and then the man cried too. He was told off by his wife: "Why are you being so silly as to cry?" she said to him. "You said: 'When other people cry, we join them in crying.' So why on earth are you scolding me?" he said to her.

Once they were eating lunch. When the food was being put on the table, the man ate up all the side dishes. The woman was ashamed. "Don't eat so much of the side dishes. I'll tie a string round your arm. When I tug it, you can eat some," she said to him. For a long time there was no tug. "Why haven't you tugged yet?" said the man. Then some dogs came into the space between them and started a tussle; and so his arm got tugged. He went at the side dishes even more crazily(?even quicker). He ate up all the side dishes; there was nothing left for anyone else.

004 THE BROTHERS

marekaka (Qatsiłay village, p. 154)

001 *uzai a maḍusa a marekaka ka sitsuayan.*
uzay a ma-ḍusa a mare-kaka ka si-tsuay-an
there C NUM-two C pair-sibling after IF-long.time-NOM
Once upon a time there were two brothers.

002 *kiłavaran a kaka tjałałak: "uzai a djarałap i katsasavan*
ki-łavar-an a kaka tja-łałak uzay a djarałap i ka-tsasaw-an
do-speak-LF C sibling more-child there C banyan LOC main-outside-NOM

ku liłing.
ku liłing
I shelter
The younger brother said: "There is a banyan tree in the courtyard that I shelter under.

003 *nu tja leglegen, matjani a vałitjuq kasi vavaw tua djarałap,*
nu tja legleg-en ma-tjani a vałitjuq kasi va-vaw tua djarałap
when we(INC) shake-PF STAT-fall C money from RED-above OBL banyan

kaka," ayain a tjavulung.
kaka aya-en a tja-vulung
sibling say-PF C more-old
When we shake it, money falls down from on top of the banyan, brother," he said to the older one.
[*leglegen*: OA has *regregen* (= 'cut with saw'), but with Japanese translation 'shake'.]

004 *qau "nu maitazua vaik anga ken kiliłing, sa ku leglegi*
qau nu ma-aya-ta-zua vaik anga aken ki-liłing sa ku legleg-i
so when STAT-be.thus-?-that leave indeed F.I do-shelter and I shake-PF

anga, uła ken a puvałitjuq," aya a kaka a tjavulung.
anga uła aken a pu-vałitjuq aya a kaka a tja-vulung
indeed so.that F.I C have-money say C sibling C more-old
"In that case I'll go and shelter under it and shake it, so that I can get some money," said the older brother.

005 *qau inika tsuatsuay vaik azua kaka a tjavulung a kiliłing,*
qau ini-ka tsua-tsuay vaik a-zua kaka a tja-vulung a ki-liłing
so not-after RED-long.time leave C-that sibling C more-old C do-shelter

sa leglegi.
sa legleg-i
and shake-PF
Not long afterwards the older brother went and sheltered under it and shook it.

006 *manu matjani a marka qatjuvi marka qatjułał marka qatsiłay.*
manu ma-tjani a marka qatjuvi marka qatjułał marka qatsiłay
then STAT-fall C PL snake PL worm PL stone
But snakes, worms and stones fell down.

007 *qau limutseng azua kaka a tjavulung.*
qau li-mutseng a-zua kaka a tja-vulung
so QAL-angry C-that sibling C more-old
The older brother was angry,

008 *muri seqasen a kaka a tjałałak.*
ma-uri seqas-en a kaka a tja-łałak
STAT-will chop-PF C sibling C more-child
and was going to knife his younger brother.

009 *qau kiłavaran a kaka a tjałałak: "nu ini su kasalu,*
qau ki-łavar-an a kaka a tja-łałak nu ini su ka-salu
so do-speak-LF C sibling C more-child when not you(S) STAT-believe

tiakenay a lemegleg."
ti-aken-ay a em=legleg
F-I-LF C AF=shake
The younger brother said: "If you don't believe me, I'll do the shaking."

010 *qau leglegen nimadju.*
qau legleg-en ni-madju
so shake-PF by-3RD.PERS
He shook it;

011 *mintu matjani a vałitjuq marka situngan.*
mintu ma-tjani a vałitjuq marka si-itung-an
sudden STAT-fall C money PL IF-cloth-NOM
and down fell money and clothes.

012 *qau masalu anga a kaka a tjavulung.*
qau ma-salu anga a kaka a tja-vulung
so STAT-believe indeed C sibling C more-old
So the older brother believed him.

013 *kiłavaran anan uta azua kaka a tjałałak: "uzai a niaken a titaw*
ki-łavar-an anan uta a-zua kaka a tja-łałak uzay a ni-aken a titaw
do-speak-LF still also C-that sibling C more-child there C of-I C hoe

a bulabulay.
a bula-bulay
C RED-beautiful
The younger brother also said: "I've got a fine hoe.

014 *nu tja sikali tua qipu, łekatsauan a sauzayan,"*
nu tja si-kali tua qipu łe-ka-tsau-an a sa-uzay-an
when we(INC) IF-dig OBL soil go.to-become-being-LF C QAL-there-NOM

ayain a kaka tjavulung.
aya-en a kaka tja-vulung
say-PF C sibling more-old
If we dig the soil with it, treasure appears," he said to his older brother.
[*sauzayan*: under *uzai* in F330]

015 *kiłavaran a kaka a tjavulung: "nu maitazua pasedjami*
ki-łavar-an a kaka a tja-vulung nu ma-aya-ta-zua pa-sedjam-i
do-speak-LF C sibling C more-old when STAT-be.thus-?-that cause-borrow-HORT

aken tua nisun a titaw," aya a kaka a tjavulung.
aken tua ni-sun a titaw aya a kaka a tja-vulung
F.I OBL of-you(S) C hoe say C sibling C more-old
The older brother said: "In that case lend me your hoe," said the older brother.

016 *qau pasedjaman, sa titavan nua kaka a tjavulung tua qipu.*
qau pa-sedjam-an sa titaw-an nua kaka a tja-vulung tua qipu
so cause-borrow-LF and hoe-LF by sibling C more-old OBL soil
So he lent it and the older one hoed the soil with it.

017 *łakua nu temitaw, qatsiłai katua kasiw sakamaya.*
łakua nu em=titaw qatsiłay ka-tua kasiw sakamaya
but when AF=hoe stone and-OBL tree only
But when he hoed there were only stones and wood.

018 *qau limutseng azua kaka; siverits azua titaw.*
qau li-mutseng a-zua kaka si-verits a-zua titaw
so QAL-angry C-that sibling IF-discard C-that hoe
So that brother was angry and threw away the hoe.

019 *qau limutseng azua kaka a tjałałak uta.*
qau li-mutseng a-zua kaka a tja-łałak uta
so QAL-angry C-that sibling C more-child also
So the younger brother was angry too.

020 *ini anga pare qaqivuivu tiamadju.*
ini anga pare qa-ivu=qivu ti-a-madju
not indeed pair ?-RED=speak F-PL-3RD.PERS
They wouldn't speak to one another.

021 *uzai a qadaw malap azua kaka a tjałałak tua łaugiu, sa kani.*
uzay a qadaw m-alap a-zua kaka a tja-łałak tua łaugiu sa kan-i
there C sun AF-take C-that sibling C more-child OBL shallot and eat-PF
One day the younger brother took some shallots and ate them,

022 *sa vaik a sema tjua mamazangiłan, sa qetjutj.*
sa vaik a em=sa tjua ma-ma-zangił-an sa qetjutj
and leave C AF=go there STAT-STAT-chief-NOM and break.wind
and went to the chief's place, and broke wind.

023 *manu semqu azua mamazangiłan; manu paka ngułingułł*
manu em=sequ a-zua ma-ma-zangił-an manu pa-ka ngułingułł
then AF=smell C-that STAT-STAT-chief-NOM then cause-become fragrant

aravats a mamazangiłan.
a-ravats a ma-ma-zangił-an
C-true C STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
The chief smelled it and thought it very fragrant.

024 *qau pavayan tua vaɬitjuq marka lami.*
qau pa-vay-an tua vaɬitjuq marka lami
so cause-give-LF OBL money PL staple.food
And he gave him money and staple foods.

025 *manu lemangda a kaka a tjavulung tu nakeman tua ɬaugiu sa*
manu em=langeda a kaka a tja-vulung tu na-em=kan tua ɬaugiu sa
then AF=hear C sibling C more-old OBL PAST-AF=eat OBL shallot and

qetjutj; qau kipavayan anga timadju tua vaɬitjuq, aya
qetjutj qau ki-pa-vay-an anga ti-madju tua vaɬitjuq aya
break.wind so do-cause-give-LF indeed F-3RD.PERS OBL money say

linangdan.
in=langeda-an
PERF=hear-LF
The older brother heard that he had eaten shallots and broken wind, and had been given money, according to what he heard.

026 *"nangaq a vaik aken a tsemakaw tua ɬaugiu, sa ku kani;*
na-nguaq a vaik aken a em=tsakaw tua ɬaugiu sa ku kan-i
STAT-good C leave F.I C AF=steal OBL shallot and I eat-PF

sa ku vaik a qemtjutj tua mamazangiɬan.
sa ku vaik a em=qetjutj tua ma-ma-zangiɬ-an
and I leave C AF=break.wind OBL STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
"I must go and steal some shallots and eat them and go and break wind to the chief,

027 *ki ken a pavayi anga tua vaɬitjuq nua mamazangiɬan," aya*
ki aken a pa-vay-i anga tua vaɬitjuq nua ma-ma-zangiɬ-an aya
will F.I C cause-give-PF indeed OBL money by STAT-STAT-chief-NOM say

timadju.
ti-madju
F-3RD.PERS
and the chief will give me some money," he said.

028 *qau vaik a tsemakaw tua ɬaugiu sa kani, sa vaik a qemtjutj*
qau vaik a em=tsakaw tua ɬaugiu sa kan-i sa vaik a em=qetjutj
so leave C AF=steal OBL shallot and eat-PF and leave C AF=break.wind

tua mamazangiɬan.
tua ma-ma-zangiɬ-an
OBL STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
So he went and stole some shallots and ate them, and went and broke wind to the chief.

029 *manu qangsel aravats.*
manu qangsel a-ravats
then stink C-true
It made a dreadful stink.

030 *qau limutseng a mamazangiɬan.*
qau li-mutseng a ma-ma-zangiɬ-an
so QAL-angry C STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
The chief was angry,

031 *seqasen anga azua kaka a tjavulung.*
seqas-en anga a-zua kaka a tja-vulung
chop-PF indeed C-that sibling C more-old
and the older brother was cut down (and killed).

Once upon a time there were two brothers. The younger brother said: "There is a banyan tree in the courtyard that I shelter under. When we shake it, money falls down from on top of the banyan, brother," he said to the older one.

"In that case I'll go and shelter under it and shake it, so that I can get some money," said the older brother. Not long afterwards the older brother went and sheltered under it and shook it. But snakes, worms and stones fell down. The older brother was angry, and was going to knife his younger brother. The younger brother said: "If you don't believe me, I'll do the shaking." He shook it; and down fell money and clothes. So the older brother believed him.

The younger brother also said: "I've got a fine hoe. If we dig the soil with it, treasure appears," he said to his older brother. The older brother said: "In that case lend me your hoe," said the older brother. So he lent it and the older one hoed the soil with it. But when he hoed there were only stones and wood. So that brother was angry and threw away the hoe. So the younger brother was angry too. They wouldn't speak to one another.

One day the younger brother took some shallots and ate them, and went to the chief's place, and broke wind. The chief smelled it and thought it very fragrant. And he gave him money and staple foods. The older brother heard that he had eaten shallots and broken wind, and had been given money, according to what he heard. "I must go and steal some shallots and eat them and go and break wind to the chief, and the chief will give me some money," he said. So he went and stole some shallots and ate them, and went and broke wind to the chief. It made a dreadful stink. The chief was angry, and the older brother was cut down (and killed).

005 PUŁAŁUYAŁUYAN AND SIMIDALU

ti sa Pułałuyałuyan kati sa Simidalu (Qatsiłay village p. 157)

001 *uzai ka sitsuayan ti sa Pułałuyałuyan, navaik a kiseqas*
uzay ka si-tsuay-an ti sa Pułałuyałuyan na-vaik a ki-seqas
there after IF-long.time-NOM F.H H (name) PAST-leave C do-chop

tua se Tjuavudas.
tua se Tjuavudas
OBL person.of (place)
Once upon a time there was a man called Pułałuyałuyan, who went to fight the Tjuavudas people.

002 *nakuya aravats a sikudan nua se Tjuavudas a tsautsau;*
na-kuya a-ravats a si-kuda-an nua se Tjuavudas a tsau-tsau
STAT-bad C-true C IF-do.what-NOM of person.of (place) C RED-being

tsug a tsemakaw; marka semqas tua tsautsau.
tsug a em=tsakaw marka em=seqas tua tsau-tsau
like C AF=steal PL AF=chop OBL RED-being
The Tjuavudas people were very bad; they were fond of stealing and of killing people.

003 *qau limutseng ti sa Pułałuyałuyan; mirava, sa vaik a kiseqas*
qau li-mutseng ti sa Pułałuyałuyan mi-rava sa vaik a ki-seqas
so QAL-angry F.H H (name) AF-prepare and leave C do-chop

tua se Tjuavudas.
tua se Tjuavudas
OBL person.of (place)
Pułałuyałuyan was angry; he got ready, and went to fight the Tjuavudas people.

004 *qau djemałun itjua qinałan nua se Tjuavudas.*
qau em=djałun i-tjua in=qała-an nua se Tjuavudas
so AF=arrive LOC-there PERF=outsider-NOM of person.of (place)
He got to the village of the Tjuavudas people,

005 *kiseqasan ni sa Pułałuyałuyan a se Tjuavudas a lima a qadaw.*
ki-seqas-an ni sa Pułałuyałuyan a se Tjuavudas a lima a qadaw
do-chop-LF by H (name) C person.of (place) C five C sun
and fought against them for five days.

006 *łakua matsidił ti sa Pułałuyałuyan, tjuruvu a se Tjuavudas.*
łakua ma-tsidił ti sa Pułałuyałuyan tjuruvu a se Tjuavudas
but STAT-alone F.H H (name) many C person.of (place)
But Pułałuyałuyan was on his own, and there were lots of the Tjuavudas people.

007 *qau ini vala ti sa Pułałuyałuyan; qetsiin anga nua se Tjuavudas.*
qau ini vala ti sa Pułałuyałuyan qetsi-en anga nua se Tjuavudas
so not able F.H H (name) fight-PF indeed by person.of (place)
Pułałuyałuyan couldn't win, and he was killed by the Tjuavudas people.

008 *qau sa tseludju-i anga tua kavayan a qulu katua tsuqelał.*
qau sa tseludju-i anga tua kavayan a qulu ka-tua tsuqelał
so and point-PF indeed OBL bamboo.sp C head and-OBL bone
And his head and skeleton were impaled on bamboo spikes.

009 *manu uzai a ałak ni sa Pułałuyałuyan, ti sa Simidalu a ngadan.*
manu uzay a ałak ni sa Pułałuyałuyan ti sa Simidalu a ngadan
then there C child of H (name) F.H H (name) C name
Pułałuyałuyan had a child called Simidalu.

010 *qau meqatsa azua; kivadaq tua kina: "tima ku kama?*
qau me-qatsa a-zua ki-vadaq tua kina ti-ima ku kama
so AF-big C-that do-ask OBL mother F-who my father
He grew up, and asked his mother: "Mother, who is my father?

011 *aku neka ku kama i tjumaq?" ayain a kina.*
aku neka ku kama i tju-umaq aya-en a kina
why no my father LOC there-house say-PF C mother
Why is my father not here at home?" he said to his mother.

012 *łakua marekutj a kina a tjemumał tu qintsi nua se*
łakua ma-rekutj a kina a em=tjumał tu in=qetsi nua se
but STAT-fear C mother C AF=discuss COMPL PERF=fight by person.of

Tjuavudas; marekutj tu vaik anan a kikuang tua se Tjuavudas.
Tjuavudas ma-rekutj tu vaik anan a ki-kuang tua se Tjuavudas
(place) STAT-fear OBL leave still C do-firearm OBL person.of (place)
But his mother was afraid to tell him that his father had been killed by Tjuavudas people; she was afraid that he too would go and fight the Tjuavudas people.

013 *łakua manu vaik a kivadaq tua qaliqali ti sa Simidalu.*
łakua manu vaik a ki-vadaq tua qali-qali ti sa Simidalu
but then leave C do-ask OBL RED-friend F.H H (name)
But Simidalu went and asked others,

014 *manu tjumałan nua qaliqali.*
manu tjumał-an nua qali-qali
then discuss-LF by RED-friend
and they told him.

015 *qau kemłang anga ti sa Simidalu tu qintsi a kama nua se*
qau em=kełang anga ti sa Simidalu tu in=qetsi a kama nua se
so AF=know indeed F.H H (name) OBL PERF=fight C father by person.of

Tjuavudas.
Tjuavudas
(place)
So now Simidalu knew that his father had been killed by the Tjuavudas people.

016 *"nu maitazua vaik aken a kiquɬis tua se Tjuavudas,"*
nu ma-aya-ta-zua vaik aken a ki-quɬis tua se Tjuavudas
when STAT-be.thus-?-that leave F.I C do-turn OBL person.of (place)

aya kinemnem.
aya kinemnem
say think
"In that case I'll go and get revenge on the Tjuavudas people," he thought.

017 *qau ini tjumaɬ tua kina; vaik timadju a sema tjua*
qau ini tjumaɬ tua kina vaik ti-madju a em=sa tjua
so not discuss OBL mother leave F-3RD.PERS C AF=go there

qinaɬan nua se Tjuavudas, sa kikuangi a se
in=qaɬa-an nua se Tjuavudas sa ki-kuang-i a se
PERF=outsider-NOM of person.of (place) and do-firearm-PF C person.of

Tjuavudas.
Tjuavudas
(place)
He didn't tell his mother; he went to the village of the Tjuavudas people and fired on them.

018 *azua ti sa Simidalu saigu aravats a kiseqas.*
a-zua ti sa Simidalu saigu a-ravats a ki-seqas
C-that F.H H (name) skill C-true C do-chop
Simidalu was a very skilful fighter.

019 *qau ini anga vala a se Tjuavudas.*
qau ini anga vala a se Tjuavudas
so not indeed able C person.of (place)
The Tjuavudas people couldn't win.

020 *qau djumaken a tsuqelaɬ katua qulu nua kama, a sinipatseludju*
qau djumak-en a tsuqelaɬ ka-tua qulu nua kama a in=si-pa-tseludju
so find-PF C bone and-OBL head of father C PERF=IF-cause-point

tua kavayan.
tua kavayan
OBL bamboo.sp
He found his father's skeleton and head, impaled on bamboo spikes.

021 *qau alapen nimadju sa paɬeteku-i, sa qepu-i a tsuqelaɬ.*
qau alap-en ni-madju sa pa-ɬe-teku-i sa qepu-i a tsuqelaɬ
so take-PF by-3RD.PERS and cause-go.to-down-PF and associate-PF C bone
He took them down and collected up the bones.

022 *qau sa kisenayi nimadju: "kuda mapatsatsaitsaing a tsuqelaɬ*
qau sa ki-senay-i ni-madju kuda ma-pa-tsa-tsai-tsaing a tsuqelaɬ
so and do-chant-PF by-3RD.PERS do.what STAT-cause-RED-RED-fasten C bone

ni kama."
ni kama
of father
And he chanted over them: "May father's bones join together!"

023 *qau mapatsatsaitsaing a tsuqelał nua kama.*
qau ma-pa-tsa-tsai-tsaing a tsuqelał nua kama
so STAT-cause-RED-RED-fasten C bone of father
And his father's bones joined together.

024 *"kuda puseti ti kama."*
kuda pu-seti ti kama
do.what have-meat F.H father
"May flesh come on my father's body!"

025 *puseti a kama.*
pu-seti a kama
have-meat C father
Flesh came on his father's body.

026 *"kuda kiłavaran ti kama."*
kuda ki-łavar-an ti kama
do.what do-speak-LF F.H father
"May father speak!"

027 *kiłavaran a kama.*
ki-łavar-an a kama
do-speak-LF C father
His father spoke.

028 *qau mevałut anga a kama.*
qau me-vałut anga a kama
so AF-alive indeed C father
His father had come back to life.

029 *qau miravanga tiamadju; qau sa vaik anga tjumaq.*
qau mi-rava-anga ti-a-madju qau sa vaik anga tju-umaq
so AF-prepare-indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS so and leave indeed there-house
So they got ready and went back home.

030 *qau djemałun i gadegade.*
qau em=djałun i gade-gade
so AF=arrive LOC RED-mountain
They got to the mountain ridge.

031 *penanang ti sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
en=panang ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
AF=shout.war.cry F.H H (name)
Pułałuyałuyan gave a victory shout.

032 *qau lemangda a i tjumaq.*
qau em=langeda a i tju-umaq
so AF=hear C LOC there-house
The people at home heard it.

033 *"aku uzai azua penanang?*
aku uzay a-zua en=panang
why there C-that AF=shout.war.cry
"Why is someone giving a victory shout?

034 *matu ti sa Pułałuyałuyan," aya a qaliqali.*
ma-tu ti sa Pułałuyałuyan aya a qali-qali
STAT-alike F.H H (name) say C RED-friend
It sounds like Pułałuyałuyan," people said.

035 *penanang uta ti sa Simidalu.*
en=panang uta ti sa Simidalu
AF=shout.war.cry also F.H H (name)
Simidalu also gave a shout,

036 *qau langdan nua qaliqali.*
qau langeda-an nua qali-qali
so hear-LF by RED-friend
and was heard by the other people.

037 *"aku uzai azua sinipanang?*
aku uzay a-zua in=si-panang
why there C-that PERF=IF-shout.war.cry
"What is there to give a victory shout about?

038 *matu ti sa Simidalu," aya a qaliqali.*
ma-tu ti sa Simidalu aya a qali-qali
STAT-alike F.H H (name) say C RED-friend
It sounds like Simidalu," people said.

039 *qau viliviliłan anga penanang anga tiamadju a maḍusa.*
qau vili-vilił-an anga en=panang anga ti-a-madju a ma-ḍusa
so RED-behind-LF indeed AF=shout.war.cry indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS C NUM-two
Finally they both shouted together.

040 *mintu sa lingułan nua quł̇ivangeraw tu masan limał.*
mintu sa linguł-an nua quł̇i-vangeraw tu ma-sane lima-ł
sudden and around-LF by ?-rainbow OBL STAT-make five-times
Then they were surrounded by five rainbows.

041 *qau vaik tiamadju a tjumaq.*
qau vaik ti-a-madju a tju-umaq
so leave F-PL-3RD.PERS C there-house
They went on to their home.

042 *djemałun tiamadju; kamayan anan a quł̇ivangeraw.*
em=djałun ti-a-madju ka-ma-aya-an anan a quł̇i-vangeraw
AF=arrive F-PL-3RD.PERS become-STAT-be.thus-LF still C ?-rainbow
They arrived, and the rainbows were still there.

043 *qau mangtjez a qaliqali a kiqenetj, sa pakaleva-i anga*
qau m-pangetjez a qali-qali a ki-qenetj sa pa-ka-leva-i anga
so AF-come C RED-friend C do-see and cause-main-pleased-PF indeed

tiamadju a maḍusa.
ti-a-madju a ma-ḍusa
F-PL-3RD.PERS C NUM-two
So others came to see, and the two of them were welcomed.

044 *qau zemian a qaliqali a tapuluq a qadaw; marka kevava.*
qau em=zian a qali-qali a ta-puluq a qadaw marka ke-vava
so AF=dance C RED-friend C one-ten C sun PL consume-alcohol
People danced for ten days and drank beer.
[*marka*: implies 'together/collectively' here.]

045 *qau sa san mamazangiłani anga ti sa Pułałuyałuyan kati*
qau sa sane ma-ma-zangił-an-i anga ti sa Pułałuyałuyan ka-ti
so and make STAT-STAT-chief-NOM-PF indeed F.H H (name) and-F.H

sa Simidalu.
sa Simidalu
H (name)
And they made Pułałuyałuyan and Simidalu chiefs.

Once upon a time there was a man called Pułałuyałuyan, who went to fight the Tjuavudas people. The Tjuavudas people were very bad; they were fond of stealing and of killing people. Pułałuyałuyan was angry. He got ready, and went to fight the Tjuavudas people. He got to the village of the Tjuavudas people, and fought against them for five days. But Pułałuyałuyan was on his own, and there were lots of the Tjuavudas people. Pułałuyałuyan couldn't win, and he was killed by the Tjuavudas people. And his head and skeleton were impaled on bamboo spikes.

Pułałuyałuyan had a child called Simidalu. He grew up, and asked his mother: "Mother, who is my father? Why is my father not here at home?" he said to his mother. But his mother was afraid to tell him that his father had been killed by Tjuavudas people; she was afraid that he too would go and fight the Tjuavudas people. But Simidalu went and asked others, and they told him. So now Simidalu knew that his father had been killed by the Tjuavudas people. "In that case I'll go and get revenge on the Tjuavudas people," he thought.

He didn't tell his mother; he went to the village of the Tjuavudas people and fired on them. Simidalu was a very skilful fighter. The Tjuavudas people couldn't win. He found his father's skeleton and head, impaled on bamboo spikes. He took them down and collected up the bones. And he chanted over them: "May father's bones join together!". And his father's bones joined together. "May flesh come on my father's body!". Flesh came on his father's body. "May father speak!". His father spoke. His father had come back to life. So they got ready and went back home. They got to the mountain ridge. Pułałuyałuyan gave a victory shout. The people at home heard it. "Why is someone giving a victory shout? It sounds like Pułałuyałuyan," people said. Simidalu also gave a shout, and was heard by the other people. "What is there to give a victory shout about? It sounds like Simidalu," people said. Finally they both shouted together. Then they were surrounded by five rainbows. They went on to their home. They arrived, and the rainbows were still there. So others came to see, and the two of them were welcomed. People danced for ten days and drank beer. And they made Pułałuyałuyan and Simidalu chiefs.

006 WHITE OWL AND BROWN OWL

tjugelui katua ngangay (Qatsiłay village, p. 160)

001 *izua sitsuayan marekałaałak a matjelu.*
i-zua si-tsuay-an mare-ka-ała-ałak a ma-tjelu
LOC-that IF-long.time-NOM pair-main-RED-child C NUM-three
Once upon a time there was a family of three.

002 *uzai a ałak nua kina a lumamad anan.*
uzay a ałak nua kina a lumamad anan
there C child of mother C infant still
The mother had a child which was still a baby,

003 *qau sipasevaɬ tua ałak a tjałavuluvulungan a vavayan.*
qau si-pa-sevaɬ tua ałak a tjała-vulu-vulung-an a vavayan
so IF-cause-carry.on.back OBL child C most-RED-old-NOM C female
which she gave to the oldest girl to carry on her back.

004 *qau sa vaik a kina a kivurasi.*
qau sa vaik a kina a ki-vurasi
so and leave C mother C do-sweet.potato
And the mother went off to get sweet potatoes.

005 *manu tsuay anga aravats, qemaung a keḍikeḍi.*
manu tsuay anga a-ravats em=qaung a keḍi-keḍi
then long.time indeed C-true AF=cry C RED-small
After a long time the baby cried.

006 *qau katsuin nazua tjavulung a kaka pasa tjua kina.*
qau katsu-en nua-zua tja-vulung a kaka pa-sa tjua kina
so carry-PF by-that more-old C sibling cause-go there mother
So the older sister took him to their mother.

007 *qau kiłavaran a ałak a tjałavuluvulungan: "sualapu ti aḍing a*
qau ki-łavar-an a ałak a tjała-vulu-vulung-an su-alap-u ti aḍing a
so do-speak-LF C child C most-RED-old-NOM remove-take-IMP F.H boy C

qemaung," ayain a kina.
em=qaung aya-en a kina
AF=cry say-PF C mother
The oldest child said: "Take the boy away; he's crying," she said to her mother.

008 *łakua "gału anan; kivurasi anan aken," aya kina.*
łakua gału anan ki-vurasi anan aken aya kina
but slow still do-sweet.potato still F.I say mother
But the mother said: "Wait a bit; I'm still getting sweet potatoes."

009 *qemaung aravats a keḍikeḍi.*
em=qaung a-ravats a keḍi-keḍi
AF=cry C-true C RED-small
The baby cried a lot.

010 *"sualapu ti aḍing," ayain anan uta a kina.*
su-alap-u ti aḍing aya-en anan uta a kina
remove-take-IMP F.H boy say-PF still also C mother
"Take the boy away," the girl said once more to her mother.

011 *łakua ini sualapi angata.*
łakua ini su-alap-i anga-ta
but not remove-take-PF indeed-?
But she just would not take him.

012 *qau keman tua tsengeł; ini pakani.*
qau em=kan tua tsengeł ini pa-kan-i
so AF=eat OBL lunch not cause-eat-PF
She ate lunch, but didn't feed the children.

013 *qau kisankuya azua kakeḍian; vaik a sema qapaz.*
qau ki-sane-kuya a-zua ka-keḍi-an vaik a em=sa qapaz
so do-make-bad C-that RED-small-NOM leave C AF=go fence
The children were angry, and went away to the edge of the field.

014 *qau sa pedii a siała katua tjalikuvał tu sanpalałen*
qau sa pedi-i a si-ała ka-tua tjalikuvał tu sane-palał-en
so and tear-PF C IF-carry.cloth and-OBL blanket OBL make-wing-PF

niamadju a maḍusa.
ni-a-madju a ma-ḍusa
of-PL-3RD.PERS C NUM-two
The carrying-cloth and the baby blanket were torn up to make wings for the two of them;

015 *qau kitsaquan tiamadju a milayap.*
qau ki-tsaqu-an ti-a-madju a mi-layap
so do-able-LF F-PL-3RD.PERS C AF-fly
and they practised flying.

016 *qau tsuay anga aravats vaiken a karim nua kina.*
qau tsuay anga a-ravats vaik-en a ar=kim nua kina
so long.time indeed C-true leave-PF C QAL=search by mother
After a long time the mother went to look for them.

017 *mintu kitsaquaquan a milayap.*
mintu ki-aqu=tsaqu-an a mi-layap
sudden do-RED=able-LF C AF-fly
And they were practising flying.

018 *"aku maitazuazua mun?" ayain nua kina a kiłavaran a*
aku ma-aya-ta-zua-zua mun aya-en nua kina a ki-łavar-an a
why STAT-be.thus-?-that-that F.you(P) say-PF by mother C do-speak-LF C

kakeḍian.
ka-keḍi-an
RED-small-NOM
"Why are you doing that?" said the mother to the children.

019 *"vaiku a tjumaq," ayain azua kakeḍian.*
vaik-u a tju-umaq aya-en a-zua ka-keḍi-an
leave-IMP C there-house say-PF C-that RED-small-NOM
"Go home!" the children were told.

020 *łakua ini kisalu a vaik.*
łakua ini ki-salu a vaik
but not do-believe C leave
But they wouldn't go.

021 *"muri masan qayaqayam amen," aya kiłavaran tua kina.*
ma-uri ma-sane qaya-qayam amen aya ki-łavar-an tua kina
STAT-will STAT-make RED-bird F.we(EXC) say do-speak-LF OBL mother
"We're going to become birds," they said to their mother.

022 *qau kagarangan nua kina.*
qau ka-garang-an nua kina
so PAST-scold-LF by mother
The mother scolded them.

023 *milayap a mavilad a sema tsemtsemel.*
mi-layap a ma-vilad a em=sa tsem-tsemel
AF-fly C STAT-flee C AF=go RED-plant
They flew off to the woods.

024 *qau azua kakeḍian małavar tiamadju: "tisun layapu a maka*
qau a-zua ka-keḍi-an ma-łavar ti-a-madju ti-sun layap-u a maka
so C-that RED-small-NOM STAT-speak F-PL-3RD.PERS F-you(S) fly-IMP C via

kaledep; tiaken a maka maza i katsedas," ayain nua tjavulung a
ka-ledep ti-aken a maka maza i ka-tsedas aya-en nua tja-vulung a
main-descend F-I C via here LOC main-sunrise say-PF by more-old C

tjałałak.
tja-łałak
more-child
The children discussed together: "You fly in the west; I'll be here in the east," said the older one to the younger one.

025 *qau muri mavaday anga tiamadju; matjatjuktjuk.*
qau ma-uri ma-vaday anga ti-a-madju ma-tja-tjuktjuk
so STAT-will STAT-separate indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS STAT-RED-beak
They were going to part, and they touched beaks.

026 *qau sa kałavar: "nu metsevung itjen, uła quḍaquḍasan*
qau sa ka-łavar nu me-tsevung itjen uła quḍa-quḍas-an
so and PAST-speak when AF-meet F.we(INC) so.that RED-white.hair-NOM

anga," aya tiamadju.
anga aya ti-a-madju
indeed say F-PL-3RD.PERS
And they said to one another: "Let's be white-haired when we meet again," they said.

027 *qau milayap anga tiamadju a mavadai a maḍusa.*
qau mi-layap anga ti-a-madju a ma-vaday a ma-ḍusa
so AF-fly indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS C STAT-separate C NUM-two
And the two of them flew off and parted.

028 *qau metsevung tiamadju ka quḍaquḍasan anga tiamadju a*
qau me-tsevung ti-a-madju ka quḍa-quḍas-an anga ti-a-madju a
so AF-meet F-PL-3RD.PERS after RED-white.hair-NOM indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS C

qayaqayam.
qaya-qayam
RED-bird
They met again when they were white-haired birds.

029 *qau małavar anan tiamadju uta: "tisun ngangay aya-u anga.*
qau ma-łavar anan ti-a-madju uta ti-sun ngangay aya-u anga
so STAT-speak still F-PL-3RD.PERS also F-you(S) EXCL say-IMP indeed
And they talked to one another again: "You say 'ngangay',

030 *tiaken tjugelui ayanga aken nu zemaing," ayain a tjałałak.*
ti-aken tjugelui aya-anga aken nu em=zaing aya-en a tja-łałak
F-I EXCL say-indeed F.I when AF=call say-PF C more-child
and I'll say 'tjugelui' when we call," the younger one was told.

031 *avan sika uzai anga nua tjugelui katua ngangay tutsu.*
avan sika uzay anga nua tjugelui ka-tua ngangay tu-tsu
exact reason there indeed of brown.owl and-OBL white.owl OBL-this
And that's why there are the *ngangay* (white owl) and *tjugelui* (brown owl) to this day.

Once upon a time there was a family of three. The mother had a child which was still a baby, which she gave to the oldest girl to carry on her back. And the mother went off to get sweet potatoes. After a long time the baby cried. So the older sister took him to their mother. The oldest child said: "Take the boy away; he's crying," she said to her mother. But the mother said: "Wait a bit; I'm still getting sweet potatoes." The baby cried a lot. "Take the boy away," the girl said once more to her mother. But she just would not take him. She ate lunch, but didn't feed the children.

The children were angry, and went away to the edge of the field. The carrying-cloth and the baby blanket were torn up to make wings for the two of them; and they practised flying. After a long time the mother went to look for them. And they were practising flying. "Why are you doing that?" said the mother to the children. "Go home!" the children were told. But they wouldn't go. "We're going to become birds," they said to their mother. The mother scolded them.

They flew off to the woods. The children discussed together: "You fly in the west; I'll be here in the east," said the older one to the younger one. They were going to part, and they touched beaks. And they said to one another: "Let's be white-haired when we meet again," they said. And the two of them flew off and parted.

They met again when they were white-haired birds. And they talked to one another again: "You say 'ngangay', and I'll say 'tjugelui' when we call," the younger one was told. And that's why there are the *ngangay* (white owl) and *tjugelui* (brown owl) to this day.

007 THE QALU PEOPLE GO HEAD-HUNTING

maqinatsap a se Qalu (Qatsiɬay village, p. 162)

001 *ka sitsuayan masengats a se Pungudan a vaik a*
ka si-tsuay-an ma-sengats a se Pungudan a vaik a
after IF-long.time-NOM STAT-dislike C person.of (place) C leave C

paikinuriɬ tua se Qalu.
pa-i-in=kuriɬ tua se Qalu
cause-LOC-PERF=dried.food OBL person.of (place)
Once upon a time the Pungudan people got tired of going to give a tribute of dried meat to the Qalu people.

002 *manu limutseng a se Qalu; mirava, sa vaik a sema Pungudan*
manu li-mutseng a se Qalu mi-rava sa vaik a em=sa Pungudan
then QAL-angry C person.of (place) AF-prepare and leave C AF=go (place)

a maqinatsap.
a ma-in=qatsap
C STAT-PERF=head.hunt
So the Qalu people were angry, and got ready and went to Pungudan to hunt heads.

003 *djemaɬun tiamadju.*
em=djaɬun ti-a-madju
AF=arrive F-PL-3RD.PERS
When they arrived,

004 *kiqiɬa i pasulaulauz, a naremaung tua se Pungudan.*
ki-qiɬa i pa-su-lau-lauz a na-em=raung tua se Pungudan
do-hide LOC cause-remove-RED-down C PAST-AF=trap OBL person.of (place)
they hid below the village, ready to ambush the Pungudan people.

005 *manu ɬengɬengan a bulabulay a vavayan.*
manu ɬeng-ɬeng-an a bula-bulay a vavayan
then RED-look.at-LF C RED-beautiful C female
But they saw a beautiful girl,

006 *qau matjatjumatjumaɬ tiamadju tu uzai a bulabulay a vavayan.*
qau ma-tja-tjuma-tjumaɬ ti-a-madju tu uzay a bula-bulay a vavayan
so STAT-RED-RED-discuss F-PL-3RD.PERS OBL there C RED-beautiful C female
and told one another that there was a beautiful girl.

007 *qau maɬavar tiamadju: "iya ḍi.*
qau ma-ɬavar ti-a-madju iya ḍi
so STAT-speak F-PL-3RD.PERS ah oh
And they decided: "Well now,

008 *mayanga qemtsi a se Pungudan.*
maya-anga em=qetsi a se Pungudan
don't-indeed AF=fight C person.of (place)
don't kill the Pungudan people after all.

009 *nangaq a vaik itjen a kivangavang tazua bulabulay a*
na-nguaq a vaik itjen a ki-vangavang ta-zua bula-bulay a
STAT-good C leave F.we(INC) C do-play OBL-that RED-beautiful C

vavayan," aya tiamadju.
vavayan aya ti-a-madju
female say F-PL-3RD.PERS
Let's go and court the beautiful girl," they said.

010 *qau sualapen a tjakit, sa kelayan tua djarałap i tsasaw.*
qau su-alap-en a tjakit sa kelay-an tua djarałap i tsasaw
so remove-take-PF C knife and hang-LF OBL banyan LOC outside
They took off their swords and hung them on a banyan tree outside.

011 *mavukuts a djarałap tua kinaliaw nua tjakit.*
ma-vukuts a djarałap tua in=ka-liaw nua tjakit
STAT-bend C banyan OBL PERF=main-many of knife
The tree was bent over because there were so many swords.
[*mavukuts*: F343 *vekuts*]

012 *qau sa vaik tiamadju a kivangavang a sema tjua bulabulay*
qau sa vaik ti-a-madju a ki-vangavang a em=sa tjua bula-bulay
so and leave F-PL-3RD.PERS C do-play C AF=go there RED-beautiful

a vavayan.
a vavayan
C female
So they went to the beautiful girl's place to court her.

013 *qau sa pakaivi anga azua bulabulay a vavayan.*
qau sa pa-kaiv-i anga a-zua bula-bulay a vavayan
so and cause-meal-PF indeed C-that RED-beautiful C female
And (eventually) the beautiful girl was given in marriage (to one of them).

014 *manu djemałun i Qalu, sa muri kisudjuan.*
manu em=djałun i Qalu sa ma-uri ki-sudju-an
then AF=arrive LOC (place) and STAT-will do-sweetheart-LF
So they reached Qalu, and were going to make love.

015 *manu neka nu nimadju; uzai a iku.*
manu neka nu ni-madju uzay a iku
then no of of-3RD.PERS there C tail
But she had no private parts, and she had a tail.

016 *qau "kudain anga tsu, a neka nu nimadju?" aya se Qalu.*
qau kuda-en anga tsu a neka nu ni-madju aya se Qalu
so do.what-PF indeed this C no of of-3RD.PERS say person.of (place)
"What's the matter with her, with no private parts?" said the Qalu people.

017 *manu djemałun tua sikapuḍuan nua vatu.*
manu em=djałun tua si-ka-puḍu-an nua vatu
then AF=arrive OBL IF-become-swell-LF by dog
Then the time came for dogs to be on heat;

018 *mintu uzai anga a nimadju.*
mintu uzay anga a ni-madju
sudden there indeed C of-3RD.PERS
and then she had her private parts.

019 *sa kivadaqi anga azua vavayan tu tima kama, tu tima kina.*
sa ki-vadaq-i anga a-zua vavayan tu ti-ima kama tu ti-ima kina
and do-ask-PF indeed C-that female OBL F-who father OBL F-who mother
So the woman was asked who were her father and mother.

020 *qau tjemumał azua vavayan: "tsautsau a ku kina; vatu a ku kama,"*
qau em=tjumał a-zua vavayan tsau-tsau a ku kina vatu a ku kama
so AF=discuss C-that female RED-being C my mother dog C my father

aya tjemumał.
aya em=tjumał
say AF=discuss
And she told them: "My mother is human; my father is a dog," she said.

021 *qau nu puałak azua vavayan, ḍusaḍusa nu puałak a kintał.*
qau nu pu-ałak a-zua vavayan ḍusa-ḍusa nu pu-ałak a kintał
so when have-child C-that female RED-two when have-child C once
And when she bore children she bore twins.

Once upon a time the Pungudan people got tired of going to give a tribute of dried meat to the Qalu people. So the Qalu people were angry, and got ready and went to Pungudan to hunt heads. When they arrived, they hid below the village, ready to ambush the Pungudan people. But they saw a beautiful girl, and told one another that there was a beautiful girl. And they decided: "Well now, don't kill the Pungudan people after all. Let's go and court the beautiful girl," they said. They took off their swords and hung them on a banyan tree outside. The tree was bent over because there were so many swords.

So they went to the beautiful girl's place to court her. And (eventually) the beautiful girl was given in marriage (to one of them). So they reached Qalu, and were going to make love. But she had no private parts, and she had a tail. "What's the matter with her, with no private parts?" said the Qalu people. Then the time came for dogs to be on heat; and then she had her private parts. So the woman was asked who were her father and mother. And she told them: "My mother is human; my father is a dog," she said. And when she bore children she bore twins.

008 WOMEN FRIENDS AND KIDADAW

mareḍava kati sa Kidadaw (Qatsiłay village, p. 164)

001 *uzai a mareḍava a maisuisu i vavaw tua qinałivan.*
uzay a mare-ḍava a m-isu=paisu i va-vaw tua in=qałiw-an
there C pair-female.friend C AF-RED=pound LOC RED-above OBL PERF=roof-NOM
There were women friends pounding grain up on a roof.

002 *manu łateku aravats a kalevelevan; saqetju aravats a qadaw.*
manu ła-teku a-ravats a ka-levelev-an saqetju a-ravats a qadaw
then really-down C-true C main-dazzle-NOM painful C-true C sun
The sky was very low, and the suns' heat was very painful.
[*łateku*: should be *łe-teku*?]

003 *qau małavar azua mareḍava: "aku saqetju aravats a qadaw?*
qau ma-ła-var a-zua mare-ḍava aku saqetju a-ravats a qadaw
so STAT-speak C-that pair-female.friend why painful C-true C sun
The women said to one another: "Why is the suns' heat very painful?

004 *paulan tu tja tsektseken tua qaselu," aya matsidił.*
pa-ula-an tu tja tsektsek-en tua qaselu aya ma-tsidił
cause-lack-LF OBL we(INC) stake-PF OBL pestle say NUM-alone
There's the danger of our striking them with our pestles," said one.

005 *mintu sipalut a tsemektsek.*
mintu sipalut a em=tsektsek
sudden really C AF=stake
Then they really did strike them,
[*sipalut*: should be *siparut*?]

006 *qau mavutsanga a qadaw a ita.*
qau ma-vutsa-anga a qadaw a ita
so STAT-blind-indeed C sun C one
and one sun went blind.

007 *avan anga azua qiłas.*
avan anga a-zua qiłas
exact indeed C-that moon
That is now the moon.

008 *qau tsalugtsug anga a kalevelevan a łevavaw.*
qau al=tsugtsug anga a ka-levelev-an a łe-va-vaw
so QAL=bump indeed C main-dazzle-NOM C go.to-RED-above
And with a bump the sky went up.

009 *manu zemaing ti sa Kidadaw.*
manu em=zaing ti sa Kidadaw
then AF=call F.H H (name)
Then Kidadaw cried out.

010 *qau marekutj a mareḍava.*
qau ma-rekutj a mare-ḍava
so STAT-fear C pair-female.friend
The women friends were afraid,

011 *qau mavilad a mareḍava a sema pasa likuz tua vaqu.*
qau ma-vilad a mare-ḍava a em=sa pa-sa likuz tua vaqu
so STAT-flee C pair-female.friend C AF=go cause-go back OBL millet
and ran away and hid behind the millet (store).

012 *łakua laingen ni sa Kidadaw; sa djameqi sa patsasavi.*
łakua laing-en ni sa Kidadaw sa djameq-i sa pa-tsasaw-i
but follow-PF by H (name) and catch-PF and cause-outside-PF
But Kidadaw chased them, and caught (one) and brought her outside.

013 *qau kiłavaran ti sa Kidadaw: "qiladju tua tataqan.*
qau ki-łavar-an ti sa Kidadaw qiladj-u tua tataq-an
so do-speak-LF F.H H (name) sit-IMP OBL sharpen-NOM
Kidadaw said: "Sit on the whetstone.

014 *ku tsavulidaw sun," aya ti sa Kidadaw.*
ku tsavulid-aw sun aya ti sa Kidadaw
I carry.on.shoulder-LF F.you(S) say F.H H (name)
I'll carry you on my shoulder," he said.

015 *"ini; marekutj aken tua su djui," aya azua vavayan.*
ini ma-rekutj aken tua su djui aya a-zua vavayan
not STAT-fear F.I OBL your(S) thorn say C-that female
"No. I'm afraid of your spikes," said the woman.

016 *łakua pitsipitsen sa paqiladji ni sa Kidadaw.*
łakua pitsipits-en sa pa-qiladj-i ni sa Kidadaw
but hold-PF and cause-sit-PF by H (name)
But Kidadaw got hold of her and made her sit down,

017 *sa tsavulidi a pasa tjumaq tua tapaw ni sa Kidadaw,*
sa tsavulid-i a pa-sa tju-umaq tua tapaw ni sa Kidadaw
and carry.on.shoulder-PF C cause-go there-house OBL hut of H (name)

sa puvałavi anga.
sa pu-vaław-i anga
and have-spouse-PF indeed
and carried her into his house, and made her his wife.

018 *qau tsuatsuay anga vaik a venateq.*
qau tsua-tsuay anga vaik a en=vateq
so RED-long.time indeed leave C AF=wash
After a long time she went to wash clothes.

019 *manu djumaken a tsiqaw a lialiaw.*
manu djumak-en a tsiqaw a lia-liaw
then find-PF C fish C RED-many
She found a lot of fish.

020 *qau djameqen nimadju, sa katsu-i a tjumaq; qau sa san djamay.*
qau djameq-en ni-madju sa katsu-i a tju-umaq qau sa sane djamay
so catch-PF by-3RD.PERS and carry-PF C there-house so and make side.dish
She caught them and took them home, and made a side dish of them.

021 *qau maka kan tiamadju; mintu saqetju a tjiał.*
qau maka kan ti-a-madju mintu saqetju a tjiał
so finished eat F-PL-3RD.PERS sudden painful C stomach
When they had finished eating, she had stomach ache.

022 *qau nusauni, "pusaladji aken a putsaqi."*
qau nu-sauni pu-saladj-i aken a pu-tsaqi
so when-soon have-companion-HORT F.I C have-dung
Later she said: "Come with me while I go to defecate."

023 *inika tsuay uta, "pusaladji aken a putsaqi," aya azua*
ini-ka tsuay uta pu-saladj-i aken a pu-tsaqi aya a-zua
not-after long.time also have-companion-HORT F.I C have-dung say C-that

vaław.
vaław
spouse
Soon afterwards, "Come with me while I go," said the wife.

024 *manu masupil anga ti sa Kidadaw.*
manu ma-supil anga ti sa Kidadaw
then STAT-tired indeed F.H H (name)
Kidadaw got tired of this.

025 *"matselaqut aken a vaik," aya ti sa Kidadaw.*
ma-tse-laqut aken a vaik aya ti sa Kidadaw
STAT-?-lazy F.I C leave say F.H H (name)
"I'm tired of going," said Kidadaw.

026 *qau vaik azua vavayan a matsidił sakamaya putsaqi.*
qau vaik a-zua vavayan a ma-tsidił sakamaya pu-tsaqi
so leave C-that female C STAT-alone only have-dung
So the woman went off alone to defecate.

027 *manu maka putsaqi azua vavayan.*
manu maka pu-tsaqi a-zua vavayan
then finished have-dung C-that female
When she had finished,

028 *qau kiłavaranan a tsaqi nimadju: "nu qemaqivu ti sa Kidadaw,*
qau ki-łavar-anan a tsaqi ni-madju nu em=qa-qivu ti sa Kidadaw
so do-speak-still C dung by-3RD.PERS when AF=RED-speak F.H H (name)

'aa' aya-u anga," ayain a tsaqi.
'aa' aya-u anga aya-en a tsaqi
'ah' say-IMP indeed say-PF C dung
she said to the faeces: "When Kidadaw calls, say 'Ah'," she said.

029 *qau timadju mavilad anga sema tjumaq.*
qau ti-madju ma-vilad anga em=sa tju-umaq
so F-3RD.PERS STAT-flee indeed AF=go there-house
And she ran away back to her own home.

030 *qau nu qemaqivu ti sa Kidadaw, "aa," aya azua tsaqi.*
qau nu em=qa-qivu ti sa Kidadaw aa aya a-zua tsaqi
so when AF=RED-speak F.H H (name) ah say C-that dung
When Kidadaw called, the faeces said "Ah".

031 *nu qaqivuin uta, "aa," aya azua tsaqi.*
nu qa-qivu-en uta aa aya a-zua tsaqi
when RED-speak-PF also ah say C-that dung
When he called again, it said "Ah".

032 *qaqivuin anan uta.*
qa-qivu-en anan uta
RED-speak-PF still also
He called once more,

033 *"aa," aya uta a tsaqi.*
aa aya uta a tsaqi
ah say also C dung
and again it said "Ah".

034 *qau samaɬi ti sa Kidadaw.*
qau sa-ma-aɬi ti sa Kidadaw
so QAL-STAT-different F.H H (name)
Kidadaw was surprised.

035 *"makuda azua tsautsau?*
ma-kuda a-zua tsau-tsau
STAT-do.what C-that RED-being
"What's happened to her?

036 *aku tsuay anga aravats a inika pangtjengtjez?" aya timadju.*
aku tsuay anga a-ravats a ini-ka pa-ngetje-ngetjez aya ti-madju
why long.time indeed C-true C not-after cause-RED-come say F-3RD.PERS
Why is she so long not coming back?" he said.

037 *qau vaiken a kiqenetj.*
qau vaik-en a ki-qenetj
so leave-PF C do-see
He went to have a look;

038 *mintu avan anga tsaqi sakamaya.*
mintu avan anga tsaqi sakamaya
sudden exact indeed dung only
and there was only the faeces.

039 *qau limutseng ti sa Kidadaw; siqaqeḍu tua nimadju, sa pusapui*
qau li-mutseng ti sa Kidadaw si-qa-qeḍu tua ni-madju sa pu-sapuy
so QAL-angry F.H H (name) IF-RED-erect OBL of-3RD.PERS and have-fire

a qatsiłay, a tsektsekan tua nimadju.
a qatsiłay a tsektsek-an tua ni-madju
C stone C stake-LF OBL of-3RD.PERS
Kidadaw was angry. With his penis in a state of erection he struck it against a stone and produced fire.

There were women friends pounding grain up on a roof. The sky was very low, and the suns' heat was very painful. The women said to one another: "Why is the suns' heat very painful? There's the danger of our striking them with our pestles," said one. Then they really did strike them, and one sun went blind. That is now the moon. And with a bump the sky went up.

Then Kidadaw cried out. The women friends were afraid, and ran away and hid behind the millet (store). But Kidadaw chased them, and caught (one) and brought her outside. Kidadaw said: "Sit on the whetstone. I'll carry you on my shoulder," he said. "No. I'm afraid of your spikes," said the woman. But Kidadaw got hold of her and made her sit down, and carried her into his house, and made her his wife.

After a long time she went to wash clothes. She found a lot of fish. She caught them and took them home, and made a side dish of them. When they had finished eating, she had stomach ache. Later she said: "Come with me while I go to defecate." Soon afterwards, "Come with me while I go," said the wife.

Kidadaw got tired of this. "I'm tired of going," said Kidadaw. So the woman went off alone to defecate. When she had finished, she said to the faeces: "When Kidadaw calls, say 'Ah'," she said. And she ran away back to her own home. When Kidadaw called, the faeces said "Ah". When he called again, it said "Ah". He called once more, and again it said "Ah". Kidadaw was surprised. "What's happened to her? Why is she so long not coming back?" he said. He went to have a look; and there was only the faeces. Kidadaw was angry. With his penis in a state of erection he struck it against a stone and produced fire.

009 THE ANT-EATER AND THE CRAB

qam katua gang (Qatsiłay village, p. 166)

001 *uzai a qam katua gang ka sitsuayan.*
uzay a qam ka-tua gang ka si-tsuay-an
there C ant.eater and-OBL crab after IF-long.time-NOM
Once upon a time there were an ant-eater and a crab.

002 *a gang katsuin na qam a kikaludjeł.*
a gang katsu-en nua qam a ki-kaludjeł
C crab carry-PF by ant.eater C do-loquat
The ant-eater took the crab to get loquats.
[*kaludjeł*: F108 has *kaludjił*]

003 *qau kiłavaran a gang: "imaza-u i teku.*
qau ki-łavar-an a gang i-maza-u i teku
so do-speak-LF C crab LOC-here-IMP LOC down
The crab said: "Stay here below.

004 *vaik aken a łevavaw, a yaya tua kaludjeł a sema vavaw,"*
vaik aken a łe-va-vaw a yaya tua kaludjeł a em=sa va-vaw
leave F.I C go.to-RED-above C harvest OBL loquat C AF=go RED-above

ayain a qam.
aya-en a qam
say-PF C ant.eater
I'll go up and pick the fruit up at the top," he said to the ant-eater.

005 *sa vaik timadju a łevavaw.*
sa vaik ti-madju a łe-va-vaw
and leave F-3RD.PERS C go.to-RED-above
So he went up;

006 *qau yayayain sa vułuvułuqan a pałeteku.*
qau ya-yaya-en sa vułu-vułuq-an a pa-łe-teku
so RED-harvest-PF and RED-throw-LF C cause-go.to-down
and he picked the fruit and threw it down below.

007 *qau a qam i teku; łułułułuin, sa pilipiliqi tua namalum.*
qau a qam i teku łułu-łułu-en sa pili-piliq-i tua na-ma-lum
so C ant.eater LOC down RED-gather-PF and RED-choose-PF OBL PAST-STAT-ripe
The ant-eater was down below, picking them up and choosing out the ripe ones.

008 *azua namalum patalataladjen tua umaq nimadju.*
a-zua na-ma-lum pa-tala-taladj-en tua umaq ni-madju
C-that PAST-STAT-ripe cause-RED-inside-PF OBL house of-3RD.PERS
He put the ripe ones in his house;

009 *qau avan anga matjaq sakamaya a qinpu nua qam.*
qau avan anga matjaq sakamaya a in=qepu nua qam
so exact indeed unripe only C PERF=associate by ant.eater
and it was just the unripe ones that he collected together.

010 *qau łeteku anga azua gang.*
qau ł-e-teku anga a-zua gang
so go.to-down indeed C-that crab
The crab came down,

011 *qau sa qenetji a qinpu nua qam.*
qau sa qenetj-i a in=qepu nua qam
so and see-PF C PERF=associate by ant.eater
and had a look at what the ant-eater had collected.

012 *mintu avan a matjaq sakamaya.*
mintu avan a matjaq sakamaya
sudden exact C unripe only
It was only the unripe ones.

013 *qau "sema inu anga a namalum?" aya azua gang.*
qau em=sa inu anga a na-ma-lum aya a-zua gang
so AF=go where indeed C PAST-STAT-ripe say C-that crab
"Where have the ripe ones gone?" said the crab.

014 *qau vaik azua gang.*
qau vaik a-zua gang
so leave C-that crab
The crab went off.

015 *qau a qam izuanan itjua qapulu nua kaludjeł.*
qau a qam i-zua-anan i-tjua qa-pulu nua kaludjeł
so C ant.eater LOC-that-still LOC-there ?-trunk of loquat
The ant-eater was still at the foot of the tree.

016 *qau lalapen nua gang.*
qau l-alap-en nua gang
so RED-take-PF by crab
The crab took (what was there).

017 *mintu pinałetaladj anga tua umaq nua qam a*
mintu in=pa-ł-e-taladj anga tua umaq nua qam a
sudden PERF=cause-go.to-inside indeed OBL house of ant.eater C

namalum.
na-ma-lum
PAST-STAT-ripe
The ripe ones had all been put in the ant-eater's house.

018 *qau vaiken a sema zua nua gang.*
qau vaik-en a em=sa zua nua gang
so leave-PF C AF=go that by crab
The crab went there.

019 *mintu lialiaw a tsinpisan i taladj tua qinaman.*
mintu lia-liaw a in=tsepis-an i taladj tua in=qam-an
sudden RED-many C PERF=fruit-LF LOC inside OBL PERF=ant.eater-NOM
And there were lots of fruit he had picked lying in the ant-eater's den.

020 *qau "aku maitazua ti tja qali?" aya timadju.*
qau aku ma-aya-ta-zua ti tja qali aya ti-madju
so why STAT-be.thus-?-that F.H our(INC) friend say F-3RD.PERS
"Why is our friend like that?" he said.

021 *qau kisan kuya timadju, sa vaik a tjumaq.*
qau ki-sanc kuya ti-madju sa vaik a tju-umaq
so do-make bad F-3RD.PERS and leave C there-house
He was annoyed, and went off home.

022 *qau tsuatsuay anga metsevung tiamadju a maḍusa.*
qau tsua-tsuay anga me-tsevung ti-a-madju a ma-ḍusa
so RED-long.time indeed AF-meet F-PL-3RD.PERS C NUM-two
After a long time the two of them met again.

023 *qau małavar tiamadju: "nangaq a qemałup itjen," aya*
qau ma-łavar ti-a-madju na-nguaq a em=qałup itjen aya
so STAT-speak F-PL-3RD.PERS STAT-good C AF=hunt F.we(INC) say

tiamadju.
ti-a-madju
F-PL-3RD.PERS
They said to one another: "Let's go hunting."

024 *"tiakenay anan a temalaw.*
ti-aken-ay anan a em=talaw
F-I-will still C AF=ambush
"I'll first lie in wait,

025 *tisunay anan a łemama tua łaviavia," aya a qam.*
ti-sun-ay anan a em=łama tua ła-via-via aya a qam
F-you(S)-will still C AF=burn OBL class-RED-grass say C ant.eater
while you set fire to the grass," said the ant-eater.

026 *qau vaik a qam a sema taladj tua łaviavia.*
qau vaik a qam a em=sa taladj tua ła-via-via
so leave C ant.eater C AF=go inside OBL class-RED-grass
The ant-eater went into the grass.

027 *qau qemawqaw a gang: "inu anga sun?" ayain nua gang a qam.*
qau em=qawqaw a gang inu anga sun aya-en nua gang a qam
so AF=shout C crab where indeed F.you(S) say-PF by crab C ant.eater
The crab shouted: "Where are you?" he said to the ant-eater.

028 *"imaza ken," aya a qam.*
i-maza aken aya a qam
LOC-here F.I say C ant.eater
"Here I am," said the ant-eater.

029 *"pai anga," ayain anan nua gang a qemawqaw.*
pai anga aya-en anan nua gang a em=qawqaw
well indeed say-PF still by crab C AF=shout
"All right then," shouted the crab again.

030 *"mayanan," ayain nua qam.*
maya-anan aya-en nua qam
don't-still say-PF by ant.eater
"Wait a bit," said the ant-eater.

031 *manu semuasuad tua umaq azua qam.*
manu em=sua-suad tua umaq a-zua qam
then AF=RED-scoop OBL house C-that ant.eater
He scooped out a house;

032 *qau maka suad azua qam tua umaq; łetaladj timadju.*
qau maka suad a-zua qam tua umaq łe-taladj ti-madju
so finished scoop C-that ant.eater OBL house go.to-inside F-3RD.PERS
and when he had finished scooping it out he got inside.

033 *qau qemawqaw tua gang: "pai anga.*
qau em=qawqaw tua gang pai anga
so AF=shout OBL crab well indeed
Then he shouted to the crab: "All right now.

034 *maka talaw anga ken," aya azua qam.*
maka talaw anga aken aya a-zua qam
finished ambush indeed F.I say C-that ant.eater
I'm ready lying in wait," said the ant-eater.

035 *qau łamain anga azua łaviavia nua gang.*
qau łama-en anga a-zua ła-via-via nua gang
so burn-PF indeed C-that class-RED-grass by crab
Then the crab set fire to the grass.

036 *qau qawqawan nua gang: "inu anga sun?" ayain.*
qau qawqaw-an nua gang inu anga sun aya-en
so shout-LF by crab where indeed F.you(S) say-PF
And the crab shouted: "Where are you?"

037 *"imaza ken," aya qam.*
i-maza aken aya qam
LOC-here F.I say ant.eater
"Here I am," said the ant-eater.

038 *"inu anga sun?" ayain nua gang uta.*
inu anga sun aya-en nua gang uta
where indeed F.you(S) say-PF by crab also
"Where are you?" said the crab again.

039 *"imaza ken," ayain nua qam uta.*
i-maza aken aya-en nua qam uta
LOC-here F.I say-PF by ant.eater also
"Here I am," said the ant-eater again.

040 *qau tsemalivat a sapui.*
qau em=tsalivat a sapuy
so AF=pass C fire
The fire passed.

041 *"inu anga sun?" ayain uta nua gang.*
inu anga sun aya-en uta nua gang
where indeed F.you(S) say-PF also by crab
"Where are you?" said the crab again.

042 *"imaza ken," aya a qam; sa łekatsauan tua umaq*
i-maza aken aya a qam sa łe-ka-tsau-an tua umaq
LOC-here F.I say C ant.eater and go.to-become-being-LF OBL house
nimadju.
ni-madju
of-3RD.PERS
"Here I am," said the ant-eater, and emerged from his home.

043 *qau sa "tisunay anga a temalaw," ayain a gang.*
qau sa ti-sun-ay anga a em=talaw aya-en a gang
so and F-you(S)-LF indeed C AF=ambush say-PF C crab
"Now it's your turn to lie in wait," the crab was told.

044 *qau "muri a sema inu aken?" aya zua gang.*
qau ma-uri a em=sa inu aken aya zua gang
so STAT-will C AF=go where F.I say that crab
"Where am I to go to?" said the crab.

045 *tjumałan nua qam: "sazua-u itjua namaqurepung a łavia,"*
tjumał-an nua qam sa-zua-u i-tjua na-ma-qurepung a ła-via
discuss-LF by ant.eater go-that-IMP LOC-there PAST-STAT-disarray C class-grass
ayain.
aya-en
say-PF
The ant-eater told him: "Go in there in the tangled grass," he said.

046 *qau azua gang vaik a kipataluvtuv tua namaqurepung a*
qau a-zua gang vaik a ki-pa-al=tuvtuv tua na-ma-qurepung a
so C-that crab leave C do-cause-QAL=curl OBL PAST-STAT-disarray C
łaviaviain.
ła-via-via-in
class-RED-grass-NOM
So the crab went and curled up small in the place with tangled grass.

047 *qau "pai anga," ayain nua qam.*
qau pai anga aya-en nua qam
so well indeed say-PF by ant.eater
"All right then," said the ant-eater.

048 *"pai anga," aya a gang.*
pai anga aya a gang
well indeed say C crab
"All right," said the crab.

049 *qau ɬamain nua qam.*
qau ɬama-en nua qam
so burn-PF by ant.eater
The ant-eater set fire (to the grass).

050 *"inu anga sun?" ayain nua qam.*
inu anga sun aya-en nua qam
where indeed F.you(S) say-PF by ant.eater
"Where are you?" said the ant-eater.

051 *"imaza ken," aya a gang.*
i-maza aken aya a gang
LOC-here F.I say C crab
"Here I am," said the crab.

052 *qau tsemalivat a sapui.*
qau em=tsalivat a sapuy
so AF=pass C fire
The fire passed.

053 *"inu anga sun?" ayain nua qam.*
inu anga sun aya-en nua qam
where indeed F.you(S) say-PF by ant.eater
"Where are you?" said the ant-eater.

054 *mintu nekanga.*
mintu neka-anga
sudden no-indeed
No reply.

055 *"inu anga sun?" ayain anan uta.*
inu anga sun aya-en anan uta
where indeed F.you(S) say-PF still also
"Where are you?" he said once again.

056 *mintu nekanga.*
mintu neka-anga
sudden no-indeed
No reply.

057 *qau vaiken sa kiqenetji nua qam a sema zua.*
qau vaik-en sa ki-qenetj-i nua qam a em=sa zua
so leave-PF and do-see-PF by ant.eater C AF=go that
The ant-eater went there to have a look.

058 *mintu nakuḍesul anga namatsay anga.*
mintu na-kuḍesul anga na-m-patsay anga
sudden PAST-hard indeed PAST-AF-die indeed
And the crab was stiff and dead.

059 *qau tseviqan a qalitsi.*
qau tseviq-an a qalitsi
so segment-LF C penis
He sliced off some of the crab's penis.

060 *qau sa kisenay a papuvałut.*
qau sa ki-senay a pa-pu-vałut
so and do-chant C cause-have-alive
Then he chanted a spell and brought him back to life.

061 *qau katsuin a qalitsi a tjumaq.*
qau katsu-en a qalitsi a tju-umaq
so carry-PF C penis C there-house
And he took the crab's penis home.

062 *qau kadjamadjaman anga.*
qau ka-djama-djama-an anga
so main-RED-morning-NOM indeed
Next morning,

063 *qau sipakan anga a qalitsi nimadju nua qam.*
qau si-pa-kan anga a qalitsi ni-madju nua qam
so IF-cause-eat indeed C penis of-3RD.PERS by ant.eater
the crab was given some of his own penis to eat by the ant-eater.

064 *qau "ha ha; kanen a qalitsi nimadju," aya a qam.*
qau ha ha kan-en a qalitsi ni-madju aya a qam
so aha aha eat-PF C penis of-3RD.PERS say C ant.eater
"Ha ha, he's eating his own penis," said the ant-eater.

065 *qau kemłang azua gang tu qalitsi nimadju azua kinan.*
qau m=kełang a-zua gang tu qalitsi ni-madju a-zua in=kan
so AF=know C-that crab OBL penis of-3RD.PERS C-that PERF=eat
Then the crab knew that it was his own penis that he had eaten.

066 *"ii, pakanan aken tua niaken a qalitsi ni ku qali," aya, sa djiladjilay*
ii pa-kan-an aken tua ni-aken a qalitsi ni ku qali aya sa djila-djilay
hey cause-eat-LF F.I OBL of-I C penis by my friend say and RED-spit

a gang.
a gang
C crab
"Ugh! My friend has given me my own penis to eat," said the crab and spat.

067 *łakua kudain, kinan anga nimadju a qalitsi.*
łakua kuda-en in=kan anga ni-madju a qalitsi
but do.what-PF PERF=eat indeed of-3RD.PERS C penis
But there was nothing for it; he had eaten some of his own penis.

068 *qau tsemikel anga a qalitsi nua gang.*
qau em=tsikel anga a qalitsi nua gang
so AF=return indeed C penis of crab
(Later) the crab's penis grew back again.

Once upon a time there were an ant-eater and a crab. The ant-eater took the crab to get loquats. The crab said: "Stay here below. I'll go up and pick the fruit up at the top," he said to the ant-eater. So he went up; and he picked the fruit and threw it down below. The ant-eater was down below, picking them up and choosing out the ripe ones. He put the ripe ones in his house; and it was just the unripe ones that he collected together. The crab came down, and had a look at what the ant-eater had collected. It was only the unripe ones. "Where have the ripe ones gone?" said the crab. The crab went off. The ant-eater was still at the foot of the tree. The crab took (what was there). The ripe ones had all been put in the ant-eater's house. The crab went there. And there were lots of fruit he had picked lying in the ant-eater's den. "Why is our friend like that?" he said. He was annoyed, and went off home.

After a long time the two of them met again. They said to one another: "Let's go hunting." "I'll first lie in wait, while you set fire to the grass," said the ant-eater. The ant-eater went into the grass. The crab shouted: "Where are you?" he said to the ant-eater. "Here I am," said the ant-eater. "All right then," shouted the crab again. "Wait a bit," said the ant-eater. He scooped out a house; and when he had finished scooping it out he got inside. Then he shouted to the crab: "All right now. I'm ready lying in wait," said the ant-eater. Then the crab set fire to the grass. And the crab shouted: "Where are you?" "Here I am," said the ant-eater. "Where are you?" said the crab again. "Here I am," said the ant-eater again. The fire passed. "Where are you?" said the crab again. "Here I am," said the ant-eater, and emerged from his home. "Now it's your turn to lie in wait," the crab was told. "Where am I to go to?" said the crab. The ant-eater told him: "Go in there in the tangled grass," he said. So the crab went and curled up small in the place with tangled grass. "All right then," said the ant-eater. "All right," said the crab. The ant-eater set fire (to the grass). "Where are you?" said the ant-eater. "Here I am," said the crab. The fire passed. "Where are you?" said the ant-eater. No reply. "Where are you?" he said once again. No reply. The ant-eater went there to have a look. And the crab was stiff and dead. He sliced off some of the crab's penis. Then he chanted a spell and brought him back to life. And he took the crab's penis home. Next morning, the crab was given some of his own penis to eat by the ant-eater. "Ha ha, he's eating his own penis," said the ant-eater. Then the crab knew that it was his own penis that he had eaten. "Ugh! My friend has given me my own penis to eat," said the crab and spat. But there was nothing for it; he had eaten some of his own penis. (Later) the crab's penis grew back again.

010 KAPURAR

ti sa Kapurar (Qatsiłay village, p. 170)

001 *ti sa Kapurar ka sitsuayan laḍuq aravats a nimadju.*
ti sa Kapurar ka si-tsuay-an laḍuq a-ravats a ni-madju
F.H H (name) after IF-long.time-NOM long C-true C of-3RD.PERS
Once upon a time Kapurar had a very long penis [lit. his was very long].

002 *qau nu masiasik a vavayavayan, vaik a sema qapaz.*
qau nu m-asi-asik a vaya=vavayan vaik a em=sa qapaz
so when AF-RED-weed C RED=female leave C AF=go fence
When women were weeding the fields, he went to the edge of the field.

003 *qau sa qiladj, sa saksaki a kulits.*
qau sa qiladj sa saksak-i a kulits
so and sit and undo-PF C penis
He sat down and exposed his penis,

004 *qau sa pataluvtuvan tua inasikan a tsemel nua vavayavayan.*
qau sa pa-al=tuvtuv-an tua in-asik-an a tsemel nua vaya=vavayan
so and cause-QAL=curl-LF OBL PERF-weed-NOM C plant by RED=female
and it went through the grass the women had weeded out.

005 *nu tjału inu a vavayavayan, tjału inu uta a kulits a*
nu tjału inu a vaya=vavayan tjału inu uta a kulits a
when reach where C RED=female reach where also C penis C

lemailaing.
em=lai-laing
AF=RED-follow
Wherever the women went the penis followed,

006 *qau sa tsektsektseki a kinaḍangan nua vavayavayan.*
qau sa tsek-tsektsek-i a in=kaḍang-an nua vaya=vavayan
so and RED-stake-PF C PERF=private.part-NOM of RED=female
and touched the women's private parts.

007 *qau qarawqaw a vavayavayan a mavilad tua rekutjan tazua kulits ni*
qau ar=qawqaw a vaya=vavayan a ma-vilad tua rekutj-an ta-zua kulits ni
so QAL=shout C RED=female C STAT-flee OBL fear-LF OBL-that penis of

sa Kapurar.
sa Kapurar
H (name)
The women screamed and ran away for fear of Kapurar's penis.

008 *łakua tavaken anga a tsuatsuay anga; ini anga ka rekutji.*
łakua tavak-en anga a tsua-tsuay anga ini anga ka rekutj-i
but habit-PF indeed C RED-long.time indeed not indeed after fear-PF
But after a time they got used to it and weren't frightened any more.

009 *qau nu masiasik a vavayavayan, sa tsektseki a kinaḍangan,*
qau nu m-asi-asik a vaya=vavayan sa tsektsek-i a in=kaḍang-an
so when AF-RED-weed C RED=female and stake-PF C PERF=private.part-NOM

tsektsekan uta azua kulits ni sa Kapurar tua vuka.
tsektsek-an uta a-zua kulits ni sa Kapurar tua vuka
stake-LF also C-that penis of H (name) OBL digging.stick
When the women were weeding and their private parts were touched, they hit back at Kapurar's penis with their digging-sticks.

010 *łakua ini kełang azua vavayavayan tu kasi inu a mangtjez.*
łakua ini kełang a-zua vaya=vavayan tu kasi inu a m-pangetjez
but not know C-that RED=female OBL from where C AF-come
But the women didn't know where it came from.

011 *nu tsektsekan tua vuka, maulaw.*
nu tsektsek-an tua vuka ma-ulaw
when stake-LF OBL digging.stick STAT-lost
When they hit it with their digging-sticks, it disappeared.

012 *tsuay anga uta mangtjez azua kulits.*
tsuay anga uta m-pangetjez a-zua kulits
long.time indeed also AF-come C-that penis
After a time it would come back again,

013 *qau tsektsekan uta tua vuka.*
qau tsektsek-an uta tua vuka
so stake-LF also OBL digging.stick
and get hit again with digging-sticks.

014 *"tsevuk," aya azua kulits ni sa Kapurar.*
tsevuk aya a-zua kulits ni sa Kapurar
EXCL say C-that penis of H (name)
"*Tsevuk*," said Kapurar's penis.

015 *azua kulits ni sa Kapurar semamałi a kinalaḍuq.*
a-zua kulits ni sa Kapurar em=sa-małi a in=ka-laḍuq
C-that penis of H (name) AF=QAL-different C PERF=main-long
Kapurar's penis was an amazing length.

016 *sinivałavałan azua kulits a palayulayu.*
in=si-vała-vałan a-zua kulits a pa-layu-layu
PERF=IF-RED-bandolier C-that penis C cause-RED-store
He had it hanging(?) over his shoulder(?).

017 *manu vaik tiamadju a qemałup.*
manu vaik ti-a-madju a em=qałup
then leave F-PL-3RD.PERS C AF=hunt
They went off to hunt.

018 *qau kiłavaranan nua qaliqali: "tja qeneqenetjay a su kulits,"*
qau ki-łavar-anan nua qali-qali tja qene-qenetj-ay a su kulits
so do-speak-still by RED-friend we(INC) RED-see-I.F C your(S) penis

ayain azua ti sa Kapurar nua qaliqali.
aya-en a-zua ti sa Kapurar nua qali-qali
say-PF C-that F.H H (name) by RED-friend
The others said: "Let's have a look at your penis," they said to Kapurar.
[*kiłavaranan*: originally *kiłavaran* in OA]

019 *qau saksaken azua kulits, sa pakiqenetjan tua qaliqali.*
qau saksak-en a-zua kulits sa pa-ki-qenetj-an tua qali-qali
so undo-PF C-that penis and cause-do-see-I.F OBL RED-friend
He exposed his penis and showed it to them.

020 *manu maka kiqenetj a qaliqali.*
manu maka ki-qenetj a qali-qali
then finished do-see C RED-friend
When they had finished looking at it,

021 *"aitsu anga qała," ayain nua qaliqali a ventsa.*
aya-i-tsu anga qała aya-en nua qali-qali a n=vetsa
be.thus-LOC-this indeed outsider say-PF by RED-friend C AF=lie
the others lied and said: "The enemy have come."

022 *ini kiamaw anga a venałavałan tua kulits ti sa Kapurar.*
ini ki-amaw anga a in=vała-vałan tua kulits ti sa Kapurar
not do-same indeed C PERF=RED-bandolier OBL penis F.H H (name)
Kapurar didn't have time to shoulder his penis;

023 *mintuluq timadju.*
min-tuluq ti-madju
AF-run F-3RD.PERS
he just ran.
[*mintuluq*: F286 has *mi-n-tuluq*, F176 has *minetuluq* with root *inetuluq*, and F101 has *intuluq* with reference to *tuluq*. Note F21 where *miN-* is an 'agent marker for certain verbs, conditioning for variants not determined'.]

024 *qau rakatsen anga a kulits maka tjua djuidjuiin.*
qau rakats-en anga a kulits maka tjua djui-djui-in
so drag-PF indeed C penis via there RED-thorn-NOM
His penis was dragged through thorny bushes.

025 *qau djemałun ti sa Kapurar i tjumaq.*
qau em=djałun ti sa Kapurar i tju-umaq
so AF=arrive F.H H (name) LOC there-house
When he got home,

026 *qau qemaqivu tua qaliqali, sa pasudjuian a kulits.*
qau em=qa-qivu tua qali-qali sa pa-su-djui-an a kulits
so AF=RED-speak OBL RED-friend and cause-remove-thorn-I.F C penis
he called some people and got them to remove the thorns from his penis.

027 *qau azua djui pitjua djilungen, sa padjungi.*
qau a-zua djui pi-tjua djilung-en sa padjung-i
so C-that thorn put-there jar-PF and store-PF
The thorns were put in pots and stored away.
[*padjungi*: F190 has *padjeng* for 'store']

028 *qau tsuatsuay anga, "kevava-u kevava-u,"*
qau tsua-tsuay anga ke-vava-u ke-vava-u
so RED-long.time indeed consume-alcohol-IMP consume-alcohol-IMP

ayain a qaliqali.
aya-en a qali-qali
say-PF C RED-friend
After some time he said to the others: "Come and drink some beer, drink some beer."

029 *qau mangtjez a qaliqali.*
qau m-pangetjez a qali-qali
so AF-come C RED-friend
The others came,

030 *paɬetekuin azua djilung.*
pa-ɬe-teku-en a-zua djilung
cause-go.to-down-PF C-that jar
and he brought out the pots.

031 *"aitsu a vava, kevava-u a matsidiɬ," ayain a*
aya-i-tsu a vava ke-vava-u a ma-tsidiɬ aya-en a
be.thus-LOC-this C alcohol consume-alcohol-IMP C STAT-alone say-PF C

qaliqali.
qali-qali
RED-friend
"Anyone can drink this beer as they want," he said to the others.

032 *qau azua vava tjanu sepatj i djilung.*
qau a-zua vava tjanu sepatj i djilung
so C-that alcohol full four LOC jar
There were four pots full of beer.

033 *masalu a qaliqali.*
ma-salu a qali-qali
STAT-believe C RED-friend
The others were pleased,

034 *kiɬuvaq a vaik a semutsaqev tazua djilung.*
ki-ɬuvaq a vaik a em=su-tsaqev ta-zua djilung
do-compete C leave C AF=remove-lid OBL-that jar
and raced to go and take the lids off the pots.

035 *manu sutsaqevan a djilung; milayap a pangats, sa tsałedji azua*
manu su-tsaqev-an a djilung mi-layap a pangats sa tsałedj-i a-zua
then remove-lid-LF C jar AF-fly C hornet and sting-PF C-that

qaliqali a naventsa tjaimadju.
qali-qali a na-n=vetsa tjai-madju
RED-friend C PAST-AF=lie OBL-3RD.PERS
When the lids were taken off the pots, out flew wasps and hornets and stung those who had lied to him.

036 *qau mavilad azua qaliqali a mapułat.*
qau ma-vilad a-zua qali-qali a ma-pułat
so STAT-flee C-that RED-friend C NUM-all
And they all ran away.

037 *qau a tjainan djui nua tjavuvuk a kinaqatian.*
qau a tjainan djui nua tjavuvuk a in=ka-qati-an
so C bee thorn of strawberry C PERF=?-create-LF
The bees were made from the thorns of wild strawberries,

038 *qau a tjiḍiuł djui nua ładjudju.*
qau a tjiḍiuł djui nua dju=ładju
so C hornet.sp thorn of RED=tree.sp
the large hornets from the thorns of paliurus,

039 *qau a tsalukuł djui nua kadjuian.*
qau a tsalukuł djui nua ka-djui-an
so C wasp.sp thorn of main-thorn-NOM
the small hornets(?) from the thorns of the thorn tree,

040 *qau a łałuvur djui a paqeteleng a kinaqatian.*
qau a łałuvur djui a pa-qeteleng a in=ka-qati-an
so C wasp.sp thorn C cause-randomly C PERF=?-create-LF
and the wasps(?) from various thorns.

041 *qau avan sika uzai nua pangats tutsu.*
qau avan sika uzay nua pangats tu-tsu
so exact reason there of hornet OBL-this
And that's why there are wasps and hornets now.

Once upon a time Kapurar had a very long penis. When women were weeding the fields, he went to the edge of the field. He sat down and exposed his penis, and it went through the grass the women had weeded out. Wherever the women went the penis followed, and touched the women's private parts. The women screamed and ran away for fear of Kapurar's penis. But after a time they got used to it and weren't frightened any more. When the women were weeding and their private parts were touched, they hit back at Kapurar's penis with their digging-sticks. But the women didn't know where it came from. When they hit it with their digging-sticks, it disappeared. After a time it would come back again, and get hit again with digging-sticks.

"*Tsevuk*," said Kapurar's penis. Kapurar's penis was an amazing length. He had it hanging over his shoulder. They went off to hunt. The others said: "Let's have a look at your penis," they said to Kapurar. He exposed his penis and showed it to them. When they had finished looking at

it, the others lied and said: "The enemy have come." Kapurar didn't have time to shoulder his penis; he just ran. His penis was dragged through thorny bushes. When he got home, he called some people and got them to remove the thorns from his penis. The thorns were put in pots and stored away.

After some time he said to the others: "Come and drink some beer, drink some beer." The others came, and he brought out the pots. "Anyone can drink this beer as they want," he said to the others. There were four pots full of beer. The others were pleased, and raced to go and take the lids off the pots. When the lids were taken off the pots, out flew wasps and hornets and stung those who had lied to him. And they all ran away. The bees were made from the thorns of wild strawberries, the large hornets from the thorns of paliurus, the small hornets (?) from the thorns of the thorn tree, and the wasps (?) from various thorns. And that's why there are wasps and hornets now.

011 THE HUSBAND KILLED BY HIS WIFE

vaław a uqałay a qintsi nua vavayan (Qatsiłay village, p. 173)

001 *uzai a marevaław ka sitsuayan a napenaulaulain.*
uzay a mare-vaław ka si-tsuay-an a na-en=pa-ula-ula-en
there C pair-spouse after IF-long.time-NOM C PAST-AF=cause-RED-lack-PF
Once upon a time there was a married couple in great distress.

002 *qau nekanga nu muri kanen.*
qau neka-anga nu ma-uri kan-en
so no-indeed of STAT-will eat-PF
They had nothing to eat.

003 *qau "kemudanga itjen?" aya tiamadju.*
qau em=kuda-anga itjen aya ti-a-madju
so AF=do.what-indeed F.we(INC) say F-PL-3RD.PERS
"What are we to do?" they said.

004 *"maya sika neka nu tja kitanen.*
ma-aya sika neka nu tja ki-tan-en
STAT-be.thus reason no of our(INC) do-profit-PF
"This way we've got no way of earning.

005 *nangaq a vaik aken a sema tjua małaqałan," aya azua*
na-nguaq a vaik aken a em=sa tjua ma-ała-qała-an aya a-zua
STAT-good C leave F.I C AF=go there STAT-RED-outsider-NOM say C-that

vaław a uqałay.
vaław a uqałay
spouse C male
I had better go to another place," said the husband.

006 *qau vaik, sa tsuatsuay ini pangtjez anga i tjumaq.*
qau vaik sa tsua-tsuay ini pangetjez anga i tju-umaq
so leave and RED-long.time not come indeed LOC there-house
So he went away, and for a long time he didn't come home.

007 *manu uzai a uqałay a lemulutjuk tazua vaław a vavayan.*
manu uzay a uqałay a em=lu-lutjuk ta-zua vaław a vavayan
then there C male C AF=RED-bad OBL-that spouse C female
A man tempted the wife.

008 *"kudain a ini pangtjez anga a su vaław a tjaisangas.*
kuda-en a ini pangetjez anga a su vaław a tja-i-sangas
do.what-PF C not come indeed C your(S) spouse C more-LOC-first
"What about your former husband who hasn't come back?

009 *nangaq a timitjanga a marevaław.*
na-nguaq a ti-mitja-anga a mare-vaław
STAT-good C F-we(INC)-indeed C pair-spouse
Let us two live together.

010 *anema su katjenglayan a matsidił?" ayain a kiłavaran a*
a-nema su ka-tjenglay-an a ma-tsidił aya-en a ki-łavar-an a
?-what you(S) become-like-LF C STAT-alone say-PF C do-speak-LF C

palayulayu.
pa-layu-layu
cause-RED-store
Why do you want to live alone?" he kept saying.
[*palayulayu*: idea of 'heaping up', ie. 'always']

011 *"nangaq nu maya.*
na-nguaq nu ma-aya
STAT-good when STAT-be.thus
"All right then;

012 *kudain a ini pangtjez anga a ku vaław a tjaisangas," aya*
kuda-en a ini pangetjez anga a ku vaław a tja-i-sangas aya
do.what-PF C not come indeed C my spouse C more-LOC-first say

azua vavayan.
a-zua vavayan
C-that female
seeing that my former husband doesn't come back," said the woman.

013 *qau makakełang anga a varung niamadju a maḍusa.*
qau ma-ka-kełang anga a varung ni-a-madju a ma-ḍusa
so STAT-RED-know indeed C chest by-PL-3RD.PERS C NUM-two
So the two of them agreed to it.

014 *qau malap tua vava, sa alap tua katjutjung tu ḍusa; sa*
qau m-alap tua vava sa alap tua ka-tjutjung tu ḍusa sa
so AF-take OBL alcohol and take OBL ?-cup OBL two and

kevava tiamadju.
ke-vava ti-a-madju
consume-alcohol F-PL-3RD.PERS
They got some beer and two bamboo cups, and drank together.

015 *qau maka kevava tiamadju.*
qau maka ke-vava ti-a-madju
so finished consume-alcohol F-PL-3RD.PERS
When they had finished drinking,

016 *taulan a vava katua katjutjung pi quluqulu.*
ta-ula-an a vava ka-tua ka-tjutjung pi qulu-qulu
PAST-lack-LF C alcohol and-OBL ?-cup put RED-head
they left the beer and cups at the head end (of the sleeping platform),

017 *qau sa qereng tiamadju.*
qau sa qereng ti-a-madju
so and lie.down F-PL-3RD.PERS
and lay down.

018 *manu mangtjez azua vaław a tjaisangas, sa setsevungi nua*
manu m-pangetjez a-zua vaław a tja-i-sangas sa se-tsevung-i nua
then AF-come C-that spouse C more-LOC-first and INVOL-meet-PF by

tsaḍ i djalan.
tsaḍ i djalan
bandit LOC road
The former husband came back, and met a thief along the way.

019 *"ku katsuaw su kinatsu; pazuliuł-i aken tu lima iday," aya*
ku katsu-aw su in=katsu pa-zuliuł-i aken tu lima iday aya
I carry-LF your(S) PERF=carry cause-wage-HORT F.I OBL five hundred say

azua tsaḍ.
a-zua tsaḍ
C-that bandit
"I'll carry your baggage; pay me 500," said the thief.
[*pazuliuł-i*: F361 has *zeliuł* 'wage'.]

020 *"ui, katsuu nu maya; ku pazuliuł-ay anga sun," aya azua*
ui katsu-u nu ma-aya ku pa-zuliuł-ay anga sun aya a-zua
yes carry-IMP when STAT-be.thus I cause-wage-LF indeed F.you(S) say C-that

vaław a tjaisangas a uqałay.
vaław a tja-i-sangas a uqałay
spouse C more-LOC-first C male
"All right; carry it then; I'll pay you," said the former husband.

021 *qau katsuin nua tsaḍ a pasa tjua tapaw nimadju.*
qau katsu-en nua tsaḍ a pa-sa tjua tapaw ni-madju
so carry-PF by bandit C cause-go there hut of-3RD.PERS
So the thief carried the things to the man's house.

022 *mintu kevavavava azua vaław a vavayan katua uqałay a zuma.*
mintu ke-vava-vava a-zua vaław a vavayan ka-tua uqałay a zuma
sudden consume-RED-alcohol C-that spouse C female and-OBL male C other
The wife and the other man were drinking.

023 *qau taulan nua tsaḍ pagału azua nanemanemanga.*
qau ta-ula-an nua tsaḍ pa-gału a-zua na-nema-nema-anga
so PAST-lack-LF by bandit cause-slow C-that PAST-RED-what-indeed
The thief put everything down gently;
[*nanemanemanga* 'all kinds of things']

024 *qau a tsaḍ: "nangaq kiqiła ken imaza iqumaqan.*
qau a tsaḍ na-nguaq ki-qiła aken i-maza i-qumaq-an
so C bandit STAT-good do-hide F.I LOC-here LOC-indoors-NOM
and he said: "I'll hide here in the back of the house.

025 *qau nu taqed tiamadju, tsemakaw anga ken tua*
qau nu taqed ti-a-madju em=tsakaw anga aken tua
so when sleep F-PL-3RD.PERS AF=steal indeed F.I OBL

nanemanemanga, sa ku kavilad anga nusauni," aya timadju.
na-nema-nema-anga sa ku ka-vilad anga nu-sauni aya ti-madju
PAST-RED-what-indeed and I STAT-flee indeed when-soon say F-3RD.PERS
When they go to sleep, I'll steal everything, and then escape later," he said.

026 *qau kiqiła itjua misulemaleman.*
qau ki-qiîa i-tjua mi-lema=sulem-an
so do-hide LOC-there AF-RED=dark-NOM
And he hid in the dark.
[*misulemaleman*: constituency difficult; F261 has *selem-a-lem-an*.]

027 *qau inika tsuay mangtjez azua vaław a tjaisangas.*
qau ini-ka tsuay m-pangetjez a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas
so not-after long.time AF-come C-that spouse C more-LOC-first
Soon the former husband came.

028 *manu patjarakełang azua vaław a tjaivilił a uqałay tu*
manu pa-tjara-keîang a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-viliî a uqaîay tu
then cause-surely-know C-that spouse C more-LOC-behind C male OBL

muri mangtjez azua vaław a tjaisangas.
ma-uri m-pangetjez a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas
STAT-will AF-come C-that spouse C more-LOC-first
The second husband got to know that the former husband was coming.

029 *qau migatsał sa vaik a sema patekuteku tua taqtaq.*
qau mi-gatsaî sa vaik a em=sa pa-teku-teku tua taqtaq
so AF-stand and leave C AF=go cause-RED-down OBL platform
He got up and went under the sleeping platform.

030 *qau mangtjez azua vaław a tjaisangas a uqałay.*
qau m-pangetjez a-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas a uqaîay
so AF-come C-that spouse C more-LOC-first C male
The former husband arrived.

031 *qau nataqed anga azua vavayan.*
qau na-taqed anga a-zua vavayan
so PAST-sleep indeed C-that female
The woman was asleep,

032 *qau tegain anga nazua vaław a tjaisangas azua vavayan.*
qau tega-en anga nua-zua vaîaw a tja-i-sangas a-zua vavayan
so awaken-PF indeed by-that spouse C more-LOC-first C-that female
but the former husband woke her up.

033 *qau patseged azua vavayan.*
qau pa-tseged a-zua vavayan
so cause-alert C-that female
She woke up,

034 *"aku uzai a vava katua katjutjung imaza?" ayain a vavayan.*
aku uzay a vava ka-tua ka-tjutjung i-maza aya-en a vavayan
why there C alcohol and-OBL ?-cup LOC-here say-PF C female
and he said to her: "Why is there beer and cups here?"

035 *"ui angata.*
ui anga-ta
yes indeed-?
"Oh well,

036 *nu keman aken, ku sipazekazekatj sun a palayulayu,"*
nu em=kan aken ku si-pa-zeka-zekatj sun a pa-layu-layu
when AF=eat F.I I IF-cause-RED-share F.you(S) C cause-RED-store

aya maitazua a kiłavaran azua vavayan.
aya ma-aya-ta-zua a ki-łavar-an a-zua vavayan
say STAT-be.thus-?-that C do-speak-LF C-that female
when I eat I always put some out for you too," the woman just said.

037 *qau pałeteku azua vavayan, sa kevava tiamadju.*
qau pa-łe-teku a-zua vavayan sa ke-vava ti-a-madju
so cause-go.to-down C-that female and consume-alcohol F-PL-3RD.PERS
The woman set out the beer (on a table), and they drank.

038 *qau talavan tua vava azua uqałay; mapulaw aravats; maipuq*
qau talaw-an tua vava a-zua uqałay ma-pulaw a-ravats ma-ipuq
so hold.liquid-LF OBL alcohol C-that male STAT-drunk C-true STAT-fall

anga.
anga
indeed
The man got full up with beer, got very drunk, and fell down.

039 *qau azua tsaḍ katua vaław a tjaivilił a uqałay, avan tazua*
qau a-zua tsaḍ ka-tua vaław a tja-i-vilił a uqałay avan ta-zua
so C-that bandit and-OBL spouse C more-LOC-behind C male exact OBL-that

kevavavavanan a maḍusa, nakiqiła i patekuteku tua
ke-vava-vava-anan a ma-ḍusa na-ki-qiła i pa-teku-teku tua
consume-RED-alcohol-still C NUM-two PAST-do-hide LOC cause-RED-down OBL

taqtaq a maḍusa itjua misulemaleman.
taqtaq a ma-ḍusa i-tjua mi-lema=sulem-an
platform C NUM-two LOC-there AF-RED=dark-NOM
The thief and the second husband, while these two were still drinking, were both hidden under the sleeping platform in the dark.

040 *manu uzai a djurikuku i taladj tua taqtaq.*
manu uzay a djurikuku i taladj tua taqtaq
then there C fowl LOC inside OBL platform
There was a cockerel under the platform.

041 *manu sakutsin nua tsaḍ; zemaing.*
manu sakuts-en nua tsaḍ em=zaing
then move-PF by bandit AF=call
When the thief moved it, it crowed.
[*sakutsin*: *sakatsuin* in OA]

042 *qau marekutj tu djumaken azua tsaḍ.*
qau ma-rekutj tu djumak-en a-zua tsaḍ
so STAT-fear OBL find-PF C-that bandit
The thief was afraid of being found.

043 *"ła quluqulu aken," aya timadju.*
ła qulu-qulu aken aya ti-madju
class RED-head F.I say F-3RD.PERS
"I'll go to the head end," he said.

044 *mintu mapatsatsagtsag a qulu katu azua qulu na vaław a*
mintu ma-pa-tsa-tsagtsag a qulu ka-tu a-zua qulu nua vaław a
sudden STAT-cause-RED-bump C head and-OBL C-that head of spouse C

tjaivilił a uqałay.
tja-i-vilił a uqałay
more-LOC-behind C male
His head bumped into the head of the second husband.

045 *qau azua tsaḍ: "aku uzai a tsautsau imaza?" aya azua tsaḍ.*
qau a-zua tsaḍ aku uzay a tsau-tsau i-maza aya a-zua tsaḍ
so C-that bandit why there C RED-being LOC-here say C-that bandit
"Why is there someone in here?" said the thief.

046 *"nangaq a vaik aken a sema azua i tja iqumaqan a*
na-nguaq a vaik aken a em=sa a-zua i tja i-qumaq-an a
STAT-good C leave F.I C AF=go C-that LOC more LOC-indoors-NOM C

kiqiła," aya timadju.
ki-qiła aya ti-madju
do-hide say F-3RD.PERS
"I had better go and hide further into the house," he said.

047 *qau avan azua vaław uta tjaivilił a uqałay: "nangaq a vaik*
qau avan a-zua vaław uta tja-i-vilił a uqałay na-nguaq a vaik
so exact C-that spouse also more-LOC-behind C male STAT-good C leave

aken sema azua i tja iqumaqan a kiqiła," aya timadju.
aken em=sa a-zua i tja i-qumaq-an a ki-qiła aya ti-madju
F.I AF=go C-that LOC more LOC-indoors-NOM C do-hide say F-3RD.PERS
And the second husband also was the same. "I had better go and hide further into the house," he said.

048 *manu izuanga tsaḍ a nakiqiła; matsatsagtsag anan a qulu.*
manu i-zua-anga tsaḍ a na-ki-qiła ma-tsa-tsagtsag anan a qulu
then LOC-that-indeed bandit C PAST-do-hide STAT-RED-bump still C head
The thief was hidden there, and they bumped heads again.

049 *qau vaik azua tsaḍ uta a sema laukung.*
qau vaik a-zua tsaḍ uta a em=sa laukung
so leave C-that bandit also C AF=go attic
The thief moved again to the roof store-place.

050 *azua vaław a tjaivilił a uqałay: "uzai a tsautsau imaza uta.*
a-zua vaław a tja-i-vilił a uqałay uzay a tsau-tsau i-maza uta
C-that spouse C more-LOC-behind C male there C RED-being LOC-here also
The second husband said: "There is someone here too.

051 *nangaq a vaik aken a sema zua i laukung a kiqiła," aya.*
na-nguaq a vaik aken a em=sa zua i laukung a ki-qiła aya
STAT-good C leave F.I C AF=go that LOC attic C do-hide say
I had better go and hide in the roof store-place!

052 *qau vaik.*
qau vaik
so leave
So he went there;

053 *mintu mapatsatsagtsag anan a qulu uta.*
mintu ma-pa-tsa-tsagtsag anan a qulu uta
sudden STAT-cause-RED-bump still C head also
and they bumped heads once more.

054 *"ii, aku uzai a tsautsau imaza uta?" aya zua tsaḍ.*
ii aku uzay a tsau-tsau i-maza uta aya zua tsaḍ
hey why there C RED-being LOC-here also say that bandit
"Ow! Why is there someone here too?" said the thief.

055 *"masa namapełuq tua tsautsau tjua imaza," aya zua tsaḍ.*
ma-sa na-ma-pełuq tua tsau-tsau tjua i-maza aya zua tsaḍ
STAT-maybe PAST-STAT-full OBL RED-being there LOC-here say that bandit
"This place seems to be full of people," said the thief,

056 *migergerger anga tua rekutjan.*
m-ger=igerger anga tua rekutj-an
AF-RED=tremble indeed OBL fear-LF
and trembled with fear.
[*migergerger*: F has both *gerger* 'tear, split' and *igerger* 'tremble' under *gerger*]

057 *manu mapulaw aravats aza vaław a tjaisangas a uqałay; qau*
manu ma-pulaw a-ravats a-zua vaław a tja-i-sangas a uqałay qau
then STAT-drunk C-true C-that spouse C more-LOC-first C male so

taqed anga.
taqed anga
sleep indeed
Now the former husband was very drunk and asleep.

058 *qau łekatsauan anga azua vaław a tjaivilił a uqałay.*
qau łe-ka-tsau-an anga a-zua vaław a tja-i-vilił a uqałay
so go.to-become-being-LF indeed C-that spouse C more-LOC-behind C male
So the second husband emerged.

059 *qau "muri kemuda sun?*
qau ma-uri em=kuda sun
so STAT-will AF=do.what F.you(S)
"What are you going to do?

060 *muri kamayan sun a puvaław tua su vaław*
ma-uri ka-ma-aya-an sun a pu-vaław tua su vaław
STAT-will become-STAT-be.thus-LF F.you(S) C have-spouse OBL your(S) spouse

a tjaisangas kemuda?" ayain azua vavayan.
a tja-i-sangas em=kuda aya-en a-zua vavayan
C more-LOC-first AF=do.what say-PF C-that female
Are you going to carry on being married to your former husband, or what?" he said to the woman.

061 *łakua "neka.*
łakua neka
but no
But the woman said: "No.

062 *timitjayay anga a marevaław.*
ti-mitja-ay anga a mare-vaław
F-we(INC)-will indeed C pair-spouse
We two will live together.
[*timitjayay*: intrusive *y* between *a-ay*.]

063 *tja qetsiaw anga azua ku vaław a tjaisangas," aya azua vavayan.*
tja qetsi-aw anga a-zua ku vaław a tja-i-sangas aya a-zua vavayan
we(INC) fight-LF indeed C-that my spouse C more-LOC-first say C-that female
We'll kill my former husband."

064 *qau "tja kudain a qemtsi, sa ini kełang tu tima a*
qau tja kuda-en a em=qetsi sa ini kełang tu ti-ima a
so we(INC) do.what-PF C AF=fight and not know OBL F-who C

naqemtsi?" aya tiamadju.
na-em=qetsi aya ti-a-madju
PAST-AF=fight say F-PL-3RD.PERS
"How can we kill him, without it being known who has killed him?" they said.

065 *kiłavaran a vavayan: "azua mapulaw.*
ki-łavar-an a vavayan a-zua ma-pulaw
do-speak-LF C female C-that STAT-drunk
The woman said: "He's drunk.

066 *tja sialapan tua bungbung, sa pizua-i tua qatjuvi.*
tja si-alap-an tua bungbung sa pi-zua-i tua qatjuvi
we(INC) IF-take-LF OBL bamboo.tube and put-that-PF OBL snake
Let's take a bamboo tube and put a snake in it.

067 *qau sa tja tsage-i tua sapui a iku nua qatjuvi.*
qau sa tja tsage-i tua sapuy a iku nua qatjuvi
so and we(INC) heat-PF OBL fire C tail of snake
Then let's heat the snake's tail with fire;

068 *qau ki mintuluq anga azua qatjuvi a sema tjua tjiał nimadju,"*
qau ki min-tuluq anga a-zua qatjuvi a em=sa tjua tjiał ni-madju
so will AF-run indeed C-that snake C AF=go there stomach of-3RD.PERS

aya tiamadju a małavar.
aya ti-a-madju a ma-łavar
say F-PL-3RD.PERS C STAT-speak
and the snake will dart forward into his stomach," they decided.

069 *qau aitazuain a qemtsi azua vaław a tjaisangas.*
qau aya-ta-zua-en a em=qetsi a-zua vaław a tja-i-sangas
so be.thus-?-that-PF C AF=fight C-that spouse C more-LOC-first
So that's how the former husband was killed.

070 *qau a tsaḍ kiqeneqenetj tazua maḍusa a pałetalataladj tua*
qau a tsaḍ ki-qene-qenetj ta-zua ma-ḍusa a pa-łe-tala-taladj tua
so C bandit do-RED-see OBL-that NUM-two C cause-go.to-RED-inside OBL

qatjuvi.
qatjuvi
Now the thief saw the two putting the snake in.

071 *qau marekutj anga azua tsaḍ tu sika uzai anga tsautsau*
qau ma-rekutj anga a-zua tsaḍ tu sika uzay anga tsau-tsau
so STAT-fear indeed C-that bandit OBL reason there indeed RED-being

iqumaqan a namatsay anga.
i-qumaq-an a na-m-patsay anga
LOC-indoors-NOM C PAST-AF-die indeed
The thief was afraid that there was going to be a dead person in the house,

072 *mintuluq anga łetsasaw.*
min-tuluq anga łe-tsasaw
AF-run indeed go.to-outside
and he dashed outside.

073 *qau małianga; manu kemłang a mamazangiłan tu uzai*
qau ma-łia-anga manu em=kełang a ma-ma-zangił-an tu uzay
so STAT-dawn-indeed then AF=know C STAT-STAT-chief-NOM OBL there

a namatsay a tsautsau.
a na-m-patsay a tsau-tsau
C PAST-AF-die C RED-being
Next day the chief heard that someone had died;

074 *qau vaik a kivadaq tazua vaław a vavayan.*
qau vaik a ki-vadaq ta-zua vaław a vavayan
so leave C do-ask OBL-that spouse C female
so he went to ask the wife.

075 *łakua "kemłang (aken) tu tima a naqemtsi" aya maitazua*
łakua em=kełang aken tu ti-ima a na-em=qetsi aya ma-aya-ta-zua
but AF=know F.I OBL F-who C PAST-AF=fight say STAT-be.thus-?-that

tjemumał.
em=tjumał
AF=discuss
But she just said: "How can we (?I) know who killed him?" (?)
[*aken* not in OA but seems necessary.]

076 *manu vaivaik azua mamazangiłan a sema kavuavuan;*
manu vai-vaik a-zua ma-ma-zangił-an a em=sa ka-vua-vua-an
then RED-leave C-that STAT-STAT-chief-NOM C AF=go main-RED-field-NOM

setsevungan a tsaḍ.
se-tsevung-an a tsaḍ
INVOL-meet-LF C bandit
The chief was going to the fields, and he met the thief.

077 *"aku ini su puvałavaław?*
aku ini su pu-vała-vaław
why not you(S) have-RED-spouse
"Why don't you get married?

078 *tiaken a kisan muilang tjanusun," ayain azua tsaḍ.*
ti-aken a ki-sane muilang tjanu-sun aya-en a-zua tsaḍ
F-I C do-make go.between OBL-you(S) say-PF C-that bandit
I'll act as go-between for you," he said to the thief.

079 *mintu valisvis azua tsaḍ.*
mintu al=visvis a-zua tsaḍ
sudden QAL=shake C-that bandit
The thief shook his head.

080 *"marekutj aken a puvaław.*
ma-rekutj aken a pu-vaław
STAT-fear F.I C have-spouse
"I'm afraid of getting married.

081 *uzai anga ku łinengłengan a pałetalataladjan tua qatjuvi*
uzay anga ku in=łeng-łeng-an a pa-łe-tala-taladj-an tua qatjuvi
there indeed I PERF=RED-look.at-LF C cause-go.to-RED-inside-LF OBL snake

sa patsay anga.
sa patsay anga
and die indeed
I've seen someone who had a snake put in him and he died.

082 *avan ku sika rekutj a puvaław," aya zua tsaḍ.*
avan ku sika rekutj a pu-vaław aya zua tsaḍ
exact I reason fear C have-spouse say that bandit
That's why I'm afraid of marrying," said the thief;

083 *qau sa tjumał tu tima a łinengłengan.*
qau sa tjumał tu ti-ima a in=łeng-łeng-an
so and discuss OBL F-who C PERF=RED-look.at-LF
and he told whom he had seen.

084 *qau kemłang anga azua mamazangiłan tu tima.*
qau em=kełang anga a-zua ma-ma-zangił-an tu ti-ima
so AF=know indeed C-that STAT-STAT-chief-NOM OBL F-who
So now the chief knew who it was.

085 *qau qetsin anga zua vavayan katua uqałay a łemaḍusa.*
qau qetsi-en anga zua vavayan ka-tua uqałay a łe-ma-ḍusa
so fight-PF indeed that female and-OBL male C go.to-NUM-two
And the woman and the man were both killed.

Once upon a time there was a married couple in great distress. They had nothing to eat. "What are we to do?" they said. "This way we've got no way of earning. I had better go to another place," said the husband. So he went away, and for a long time he didn't come home.

A man tempted the wife. "What about your former husband who hasn't come back? Let us two live together. Why do you want to live alone?" he kept saying. "All right then; seeing that my former husband doesn't come back," said the woman. So the two of them agreed to it. They got some beer and two bamboo cups, and drank together. When they had finished drinking, they left the beer and cups at the head end (of the sleeping platform), and lay down.

The former husband came back, and met a thief along the way. "I'll carry your baggage; pay me 500," said the thief. "All right; carry it then; I'll pay you," said the former husband. So the thief carried the things to the man's house. The wife and the other man were drinking. The thief put everything down gently; and he said: "I'll hide here in the back of the house. When they go to sleep, I'll steal everything, and then escape later," he said. And he hid in the dark.

Soon the former husband came. The second husband got to know that the former husband was coming. He got up and went under the sleeping platform. The former husband arrived. The woman was asleep, but the former husband woke her up. She woke up, and he said to her: "Why is there beer and cups here?"

"Oh well, when I eat I always put some out for you too," the woman just said. The woman set out the beer (on a table), and they drank. The man got full up with beer, got very drunk, and fell down. The thief and the second husband, while these two were still drinking, were both hidden under the sleeping platform in the dark. There was a cockerel under the platform. When the thief moved it, it crowed. The thief was afraid of being found. "I'll go to the head end," he said. His head bumped into the head of the second husband. "Why is there someone in here?" said the thief. "I had better go and hide further into the house," he said. And the second husband also was the same. "I had better go and hide further into the house," he said. The thief was hidden there, and they bumped heads again. The thief moved again to the roof store-place. The second husband said: "There is someone here too. I had better go and hide in the roof store-place! So he went there; and they bumped heads once more. "Ow! Why is there someone here too?" said the thief. "This place seems to be full of people," said the thief, and trembled with fear.

Now the former husband was very drunk and asleep. So the second husband emerged. "What are you going to do? Are you going to carry on being married to your former husband, or what?" he said to the woman. But the woman said: "No. We two will live together. We'll kill my former husband."

"How can we kill him, without it being known who has killed him?" they said. The woman said: "He's drunk. Let's take a bamboo tube and put a snake in it. Then let's heat the snake's tail with fire; and the snake will dart forward into his stomach," they decided. So that's how the former husband was killed. Now the thief saw the two putting the snake in. The thief was afraid that there was going to be a dead person in the house, and he dashed outside. Next day the chief heard that someone had died; so he went to ask the wife. But she just said: "How can we (?I) know who killed him?" (?)

The chief was going to the fields, and he met the thief. "Why don't you get married? I'll act as go-between for you," he said to the thief. The thief shook his head. "I'm afraid of getting married. I've seen someone who had a snake put in him and he died. That's why I'm afraid of marrying," said the thief; and he told whom he had seen. So now the chief knew who it was. And the woman and the man were both killed.

012 THE TJAKUVUKUVUŁ MAN WHO CUT OFF HIS HAND

namengeḍuq tua lima a se Tjakuvukuvuł (Qatsiłay village, p.178)

001 *uzai aza marekałałak a masepatj.*
uzay a-zua mare-ka-łałak a ma-sepatj
there C-that pair-main-child C NUM-four
There was a family of four.

002 *manu vaik a kina a sema kavuavuan.*
manu vaik a kina a em=sa ka-vua-vua-an
then leave C mother C AF=go main-RED-field-NOM
The mother went to the fields,

003 *qau adjuqen azua kakeḍian a matjelu.*
qau adjuq-en a-zua ka-keḍi-an a ma-tjelu
so leave-PF C-that RED-small-NOM C NUM-three
and left the three children.

004 *qau kiłavaranan nua kina: "maya marivurivu," ayain, sa vaik a*
qau ki-łavar-anan nua kina maya ma-rivu-rivu aya-en sa vaik a
so do-speak-still by mother don't STAT-RED-quarrel say-PF and leave C

sema kavuavuan.
em=sa ka-vua-vua-an
AF=go main-RED-field-NOM
She told them: "Don't quarrel," she said, and went to the fields.

005 *manu liaw a sengsengan nua kina.*
manu liaw a sengseng-an nua kina
then many C work-NOM of mother
She had a lot of work,

006 *qau seleman anga aravats; qau qemauqaung anga a kakeḍian.*
qau selem-an anga a-ravats qau em=qau-qaung anga a ka-keḍi-an
so dark-NOM indeed C-true so AF=RED-cry indeed C RED-small-NOM
and it got very dark, and the children cried.

007 *manu lemangda a se Tjakuvukuvuł.*
manu em=langeda a se Tjakuvukuvuł
then AF=hear C person.of (place)
A Tjakuvukuvuł man heard them.

008 *"nangaq a ku vaiken a keman," aya se Tjakuvukuvuł.*
na-nguaq a ku vaik-en a em=kan aya se Tjakuvukuvuł
STAT-good C I leave-PF C AF=eat say person.of (place)
"I must go and eat (them)," he said.

009 *qau vaiken sa tsagtsagi a siqełevan, sa "suqełevi," ayain*
qau vaik-en sa tsagtsag-i a si-qełev-an sa su-qełev-i aya-en
so leave-PF and bump-PF C IF-block-NOM and remove-block-HORT say-PF

azua kakeḍian.
a-zua ka-ke÷i-an
C-that RED-small-NOM
He went there and knocked on the door, and said to the children: "Open the door."

010 *ɬakua ini suqeɬevi.*
îakua ini su-qeîev-i
but not remove-block-PF
But they didn't open it.

011 *remeqereq azua se Tjakuvukuvuɬ tu sema qumaqan.*
em=reqereq a-zua se Tjakuvukuvuî tu em=sa qumaq-an
AF=determined C-that person.of (place) OBL AF=go indoors-NOM
The Tjakuvukuvuɬ man was determined (?) to get inside.
[*remeqereq*: F224 has *qerqer* in a compound meaning 'stare in anger'.]

012 *ini suqeɬevi angata.*
ini su-qeîev-i anga-ta
not remove-block-PF indeed-?
They just wouldn't open the door.

013 *"ti tjaina aken.*
ti tjaina aken
F.H mother.H F.I
"I'm your mother;

014 *pasa qumaqanu aken," ayain a ventsa.*
pa-sa qumaq-an-u aken aya-en a n=vetsa
cause-go indoors-NOM-IMP F.I say-PF C AF=lie
let me in," he lied.

015 *"nu ti kina sun, pasuksukan a su lima tutsu a berung,"*
nu ti kina sun pa-suksuk-an a su lima tu-tsu a berung
when F.H mother F.you(S) cause-insert-LF C your(S) hand OBL-this C hole
ayain.
aya-en
say-PF
"If you are our mother, put your hand through this hole," they told him.

016 *qau sipasuksuk a paqulid a lima.*
qau si-pa-suksuk a pa-qulid a lima
so IF-cause-insert C cause-real C hand
So he put his hand through.

017 *mintu inika lima nua kina.*
mintu ini-ka lima nua kina
sudden not-after hand of mother
It wasn't their mother's hand.

018 *qau kitjakaɬungan nua kakeḍian, sa muri vetseluqen.*
qau ki-tja-kaɬung-an nua ka-keḍi-an sa ma-uri vetseluq-en
so do-more-hold-LF by RED-small-NOM and STAT-will break-PF
The children hung onto his hand, and it was going to break.

019 *qau nuka viɬviɬen nazua se Tjakuvukuvuɬ ini anga maviɬviɬ.*
qau nuka viɬviɬ-en nua-zua se Tjakuvukuvuɬ ini anga ma-viɬviɬ
so even pull-PF by-that person.of (place) not indeed STAT-pull
Although the Tjakuvukuvuɬ man pulled it, he couldn't pull it out.

020 *qau kingeḍuqan anga a lima, sa kavilad anga.*
qau ki-ngeḍuq-an anga a lima sa ka-vilad anga
so do-sever-LF indeed C hand and STAT-flee indeed
So he cut off his hand and ran away.

There was a family of four. The mother went to the fields, and left the three children. She told them: "Don't quarrel," she said, and went to the fields. She had a lot of work, and it got very dark, and the children cried.

A Tjakuvukuvuɬ man heard them. "I must go and eat (them)," he said. He went there and knocked on the door, and said to the children: "Open the door." But they didn't open it. The Tjakuvukuvuɬ man was determined (?) to get inside. They just wouldn't open the door. "I'm your mother; let me in," he lied.

"If you are our mother, put your hand through this hole," they told him. So he put his hand through. It wasn't their mother's hand. The children hung onto his hand, and it was going to break. Although the Tjakuvukuvuɬ man pulled it, he couldn't pull it out. So he cut off his hand and ran away.

013 PUŁAŁUYAŁUYAN AND SUŁAŁUŁAŁUI

ti sa Pułałuyałuyan kati sa Sułałułałui (Qatsiłay village, p.180)

001 *ti sa Pułałuyałuyan kati sa Sułałułałui a marevaław.*
ti sa Pułałuyałuyan ka-ti sa Sułałułałui a mare-vaław
F.H H (name) and-F.H H (name) C pair-spouse
There was a married couple called Pułałuyałuyan and Sułałułałui.

002 *manu makeving azua ti sa Sułałułałui a pulingelingetj a*
manu ma-keving a-zua ti sa Sułałułałui a pu-linge-lingetj a
then STAT-itch C-that F.H H (name) C have-RED-entire C

kinatsavatsavan.
in=ka-tsava-tsavan
PERF=main-RED-body
Sułałułałui had an itch all over her body,

003 *qau nu kiqenetjan a semavaqavaqar anga.*
qau nu ki-qenetj-an a em=vaqa-savaqar anga
so when do-see-LF C AF=RED=disgust indeed
and was disgusting to look at.

004 *qau masengats anga ti sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
qau ma-sengats anga ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
so STAT-dislike indeed F.H H (name)
Pułałuyałuyan was disappointed in her,

005 *qau siverits anga azua ti sa Sułałułałui.*
qau si-verits anga a-zua ti sa Sułałułałui
so IF-discard indeed C-that F.H H (name)
and discarded her,

006 *qau sa pavaliti a pakaiv ti sa Tjukutjuku.*
qau sa pa-valit-i a pa-kaiv ti sa Tjukutjuku
so and cause-exchange-PF C cause-meal F.H H (name)
and changed to marry Tjukutjuku.
[*pavaliti*: was *pavalit* in OA]

007 *qau ka pakaiv tjai sa Tjukutjuku, maqepu a qaliqali sa*
qau ka pa-kaiv tjai sa Tjukutjuku ma-qepu a qali-qali sa
so after cause-meal OBL.H H (name) STAT-associate C RED-friend and

zian.
zian
dance
At his wedding to Tjukutjuku others gathered and danced.

008 *qau kisan kuya ti sa Sułałułałui tu sika siverits timadju.*
qau ki-sane kuya ti sa Sułałułałui tu sika si-verits ti-madju
so do-make bad F.H H (name) OBL reason IF-discard F-3RD.PERS
Sułałułałui was very upset because she was discarded.

009 *qau semenay i pasa likuz tua likezał; "kuda tsemevud a załum*
qau em=senay i pa-sa likuz tua likezał kuda em=tsevud a załum
so AF=chant LOC cause-go back OBL fireplace do.what AF=flow C water

tu ku pavanaw tua ku keving," aya semenay azua
tu ku pa-vanaw tua ku keving aya em=senay a-zua
OBL I cause-bathe OBL my itch say AF=chant C-that

ti sa Sułałułałui.
ti sa Sułałułałui
F.H H (name)
She chanted behind the fireplace: "May water flow out for me to wash away my itch," she chanted.
[second *ku* could be preposed 'I'.]

010 *mintu tsemevud a paqulid a załum.*
mintu em=tsevud a pa-qulid a załum
sudden AF=flow C cause-real C water
Then some water did really flow out.

011 *qau sipavanaw anga tua keving nimadju.*
qau si-pa-vanaw anga tua keving ni-madju
so IF-cause-bathe indeed OBL itch of-3RD.PERS
She used it to wash away her itch.

012 *mintu masualap a keving.*
mintu ma-su-alap a keving
sudden STAT-remove-take C itch
The itch disappeared

013 *qau bulabulay anga ti sa Sułałułałui.*
qau bula-bulay anga ti sa Sułałułałui
so RED-beautiful indeed F.H H (name)
and Sułałułałui was beautiful.

014 *qau sa kialalang; qau sa vaik a sema tjua qaliqali a*
qau sa ki-al-alang qau sa vaik a em=sa tjua qali-qali a
so and do-RED-make so and leave C AF=go there RED-friend C

zemiazian.
em=zia-zian
AF=RED-dance
So she dressed up and went to where the others were dancing.

015 *łakua ini zian.*
łakua ini zian
but not dance
But she didn't dance.

016 *izua i vavaw tua qinałivan a łemizałizaw sakamaya.*
i-zua i va-vaw tua in=qałiw-an a em=łiza-łizaw sakamaya
LOC-that LOC RED-above OBL PERF=roof-NOM C AF=RED-look only
She was up on the roof just looking on.

017 *łakua kudain a bulay aravats; maqiłqił a qaliqali a zemiazian.*
łakua kuda-en a bulay a-ravats ma-qiłqił a qali-qali a em=zia-zian
but do.what-PF C beautiful C-true STAT-dazzle C RED-friend C AF=RED-dance
But she was so beautiful that the others who were dancing were dazzled.

018 *qau tsuay anga ini anga tezeng tua qiłqiłan a qaliqali.*
qau tsuay anga ini anga tezeng tua qiłqił-an a qali-qali
so long.time indeed not indeed tolerate OBL dazzle-NOM C RED-friend
After a time the others couldn't stand the dazzle.

019 *"aku maqiłqił itjen aravats?" aya qaliqali a zemiazian.*
aku ma-qiłqił itjen a-ravats aya qali-qali a em=zia-zian
why STAT-dazzle F.we(INC) C-true say RED-friend C AF=RED-dance
"Why are we dazzled so much?" said the others who were dancing.

020 *sa kiqenetji a pałevavaw.*
sa ki-qenetj-i a pa-łe-va-vaw
and do-see-PF C cause-go.to-RED-above
They looked up,

021 *mintu izua ti sa Sułałułałui a naqemiladj i qinałivan, a*
mintu i-zua ti sa Sułałułałui a na-em=qiladj i in=qałiw-an a
sudden LOC-that F.II H (name) C PAST-AF=sit LOC PERF=roof-NOM C

matu qadaw a kinabulay.
ma-tu qadaw a in=ka-bulay
STAT-alike sun C PERF=?-beautiful
and there was Sułałułałui sitting on the roof, as beautiful as the sun.

022 *qau łengłengan ni sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
qau łeng-łeng-an ni sa Pułałuyałuyan
so RED-look.at-LF by H (name)
Pułałuyałuyan saw her.

023 *sevisvis anga kinitjiakan a pinakaivan.*
se-visvis anga in=ki-tjiak-an a in=pa-kaiv-an
INVOL-shake indeed PERF=self-hold.hand-LF C PERF=cause-meal-NOM
He shook off the hand of the girl he was going to marry,
[*pinakaivan*: 'bride']

024 *qau sa vaiki anga qemvet ti sa Sułałułałui.*
qau sa vaik-i anga em=qevet ti sa Sułałułałui
so and leave-PF indeed AF=embrace F.H H (name)
and went and embraced Sułałułałui.

025 *"parepuvałavi anan," aya ti sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
pare-pu-vaław-i anan aya ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
pair-have-spouse-HORT still say F.H H (name)
"Let's stay married," said Pułałuyałuyan.

026 *łakua "masengats anga ken tjanusun.*
łakua ma-sengats anga aken tjanu-sun
but STAT-dislike indeed F.I OBL-you(S)
But Sułałułałui said: "I don't like you any more.

027 *azua su siniverits anga ken," aya ti sa Sułałułałui.*
a-zua su in=si-verits anga aken aya ti sa Sułałułałui
C-that you(S) PERF=IF-discard indeed F.I say F.H H (name)
You discarded me."

028 *"tsauan a makeving sun; avan ku siverits," aya ti sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
tsauan a ma-keving sun avan ku si-verits aya ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
yes C STAT-itch F.you(S) exact I IF-discard say F.H H (name)
"Yes, but you had the itch; that's why I discarded you," said Pułałuyałuyan.
[*tsauan*: F309 has *ka-tsau-an* 'what is actual, existent', so conveys concession "Yes, but..."?]

029 *łakua nuka kudain a zemenger ti sa Sułałułałui, ini anga kisalu*
łakua nuka kuda-en a em=zenger ti sa Sułałułałui ini anga ki-salu
but even do.what-PF C AF=beg F.H H (name) not indeed do-believe

angata.
anga-ta
indeed-?
But however much he besought her Sułałułałui wouldn't agree.

030 *qau mavilad azua ti sa Sułałułałui.*
qau ma-vilad a-zua ti sa Sułałułałui
so STAT-flee C-that F.H H (name)
She ran away,

031 *łakua laingen ni sa Pułałuyałuyan.*
łakua laing-en ni sa Pułałuyałuyan
but follow-PF by H (name)
but he chased after her.

032 *qau ini kełang anga ti sa Sułałułałui tu kemuda.*
qau ini kełang anga ti sa Sułałułałui tu em=kuda
so not know indeed F.H H (name) OBL AF=do.what
She didn't know what to do.

033 *qau djemałun i gadegade, malułay anga aravats ti sa*
qau em=djałun i gade-gade ma-łułay anga a-ravats ti sa
so AF=arrive LOC RED-mountain STAT-tired indeed C-true F.H H

Sułałułałui.
Sułałułałui
(name)
They got to a mountain ridge, and Sułałułałui was very tired.

034 *qau "sa-u, alapu a ku ɬinay a ku inadjuq izua i qinaɬivan.*
qau sa-u alap-u a ku ɬinay a ku in-adjuq i-zua i in=qaɬiw-an
so go-IMP take-IMP C my hat C I PERF-leave LOC-that LOC PERF=roof-NOM
"Go and get my hat which I left on the roof.

035 *nu mangtjez sun, parepuvaɬavi anga," ayain a ventsa ti*
nu m-pangetjez sun pare-pu-vaɬaw-i anga aya-en a n=vetsa ti
when AF-come F.you(S) pair-have-spouse-HORT indeed say-PF C AF=lie F.H

sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan.
sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan
H (name)
When you get back we can be married again," she lied to Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan.

036 *ɬakua masalu ti sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan; mintuluq a vaik a malap tua*
ɬakua ma-salu ti sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan min-tuluq a vaik a m-alap tua
but STAT-believe F.H H (name) AF-run C leave C AF-take OBL

ɬinay.
ɬinay
hat
But he gladly believed her, and went running to get the hat.

037 *qau sa tsikel a sema tjua kinaizuanan ni sa Sulaɬulaɬui.*
qau sa tsikel a em=sa tjua in=ka-i-zua-anan ni sa Sulaɬulaɬui
so and return C AF=go there PERF=?-LOC-that-still of H (name)
When he got back to where Sulaɬulaɬui had been,

038 *mintu nekanga ti sa Sulaɬulaɬui.*
mintu neka-anga ti sa Sulaɬulaɬui
sudden no-indeed F.H H (name)
she was gone.

039 *qau ɬevavaw tua kasiw, sa ɬizavi ni sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan.*
qau ɬe-va-vaw tua kasiw sa ɬizaw-i ni sa Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan
so go.to-RED-above OBL tree and look-PF by H (name)
He climbed a tree and had a look;

040 *mintu izuanga i ɬavek a namavilad anga.*
mintu i-zua-anga i ɬavek a na-ma-vilad anga
sudden LOC-that-indeed LOC sea C PAST-STAT-flee indeed
and there she was by the sea having run away.

041 *azua ti sa Sulaɬulaɬui djemaɬun i ɬavek.*
a-zua ti sa Sulaɬulaɬui em=djaɬun i ɬavek
C-that F.H and (name) AF=arrive LOC sea
When Sulaɬulaɬui got to the sea,

042 *azua ti sa Sulaɬulaɬui: "iɬa paru tsatsagaɬ," aya semenay.*
a-zua ti sa Sulaɬulaɬui iɬa ar=pu tsatsagaɬ aya em=senay
C-that F.H H (name) may QAL=have spider.sp say AF=chant
she chanted: "May I become like a spider."
[*iɬa*: like F *uɬa*.]

043 *qau mamaw anga tua tsatsagał, kavakaven anga a łavek.*
qau ma-amaw anga tua tsatsagał kavakav-en anga a łavek
so STAT-same indeed OBL spider.sp swim-PF indeed C sea
She became like a spider, and skated over the sea.

044 *qau djemałun i tagaw izua naqemiladj.*
qau em=djałun i tagaw i-zua na-em=qiladj
so AF=arrive LOC edge LOC-that PAST-AF=sit
She reached the far shore and sat down.

045 *łakua tjenglay aravats; vaiken a lemaing ni sa Pułałuyałuyan a sema tagaw.*
łakua tjenglay a-ravats vaik-en a em=łaing ni sa Pułałuyałuyan a em=sa tagaw
but like C-true leave-PF C AF=follow by H (name) C AF=go edge
But Pułałuyałuyan wanted her very much, and went and followed her to the far shore.

046 *łakua mintu uzai a vaław ni sa Sułałułałui i tagaw.*
łakua mintu uzay a vaław ni sa Sułałułałui i tagaw
but sudden there C spouse of H (name) LOC edge
But Sułałułałui already had a husband over there.

047 *qau azua ti sa Pułałuyałuyan kipatsay tu tjenglayan.*
qau a-zua ti sa Pułałuyałuyan ki-patsay tu tjenglay-an
so C-that F.H H (name) self-die OBL like-NOM
So Pułałuyałuyan killed himself for love.

There was a married couple called Pułałuyałuyan and Sułałułałui. Sułałułałui had an itch all over her body, and was disgusting to look at. Pułałuyałuyan was disappointed in her, and discarded her, and changed to marry Tjukutjuku. At his wedding to Tjukutjuku others gathered and danced. Sułałułałui was very upset because she was discarded. She chanted behind the fireplace: "May water flow out for me to wash away my itch," she chanted. Then some water did really flow out. She used it to wash away her itch. The itch disappeared and Sułałułałui was beautiful. So she dressed up and went to where the others were dancing. But she didn't dance. She was up on the roof just looking on. But she was so beautiful that the others who were dancing were dazzled. After a time the others couldn't stand the dazzle. "Why are we dazzled so much?" said the others who were dancing. They looked up, and there was Sułałułałui sitting on the roof, as beautiful as the sun.

Pułałuyałuyan saw her. He shook off the hand of the girl he was going to marry, and went and embraced Sułałułałui. "Let's stay married," said Pułałuyałuyan. But Sułałułałui said: "I don't like you any more. You discarded me."

"Yes, but you had the itch; that's why I discarded you," said Pułałuyałuyan. But however much he besought her Sułałułałui wouldn't agree. She ran away, but he chased after her. She didn't know what to do. They got to a mountain ridge, and Sułałułałui was very tired. "Go and get my hat which I left on the roof. When you get back we can be married again," she lied to Pułałuyałuyan.

But he gladly believed her, and went running to get the hat. When he got back to where Sułałułałui had been, she was gone. He climbed a tree and had a look; and there she was by the

sea having run away. When Sułałułałui got to the sea, she chanted: "May I become like a spider." She became like a spider, and skated over the sea. She reached the far shore and sat down. But Pułałuyałuyan wanted her very much, and went and followed her to the far shore. But Sułałułałui already had a husband over there. So Pułałuyałuyan killed himself for love.

014 WOMEN FRIENDS AND MEN FRIENDS

mareḍava katua mareqali (Qatsiɬay village, p.183)

001 *uzai a mareḍava katua mareqali ka sitsuayan a*
uzay a mare-ḍava ka-tua mare-qali ka si-tsuay-an a
there C pair-female.friend and-OBL pair-friend after IF-long.time-NOM C

masiasik.
m-asi-asik
AF-RED-weed
Once upon a time there were some girls and men weeding.

002 *masasuvalivalit tiamadju a masik.*
ma-sa-su-vali-valit ti-a-madju a m-asik
STAT-RED-remove-RED-exchange F-PL-3RD.PERS C AF-weed
They took it in turns to weed.

003 *kiɬavaran a mareqali: "timunay anan a mareḍava a masik,"*
ki-ɬavar-an a mare-qali ti-mun-ay anan a mare-ḍava a m-asik
do-speak-LF C pair-friend F-you(P)-will still C pair-female.friend C AF-weed

ayain.
aya-en
say-PF
The men said: "You girls weed first."

004 *"ui," aya azua mareḍava.*
ui aya a-zua mare-ḍava
yes say C-that pair-female.friend
"All right," said the girls.

005 *qau masik azua mareḍava.*
qau m-asik a-zua mare-ḍava
so AF-weed C-that pair-female.friend
The girls weeded,

006 *qau azua mareqali qemiladj itjua qapaz nua kavuavuan.*
qau a-zua mare-qali em=qiladj i-tjua qapaz nua ka-vua-vua-an
so C-that pair-friend AF=sit LOC-there fence of main-RED-field-NOM
and the men sat at the edge of the field

007 *qau sa san paḍangani a mareḍava.*
qau sa sane paḍang-an-i a mare-ḍava
so and make bully-NOM-PF C pair-female.friend
and teased the girls.

008 *nu masik azua mareḍava, kidjeketsan a tsengal nua qalitsi.*
nu m-asik a-zua mare-ḍava ki-djekets-an a tsengal nua qalitsi
when AF-weed C-that pair-female.friend do-land.on-LF C knee by penis
While the girls weeded, the men touched their (the women's) knees with their private parts.

009 *qau "ii ii," aya a mareḍava, sa sapsapi azua qalitsi.*
qau ii ii aya a mare-ḍava sa sapsap-i a-zua qalitsi
so hey hey say C pair-female.friend and scratch-PF C-that penis
"Oo oo," said the girls, and scratched at the men's private parts.

010 *łakua inika masapsap; tsemiketsikel azua qalitsi a sema tjua tsengal.*
łakua ini-ka ma-sapsap em=tsike-tsikel a-zua qalitsi a em=sa tjua tsengal
but not-after STAT-scratch AF=RED-return C-that penis C AF=go there knee
But they didn't get rid of them; they kept coming back to their knees.

011 *qau temarev anga aza mareḍava.*
qau em=tarev anga a-zua mare-ḍava
so AF=attain indeed C-that pair-female.friend
And so the girls finished their turn of weeding.

012 *qau "timunay anga a masik," ayain azua mareqali.*
qau ti-mun-ay anga a m-asik aya-en a-zua mare-qali
so F-you(P)-will indeed C AF-weed say-PF C-that pair-friend
"Now it's you to weed," the men were told.

013 *qau vaik azua mareqali a masik.*
qau vaik a-zua mare-qali a m-asik
So the men went to weed.

014 *nu masik azua mareqali, kidjeketsan nua kutji a tsengal.*
nu m-asik a-zua mare-qali ki-djekets-an nua kutji a tsengal
when AF-weed C-that pair-friend do-land.on-LF by vagina C knee
While the men were weeding, their knees were touched by the girls' private parts.

015 *"ii, a kutji," aya mareqali, sa sapsapi.*
ii a kutji aya mare-qali sa sapsap-i
hey C vagina say pair-friend and scratch-PF
"Ugh, private parts," said the men, and brushed them away;

016 *łakua inika sualap.*
łakua ini-ka su-alap
but not-after remove-take
but they didn't go away.

017 *qau luslusen tua vuka.*
qau luslus-en tua vuka
so prod-PF OBL digging.stick
They prodded them with digging-sticks,

018 *łakua inika sualap angata.*
łakua ini-ka su-alap anga-ta
but not-after remove-take indeed-?
but they just wouldn't go away.

019 *qau marekutj azua mareqali tua kutji.*
qau ma-rekutj a-zua mare-qali tua kutji
so STAT-fear C-that pair-friend OBL vagina
The men were afraid of these private parts.

020	*qau*	*pagerits*	*azua*	*mareqali,*	*sa*	*kavilad*	*anga.*
	qau	pa-gerits	a-zua	mare-qali	sa	ka-vilad	anga
	so	cause-scream	C-that	pair-friend	and	STAT-flee	indeed
	And the men screamed and ran away.						

Once upon a time there were some girls and men weeding. They took it in turns to weed. The men said: "You girls weed first."

"All right," said the girls. The girls weeded, and the men sat at the edge of the field and teased the girls. While the girls weeded, the men touched their (the women's) knees with their private parts. "Oo oo," said the girls, and scratched at the men's private parts. But they didn't get rid of them; they kept coming back to their knees.

And so the girls finished their turn of weeding. "Now it's you to weed," the men were told. So the men went to weed. While the men were weeding, their knees were touched by the girls' private parts. "Ugh, private parts," said the men, and brushed them away; but they didn't go away. They prodded them with digging-sticks, but they just wouldn't go away. The men were afraid of these private parts. And the men screamed and ran away.

015 STONE GATE

imatsatsukes (Qatsiłay village, p.184)

001 *uzai ka sitsuayan a naqemałup a tsautsau.*
uzay ka si-tsuay-an a na-em=qałup a tsau-tsau
there after IF-long.time-NOM C PAST-AF=hunt C RED-being
Once upon a time there were some people who had been hunting.

002 *manu qudjałan.*
manu qudjał-an
then rain-LF
They got rained on,

003 *qau vaik a siułai a sema tjua łiv nua qatsiłay.*
qau vaik a si-ułay a em=sa tjua łiv nua qatsiłay
so leave C IF-overnight C AF=go there cave of stone
and went to stay overnight in a rock cave.
[*siułai*: F has *ułay*.]

004 *manu meqatsa a qudjał; tsałeneq a qatsiłay.*
manu me-qatsa a qudjał ał=tseneq a qatsiłay
then AF-big C rain QAL=creak C stone
The rain got heavier, and the rock creaked.

005 *manu "ki tjuqtjuqi anga itjen nua qatsiłay," aya azua matsidił.*
manu ki tjuqtjuq-i anga itjen nua qatsiłay aya a-zua ma-tsidił
then will pound-PF indeed F.we(INC) by stone say C-that NUM-alone
"We'll be crushed by the rock," said one.

006 *"ini kuda.*
ini kuda
not do.what
"It's all right.

007 *ku tsukesaw anga tua ku velatan," aya matsidił; qau tsukesen.*
ku tsukes-aw anga tua ku velatan aya ma-tsidił qau tsukes-en
I post-LF indeed OBL my bow say NUM-alone so post-PF
I'll prop it up with my bow," said another one, and propped it up.

008 *manu ini tezeng a velatan.*
manu ini tezeng a velatan
then not tolerate C bow
But the bow couldn't take the weight.

009 *qau tjuqtjuqen tiamadju a naqemereng itjua łiv nua qatsiłay.*
qau tjuqtjuq-en ti-a-madju a na-em=qereng i-tjua łiv nua qatsiłay
so pound-PF F-PL-3RD.PERS C PAST-AF=lie.down LOC-there cave of stone
Those who were lying in the rock cave were crushed.

010 *matsay anga tiamadju a mapułat.*
m-patsay anga ti-a-madju a ma-pułat
AF-die indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS C NUM-all
They all died.

011 *qau avan anga kinasengatsan a kakevikevingan a kakurakurapan,*
qau avan anga in=ka-sengats-an a ka-kevi-keving-an a ka-kura-kurap-an
so exact indeed PERF=main-dislike-LF C ?-RED-itch-NOM C ?-RED-scaly-NOM

a naqemereng i tsasaw tua łiv nua qatsiłay, tu tjinuqtjuq
a na-em=qereng i tsasaw tua łiv nua qatsiłay tu in=tjuqtjuq
C PAST-AF=lie.down LOC outside OBL cave of stone OBL PERF=pound

anga tiamadju, a tjemumał tua i tjumaq a tsautsau.
anga ti-a-madju a em=tjumał tua i tju-umaq a tsau-tsau
indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS C AF=discuss OBL LOC there-house C RED-being
It was the people who were shunned because of having the itch and skin disease, who were lying outside the rock cave, who told the people back at home that they had been crushed.

012 *avan sika imatsatsukes ayain anga.*
avan sika i-ma-tsa-tsukes aya-en anga
exact reason LOC-STAT-RED-post say-PF indeed
That's why the place Stone Gate is called Propped Up.
[*imatsatsukes*: something like 'a post is there', 'be "post"-ed'.]

Once upon a time there were some people who had been hunting. They got rained on, and went to stay overnight in a rock cave. The rain got heavier, and the rock creaked. "We'll be crushed by the rock," said one. "It's all right. I'll prop it up with my bow," said another one, and propped it up. But the bow couldn't take the weight. Those who were lying in the rock cave were crushed. They all died. It was the people who were shunned because of having the itch and skin disease, who were lying outside the rock cave, who told the people back at home that they had been crushed. That's why the place Stone Gate is called Propped Up.

016 THE CHILD WHO WENT UP TO HEAVEN

kakeḍian a ɬevavaw itjua kalevelevan (Qatsiɬay village, p.185)

001 *uzai ka sitsuayan a mareaɬak i kavavuan a*
uzay ka si-tsuay-an a mare-aɬak i ka-va-vua-an a
there after IF-long.time-NOM C pair-child LOC main-RED-field-NOM C

karakudakuda.
ar=ka-kuda-kuda
QAL=main-RED-do.what
Once upon a time there was a family working in the fields.

002 *a aɬak a tjavulung a vavayan nasemvaɬ tua kaka tjaɬaɬak*
a aɬak a tja-vulung a vavayan na-em=sevaɬ tua kaka tja-ɬaɬak
C child C more-old C female PAST-AF=carry.on.back OBL sibling more-child

a uqaɬay.
a uqaɬay
C male
The older child, a girl, was carrying her younger brother on her back;

003 *qau karakudakuda a kina.*
qau ar=ka-kuda-kuda a kina
so QAL=main-RED-do.what C mother
and the mother was working.

004 *manu qemaung a sinvaɬ a kaka.*
manu em=qaung a in=sevaɬ a kaka
then AF=cry C PERF=carry.on.back C sibling
The brother being carried started crying.

005 *qau katsuin nua nasemvaɬ a kaka tjavulung a vavayan a*
qau katsu-en nua na-em=sevaɬ a kaka tja-vulung a vavayan a
so carry-PF by PAST-AF=carry.on.back C sibling more-old C female C

sema tjua kina, sa kiɬavarani a kina tua patutu
em=sa tjua kina sa ki-ɬavar-an-i a kina tua pa-tutu
AF=go there mother and do-speak-LF-HORT C mother OBL cause-breast

tazua kaka a tjaɬaɬak.
ta-zua kaka a tja-ɬaɬak
OBL-that sibling C more-child
So his older sister who was carrying him took him to their mother, and asked her mother to suckle the younger brother.

006 *manu "malatjak tu karakuda," ayain nua kina.*
manu ma-latjak tu ar=ka-kuda aya-en nua kina
then STAT-hurry OBL QAL=main-do.what say-PF by mother
"I must get on with the work," her mother said to her,

007 *qau ini patutu-i.*
qau ini pa-tutu-i
so not cause-breast-PF
and she wouldn't suckle him.

008 *łakua "matsuła aravats; patutu-i anan," ayain a mumał*
łakua ma-tsuła a-ravats pa-tutu-i anan aya-en a ma-uma-ł
but STAT-hungry C-true cause-breast-HORT still say-PF C STAT-other-times

a kiłavaran a kina.
a ki-łavar-an a kina
C do-speak-LF C mother
But she said again to her mother: "He's very hungry; stop and suckle him," she said.

009 *łakua ini patsunguł.*
łakua ini pa-tsunguł
but not cause-agree
But she wouldn't agree (OR feed him).

010 *"kemudanga ken?" aya azua kedikedian a semvał, tu*
em=kuda-anga aken aya a-zua kedi-kedi-an a m=sevał tu
AF=do.what-indeed F.I say C-that RED-small-NOM C AF=carry.on.back OBL

sika mapiq anga timadju, maya sika qemauqaung azua
sika ma-piq anga ti-madju maya sika em=qau-qaung a-zua
reason STAT-tired indeed F-3RD.PERS don't reason AF=RED-cry C-that

kedikedi a sinvał tua tsułan.
kedi-kedi a in=sevał tua tsuła-an
RED-small C PERF=carry.on.back OBL hungry-NOM
"What am I to do?" said the child who was carrying him, as she was tired; not to mention that the child she was carrying was crying with hunger.

011 *ini anga purukuz tu kemuda.*
ini anga pu-rukuz tu em=kuda
not indeed have-depend OBL AF=do.what
She couldn't decide what to do.

012 *vaik anga łevavaw tua mui a qatsiłay.*
vaik anga łe-va-vaw tua mui a qatsiłay
leave indeed go.to-RED-above OBL quartz C stone
She went and climbed on a quartz rock.

013 *qau sa senay azua kedikedi a tjavulung.*
qau sa senay a-zua kedi-kedi a tja-vulung
so and chant C-that RED-small C more-old
The older child sang,

014 *qau manu lemadenga a tsemas tua senay nazua kedikedi.*
qau manu em=ladenga a tsemas tua senay nua-zua kedi-kedi
so then AF=hear C god OBL chant of-that RED-small
and (a) god heard the child's song.
[*lemadenga*: = *langeda*, by metathesis, F149.]

015 *mangtjez a tsemas a kiqenetj.*
m-pangetjez a tsemas a ki-qenetj
AF-come C god C do-see
The god came to look,

016 *mintu penaula a tsemas.*
mintu en=pa-ula a tsemas
sudden AF=cause-lack C god
and had pity on them.

017 *sualapen a kaka tjałałak a sinvał; sa katsu-i a*
su-alap-en a kaka tja-łałak a in=sevał sa katsu-i a
remove-take-PF C sibling more-child C PERF=carry.on.back and carry-PF C

sema kalevelevan azua kaka a tjavulung.
em=sa ka-levelev-an a-zua kaka a tja-vulung
AF=go main-dazzle-NOM C-that sibling C more-old
The younger brother was taken off her back, and the older sister was taken to heaven.

018 *qau azua kaka a tjałałak sisekam nua tsemas sa paqerengi.*
qau a-zua kaka a tja-łałak si-sekam nua tsemas sa pa-qereng-i
so C-that sibling C more-child IF-spread by god and cause-lie.down-PF
And the god made a bed for the younger brother and laid him down to sleep.

019 *qau seleman anga avan anga qaung a ladengadengan nua kina.*
qau selem-an anga avan anga qaung a denga=ladenga-an nua kina
so dark-NOM indeed exact indeed cry C RED=hear-LF by mother
After dark the mother heard a cry.

020 *qau penaula.*
qau en=pa-ula
so AF=cause-lack
She felt sorry.

021 *"ku vaikaw anan a kiqenetj tu kemudakuda," aya a kina.*
ku vaik-aw anan a ki-qenetj tu em=kuda-kuda aya a kina
I leave-LF still C do-see OBL AF=RED-do.what say C mother
"I'll go and see what's happening," said the mother,

022 *vaiken sa kiqenetji.*
vaik-en sa ki-qenetj-i
leave-PF and do-see-PF
and went to have a look.

023 *mintu avan anga tjałałak a ałak a naqemereng a qemauqaung.*
mintu avan anga tja-łałak a ałak a na-em=qereng a em=qau-qaung
sudden exact indeed more-child C child C PAST-AF=lie.down C AF=RED-cry
There was the younger child lying down and crying.

024 *qau mapuvarung azua kina.*
qau ma-pu-varung a-zua kin
so STAT-have-chest C-that mother
The mother was anxious,

025 *karimen azua ałak a tjavulung.*
ar=kim-en a-zua ałak a tja-vulung
randomly=search-PF C-that child C more-old
and searched for the older child.

026 *mareka qauqavan; łakua nekangata.*
mareka qawqaw-an łakua neka-anga-ita
many shout-LF but no-indeed-one
She kept shouting, but there was no sign of her.

027 *qau miseleman anga, nekangata.*
qau mi-selem-an anga neka-anga-ita
so AF-dark-NOM indeed no-indeed-one
It got dark, but there was no sign of the child.

028 *vaik anga a tjumaq azua kina, sa tjumałi a kama.*
vaik anga a tju-umaq a-zua kina sa tjumał-i a kama
leave indeed C there-house C-that mother and discuss-PF C father
The mother went home and told the father.

029 *qau mapuvarung a kama katua kina.*
qau ma-pu-varung a kama ka-tua kina
so STAT-have-chest C father and-OBL mother
Father and mother were both anxious,

030 *tsemangitsangitj anga i tjumaq sakamaya.*
em=tsangi-tsangitj anga i tju-umaq sakamaya
AF=RED-wail indeed LOC there-house only
and just wailed at home.

031 *mintu sika pitju a qadaw tu kinaulavan nazua kẹdikẹdi,*
mintu sika pitju a qadaw tu in=ka-ulaw-an nua-zua kẹdi-kẹdi
sudden number seven C sun OBL PERF=?-lost-NOM of-that RED-small

mangtjez azua kẹdikẹdi a tjumaq.
m-pangetjez a-zua kẹdi-kẹdi a tju-umaq
AF-come C-that RED-small C there-house
Then on the seventh day from the loss of the child, the child came home.

032 *łakua qatsanga aravats, bulay anga uta.*
łakua qatsa-anga a-ravats bulay anga uta
but big-indeed C-true beautiful indeed also
But she was very tall and beautiful too.

033 *qau ini kełang a marekakama tu nima a ałak.*
qau ini kełang a mare-ka-kama tu ni-ima a ałak
so not know C pair-RED-father OBL of-who C child
Her parents didn't know whose child she was,

034 *qau kivadaqan tu kasinu a tsautsau, tu tima a ngadan nimadju.*
qau ki-vadaq-an tu kasi-inu a tsau-tsau tu ti-ima a ngadan ni-madju
so do-ask-LF OBL from-where C RED-being OBL F-who C name of-3RD.PERS
and asked her where she came from and what her name was.

035 *qau tjemumaɬ azua keḍikeḍi tua vinaikan a ɬevavaw.*
qau em=tjumaɬ a-zua keḍi-keḍi tua in=vaik-an a ɬe-va-vaw
so AF=discuss C-that RED-small OBL PERF=leave-LF C go.to-RED-above
And the child told them about how she had gone up above.

036 *"tazua qemaung a ku sinvaɬ; qau mayanga ku piqan.*
ta-zua em=qaung a ku in=sevaɬ qau maya-anga ku piq-an
OBL-that AF=cry C I PERF=carry.on.back so don't-indeed I tired-LF
"The brother I was carrying was crying, not to mention how tired I was.

037 *qau vaik aken a sema tjua mui a qatsiɬay, sa ku senay.*
qau vaik aken a em=sa tjua mui a qatsiɬay sa ku senay
so leave F.I C AF=go there quartz C stone and I chant
So I went to the quartz rock and sang.

038 *manu mangtjez a tsemas, sa sualapi ti aḍing; sa katsu-i aken*
manu m-pangetjez a tsemas sa su-alap-i ti aḍing sa katsu-i aken
then AF-come C god and remove-take-PF F.H boy and carry-PF I

a sema vavaw itjua kalevelevan.
a em=sa va-vaw i-tjua ka-levelev-an
C AF=go RED-above LOC-there main-dazzle-NOM
And a god came and took the boy off me; and I was taken up to heaven.

039 *ɬakua tutsu sinan aɬak anga ken nua tsemas.*
ɬakua tu-tsu in=sane aɬak anga aken nua tsemas
but OBL-this PERF=make child indeed F.I by god
But now I have been adopted by the god.

040 *ini anga muri i tjumaq aken," aya azua keḍikeḍi.*
ini anga ma-uri i tju-umaq aken aya a-zua keḍi-keḍi
not indeed STAT-will LOC there-house F.I say C-that RED-small
I won't be at home any more," said the child.

041 *qau patjara keɬangan nua kina katua kama tu niamadju a*
qau pa-tjara keɬang-an nua kina ka-tua kama tu ni-a-madju a
so cause-surely know-LF by mother and-OBL father OBL of-PL-3RD.PERS C

aɬak.
aɬak
child
Then the mother and father realised that it was their child.

042 *vetseqelen a lima a kula; masengats anga semau.*
vetseqel-en a lima a kula ma-sengats anga em=sa-u
grasp-PF C hand C foot STAT-dislike indeed AF=go-IMP
They held onto her arms and legs; they didn't want to let her go.
[*semau*: 'to say-go!-to'.]

043 *"mayanga vaik.*
maya-anga vaik
don't-indeed leave
"Don't go!

044 *imaza-i anga," ayain nua matjałałak.*
i-maza-i anga aya-en nua ma-tja-łałak
LOC-here-HORT indeed say-PF by NUM-more-child
Let's all stay here!" her parents said to her.

045 *łakua ini kisalu azua kẹdikẹdi.*
łakua ini ki-salu a-zua kẹdi-kẹdi
but not do-believe C-that RED-small
But the child wouldn't agree.

046 *avan a "pavayi aken tua vaqu tu tjelu a vatan," aya.*
avan a pa-vay-i aken tua vaqu tu tjelu a vat-an aya
exact C cause-give-HORT F.I OBL millet OBL three C grain-NOM say
Instead she said: "Give me three millet seeds."

047 *qau malap a matsidił, sa pakauvuan tua quvał nimadju.*
qau m-alap a ma-tsidił sa pa-kauvu-an tua quvał ni-madju
so AF-take C STAT-alone and cause-tangled-LF OBL hair of-3RD.PERS
She took them herself, and put them in among her hair.

048 *tsuay anga pagału, "muri vaik anga ken.*
tsuay anga pa-gału ma-uri vaik anga aken
long.time indeed cause-slow STAT-will leave indeed F.I
After a while she said: "Now I'm going.

049 *łakua ku katsuaw tsu a vaqu.*
łakua ku katsu-aw tsu a vaqu
but I carry-LF this C millet
But I'll take this millet.

050 *nu tjału kalevelevan aken, ku sitalem anga tsu.*
nu tjału ka-levelev-an aken ku si-talem anga tsu
when reach main-dazzle-NOM F.I I IF-plant indeed this
When I get to heaven, I'll plant this.

051 *qau nu liaw anga, a maisu anga tu ku kanen a matsidił,*
qau nu liaw anga a m-paisu anga tu ku kan-en a ma-tsidił
so when many indeed C AF-pound indeed OBL I eat-PF C STAT-alone

nu maisu aken, ki zemuzung.
nu m-paisu aken ki em=zu-zung
when AF-pound F.I will AF=RED-thunder
When it has grown and when I pound grain for myself to eat, when I'm pounding it will thunder.

052 *łakua, ku marekakama, azua a maisuisu tua ku kanen, aya-u*
łakua ku mare-ka-kama a-zua a m-isu=paisu tua ku kan-en aya-u
but my pair-RED-father C-that C AF-RED=pound OBL I eat-PF say-IMP

anga."
anga
indeed
But, my parents, think that it's me pounding my food."

053 *qau paetez nua kai.*
qau paetez nua kai
so cease of speech
That was all she said.

054 *mintu maulaw; ini kełang tu sema inu.*
mintu ma-ulaw ini kełang tu em=sa inu
sudden STAT-lost not know OBL AF=go where
She disappeared, and they didn't know where she had gone.

055 *avan anga kama katua kina sakamaya a qemauqaung i tjumaq.*
avan anga kama ka-tua kina sakamaya a em=qau-qaung i tju-umaq
exact indeed father and-OBL mother only C AF=RED-cry LOC there-house
So the father and mother were just left at home crying.

Once upon a time there was a family working in the fields. The older child, a girl, was carrying her younger brother on her back; and the mother was working. The brother being carried started crying. So his older sister who was carrying him took him to their mother, and asked her mother to suckle the younger brother. "I must get on with the work," her mother said to her, and she wouldn't suckle him. But she said again to her mother: "He's very hungry; stop and suckle him," she said. But she wouldn't agree (OR feed him).

"What am I to do?" said the child who was carrying him, as she was tired; not to mention that the child she was carrying was crying with hunger. She couldn't decide what to do. She went and climbed on a quartz rock. The older child sang, and (a) god heard the child's song. The god came to look, and had pity on them. The younger brother was taken off her back, and the older sister was taken to heaven. And the god made a bed for the younger brother and laid him down to sleep.

After dark the mother heard a cry. She felt sorry. "I'll go and see what's happening," said the mother, and went to have a look. There was the younger child lying down and crying. The mother was anxious, and searched for the older child. She kept shouting, but there was no sign of her. It got dark, but there was no sign of the child. The mother went home and told the father. Father and mother were both anxious, and just wailed at home.

Then on the seventh day from the loss of the child, the child came home. But she was very tall and beautiful too. Her parents didn't know whose child she was, and asked her where she came from and what her name was. And the child told them about how she had gone up above. "The brother I was carrying was crying, not to mention how tired I was. So I went to the quartz rock and sang. And a god came and took the boy off me; and I was taken up to heaven. But now I have been adopted by the god. I won't be at home any more," said the child.

Then the mother and father realised that it was their child. They held onto her arms and legs; they didn't want to let her go. "Don't go! Let's all stay here!" her parents said to her. But the child wouldn't agree. Instead she said: "Give me three millet seeds." She took them herself, and put them in among her hair. After a while she said: "Now I'm going. But I'll take this millet. When I get to heaven, I'll plant this. When it has grown and when I pound grain for myself to eat, when I'm pounding it will thunder. But, my parents, think that it's me pounding my food." That was all she said. She disappeared, and they didn't know where she had gone. So the father and mother were just left at home crying.

017 DOGS

vatu (Qatsiłay village, p.189)

001 *uzai a tsautsau ka sitsuayan a puanemanema.*
uzay a tsau-tsau ka si-tsuay-an a pu-a-nema-nema
there C RED-being after IF-long.time-NOM C have-?-RED-what
Once upon a time there was a rich person.

002 *manu kamayan a mangtjez a tsaḍ; ini papaulingavi*
manu ka-ma-aya-an a m-pangetjez a tsaḍ ini pa-pa-u-lingaw-i
then become-STAT-be.thus-LF C AF-come C bandit not cause-cause-?-know-PF

timadju.
ti-madju
F-3RD.PERS
Thieves kept coming and (s)he didn't feel secure.

003 *qau kinemnem timadju tu "kudain tsu a tsaḍ sa karekutj?"*
qau kinemnem ti-madju tu kuda-en tsu a tsaḍ sa ka-rekutj
so think F-3RD.PERS COMPL do.what-PF this C bandit and become-fear

aya timadju a kinemnem.
aya ti-madju a kinemnem
say F-3RD.PERS C think
So he thought: "What can be done to these thieves to frighten them?" he thought.

004 *łakua ini kełang timadju tu kudain.*
łakua ini kełang ti-madju tu kuda-en
but not know F-3RD.PERS COMPL do.what-PF
But he didn't know what to do.

005 *manu mangtjez a vuluvulung a tsautsau.*
manu m-pangetjez a vulu-vulung a tsau-tsau
then AF-come C RED-old C RED-being
Now an old person came,

006 *kivadaqan timadju: "anema su kinemnemnemen?" ayain a kivadaq*
ki-vadaq-an ti-madju a-nema su nem=kinemnem-en aya-en a ki-vadaq
do-ask-LF F-3RD.PERS ?-what you(S) RED=think-PF say-PF C do-ask

timadju.
ti-madju
F-3RD.PERS
and asked him: "What are you thinking about?" he was asked.

007 *qau tjemumał tua varung nimadju: "avan tsu a tsaḍ a tjuruvu aravats.*
qau em=tjumał tua varung ni-madju avan tsu a tsaḍ a tjuruvu a-ravats
so AF=discuss OBL chest of-3RD.PERS exact this C bandit C many C-true
So he told him what was on his mind: "It's this large number of thieves.

008 *ku kudain sa kasualap?, aya ku varung.*
ku kuda-en sa ka-su-alap aya ku varung
I do.what-PF and become-remove-take say my chest
What am I to do to get rid of them is what I am thinking.

009 *łakua ini ku kełang.*
łakua ini ku kełang
but not I know
But I don't know what to do.

010 *nu kemłang sun, tjumałi aken," aya azua puanemanema a*
nu m=kełang sun tjumał-i aken aya a-zua pu-a-nema-nema a
when AF=know F.you(S) discuss-HORT F.I say C-that have-?-RED-what C

tsautsau.
tsau-tsau
RED-being
If you know, tell me," said the rich person.

011 *"manu avan azua su kinemnemnemen.*
manu avan a-zua su nem=kinemnem-en
then exact C-that you(S) RED=think-PF
"So that's what you are thinking about.

012 *łakua maya mapuvarung.*
łakua maya ma-pu-varung
but don't STAT-have-chest
But don't worry.

013 *kemłang aken aravats," ayain.*
m=kełang aken a-ravats aya-en
AF=know F.I C-true say-PF
I know very well what to do," he was told.

014 *qau maleva azua puanemanema a tsautsau.*
qau ma-leva a-zua pu-a-nema-nema a tsau-tsau
so STAT-pleased C-that have-?-RED-what C RED-being
So the rich person was glad.

015 *"nu maitazua sa kemłang sun, tjumałi aken."*
nu ma-aya-ta-zua sa m=kełang sun tjumał-i aken
when STAT-be.thus-?-that and AF=know F.you(S) discuss-HORT F.I
"If you really know, tell me."

016 *"ui, ku tjumałay sun.*
ui ku tjumał-ay sun
yes I discuss-LF F.you(S)
"Yes, I'll tell you.

017 *uzai a vatu a ku łinengłengan i Gurułan a liaw aravats,*
uzay a vatu a ku in=łeng-łeng-an i Gurułan a liaw a-ravats
there C dog C I PERF=RED-look.at-LF LOC (place) C many C-true

maya *kinababulay* *anga.*
ma-aya in=ka-ba-bulay anga
STAT-be.thus PERF=main-RED-beautiful indeed
I have seen plenty of dogs on Gurułan mountain, and fine ones too.

018 *łakua nu muri vaik itjen a kivatu a sema zua, katsen*
îakua nu ma-uri vaik itjen a ki-vatu a em=sa zua kats-en
but when STAT-will leave F.we(INC) C do-dog C AF=go that bite-PF

itjen nua vatu.
itjen nua vatu
F.we(INC) by dog
But if we go there to get dogs, we'll be bitten by the dogs.

019 *łakua nu tja saneqavayi tua vaqu, sa tja pataudi*
îakua nu tja sane-qavay-i tua vaqu sa tja pa-taud-i
but when we(INC) make-dumpling-PF OBL millet and we(INC) cause-mix-PF

tua quvał a qavay, sa tja pakani a kina nua vatu; qau
tua quvaî a qavay sa tja pa-kan-i a kina nua vatu qau
OBL hair C dumpling and we(INC) cause-eat-PF C mother of dog so

sedjeketsan a angał nua qavay; qau mapusemualap a
se-djekets-an a angaî nua qavay qau ma-pu-em=su-alap a
INVOL-land.on-LF C mouth by dumpling so STAT-have-AF=remove-take C

kina nua vatu.
kina nua vatu
mother of dog
But if we make dumplings of millet and mix hair in the dumplings, and feed them to the mother dog, then her mouth will get stuck up with the dumpling, and the mother dog will do nothing but try to get rid of it.
[*saneqavayi*: *seqavayi* in OA.]
[*mapusemualap*: for combination of *ma-pu*-see F23: 'do to the exclusion of all else'.]

020 *qau nuka tja sazuain anga, ini anga kełang a vatu tu tja*
qau nuka tja sa-zua-en anga ini anga keîang a vatu tu tja
so even we(INC) go-that-PF indeed not indeed know C dog COMPL we(INC)

alalapen a ałak.
al-alap-en a aîak
RED-take-PF C child
Then even if we go there, the dog won't know that we are taking away her puppies.

021 *tja alapen a ałak; qau tja katsuin a tjumaq azua kuku, sa*
tja alap-en a aîak qau tja katsu-en a tju-umaq a-zua kuku sa
we(INC) take-PF C child so we(INC) carry-PF C there-house C-that pet and

tja pakani.
tja pa-kan-i
we(INC) cause-eat-PF
We'll take the puppies, and bring them home, and feed them.

022 *qau nu meqatsa azua kuku, gemurugur a kemats anga, nu*
qau nu me-qatsa a-zua kuku em=gurugur a em=kats anga nu
so when AF-big C-that pet AF=bark C AF=bite indeed when

mangtjez a tsaḍ nu qezemezemetj.
m-pangetjez a tsaḍ nu zeme=qezemetj
AF-come C bandit when RED=night
When the puppies get big, they'll bark and bite, if a thief comes at night.

023 *qau nu katsen nu guruguren a tsaḍ, ini anga turu a mangtjez*
qau nu kats-en nu gurugur-en a ʻsaḍ ini anga turu a m-pangetjez
so when bite-PF when bark-PF C bandit not indeed dare C AF-come

a tsemakaw."
a em=tsakaw
C AF=steal
If he is bitten and barked at, he won't dare to come and steal any more.

Once upon a time there was a rich person. Thieves kept coming and (s)he didn't feel secure. So he thought: "What can be done to these thieves to frighten them?" he thought. But he didn't know what to do.

Now an old person came, and asked him: "What are you thinking about?" he was asked. So he told him what was on his mind: "It's this large number of thieves. What am I to do to get rid of them is what I am thinking. But I don't know what to do. If you know, tell me," said the rich person.

"So that's what you are thinking about. But don't worry. I know very well what to do," he was told. So the rich person was glad. "If you really know, tell me."

"Yes, I'll tell you. I have seen plenty of dogs on Gurułan mountain, and fine ones too. But if we go there to get dogs, we'll be bitten by the dogs. But if we make dumplings of millet and mix hair in the dumplings, and feed them to the mother dog, then her mouth will get stuck up with the dumpling, and the mother dog will do nothing but try to get rid of it. Then even if we go there, the dog won't know that we are taking away her puppies. We'll take the puppies, and bring them home, and feed them. When the puppies get big, they'll bark and bite, if a thief comes at night. If he is bitten and barked at, he won't dare to come and steal any more."

018 SAVAŁI

ti Savaɬi (Tjakuvukuvuɬ village, p.190)

001 *izua sitsuayan i pasazayazaya tua tapaw ni Luvutsi a tapaw*
i-zua si-tsuay-an i pa-sa-zaya-zaya tua tapaw ni Luvutsi a tapaw
LOC-that IF-long.time-NOM LOC cause-go-RED-up OBL hut of (name) C hut

ni Savaɬi a Pasusu katua kina.
ni Savaɬi a Pasusu ka-tua kina
of (name) C (name) and-OBL mother
Once upon a time above the Luvutsi house was the house of Savaɬi Pasusu and her mother.

002 *sa ti Savaɬi "muri vaik aken a sema tjatjan, kina.*
sa ti Savaɬi ma-uri vaik aken a em=sa tjatjan kina
and F.H (name) STAT-will leave F.I C AF=go spring mother
Savaɬi said: "I'm going to the spring, mother.

003 *ɬakua maya semutsaqev a ku tjaɬev," aya ti Savaɬi; sa vaik a sema*
ɬakua maya em=su-tsaqev a ku tjaɬev aya ti Savaɬi sa vaik a em=sa
but don't AF=remove-lid C my box say F.H (name) and leave C AF=go

tjatjan.
tjatjan
spring
But don't take the lid off my box," said Savaɬi, and went off to the spring.

004 *manu "anema siayaya nua ku ałak?*
manu a-nema si-ay-aya nua ku ałak
then ?-what IF-RED-say by my child
"What is my child talking about?

005 *ku qayamaw," aya azua kina, sa sutsaqevi a tjaɬev.*
ku qayam-aw aya a-zua kina sa su-tsaqev-i a tjaɬev
I inspect-LF say C-that mother and remove-lid-PF C box
I'll have a look," said her mother; and she took the lid off the box.

006 *manu minvar a ałak nua qatjuvi sema tu nazuazuanga.*
manu m-inevar a ałak nua qatjuvi em=sa tu na-zua-zua-anga
then AF-scatter C child of snake AF=go OBL PAST-RED-that-indeed
Then young snakes scattered everywhere.

007 *azua ti Savaɬi a muri tsemikel a kasi tjatjan, metsevung katu*
a-zua ti Savaɬi a ma-uri em=tsikel a kasi tjatjan me-tsevung ka-tu
C-that F.H (name) C STAT-will AF=return C from spring AF-meet and-OBL

ałak nua qatjuvi.
ałak nua qatjuvi
child of snake
Savaɬi was going to come back from the spring, and met a young snake.

008 *"aa masa sinutsaqevan anga ni kina," aya.*
aa ma-sa in=su-tsaqev-an anga ni kina aya
ah STAT-maybe PERF=remove-lid-LF indeed by mother say
"Ah, that's because mother has taken the lid off," she thought.
[*aa*: *a* in OA.]

009 *sa djemałun i tapaw sa kiqenetjan a tjałev; nekanga a ałak.*
sa em=djałun i tapaw sa ki-qenetj-an a tjałev neka-anga a ałak
and AF=arrive LOC hut and do-see-LF C box no-indeed C child
She reached the house and looked at the box. There were no young snakes.

010 *qau matjalaw ti Savałi.*
qau ma-tjalaw ti Savałi
so STAT-angry F.H (name)
Savałi was angry.

011 *"aku su ayain a ku ałak?*
aku su aya-en a ku ałak
why you(S) be.thus-PF C my child
"Why did you do that to my children?

012 *muri vaik anga ken a djemavats," aya ti Savałi.*
ma-uri vaik anga aken a em=djavats aya ti Savałi
STAT-will leave indeed F.I C AF=walk say F.H (name)
I'm going to walk away," said Savałi.

013 *sa mirava tua nanemanemanga, sa kemuidi, sa vaik a sema*
sa mi-rava tua na-nema-nema-anga sa em=kuidi sa vaik a em=sa
and AF-prepare OBL PAST-RED-what-indeed and AF=hat and leave C AF=go

katsedas.
ka-tsedas
main-sunrise
And she packed up everything, and put on a bamboo hat, and went off to the east.

014 *a kina "maya vaik, maya vaik," aya.*
a kina maya vaik maya vaik aya
C mother don't leave don't leave say
Her mother said: "Don't go, don't go!"

015 *vaik a kitjavilił a kina, aya.*
vaik a ki-tja-vilił a kina aya
leave C self-more-behind C mother say
And her mother followed behind her, they say.

016 *qau djemałun i łavek, sa vaik i taladj tua łavek.*
qau em=djałun i łavek sa vaik i taladj tua łavek
so AF=arrive LOC sea and leave LOC inside OBL sea
She came to the sea, and went into the sea.

017 *qau maqelidi maqelidi a kuidi.*
qau ma-qe-lidi ma-qe-lidi a kuidi
so STAT-?-revolve STAT-?-revolve C hat
Her hat floated round and round,
[*maqelidi*: unclear, F336 has *validi* 'revolve'.]

018 *qau maulaw.*
qau ma-ulaw
so STAT-lost
and it disappeared.

019 *qau mavan anga nu siaya Tjisavaɬi, aya tjautsikel a sitsuayan.*
qau ma-avan anga nu si-aya Tjisavaɬi aya tjautsikel a si-tsuay-an
so STAT-exact indeed of IF-say (name) say story C IF-long.time-NOM
And that's why the place is called Tjisavaɬi, according to the old story.

020 *azua ti Savaɬi namavunglay tua valaɬvaɬ kasi ɬavek.*
a-zua ti Savaɬi na-ma-vungelay tua valaɬvaɬ kasi ɬavek
C-that F.H (name) PAST-STAT-pregnant OBL monster from sea
Savaɬi had become pregnant by the monster from the sea.
[*valaɬvaɬ*: could be *al=vaɬvaɬ*, alternative for dragon is *varaɬuvaɬ* which is *ar=vaɬuvaɬ*; F334 has *vaɬuvaɬ* and *varaɬuvaɬ* as 'dragon'. F16 has *al=* and *ar=* with meaning 'having quality of'.]

021 *saka masa navaik a tsemikel a sema ɬavek itjua*
sa-ka ma-sa na-vaik a em=tsikel a em=sa ɬavek i-tjua
and-after STAT-maybe PAST-leave C AF=return C AF=go sea LOC-there

valaɬvaɬ.
valaɬvaɬ
monster
And it seems she had gone back to the sea to where the monster was.

Once upon a time above the Luvutsi house was the house of Savaɬi Pasusu and her mother. Savaɬi said: "I'm going to the spring, mother. But don't take the lid off my box," said Savaɬi, and she went off to the spring.

"What is my child talking about? I'll have a look," said her mother; and she took the lid off the box. Then young snakes scattered everywhere. Savaɬi was going to come back from the spring, and met a young snake. "Ah, that's because mother has taken the lid off," she thought. She reached the house and looked at the box. There were no young snakes. Savaɬi was angry. "Why did you do that to my children? I'm going to walk away," said Savaɬi. And she packed up everything, and put on a bamboo hat, and went off to the east.

Her mother said: "Don't go, don't go!" And her mother followed behind her, they say. She came to the sea, and went into the sea. Her hat floated round and round, and it disappeared. And that's why the place is called Tjisavaɬi, according to the old story. Savaɬi had become pregnant by the monster from the sea. And it seems she had gone back to the sea to where the monster was.

019 OLD TREASURES

milingan (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p.192)

001 *ka sitsuayan kinatsu a kemasi Pinavavuqatsang aza zua*
ka si-tsuay-an in=katsu a em=kasi Pinavavuqatsang a-zua zua
after IF-long.time-NOM PERF=carry C AF=from (place) C-that that

milingan.
miling-an
past.era-NOM
Once upon a time those treasures (human figures?) were brought from Pinavavuqatsang mountain.
[*kemasi*: *masi* in OA.]

002 *sa azua milingan, ka vaik a maqinatsap a małetjelu a*
sa a-zua miling-an ka vaik a ma-in=qatsap a małe-tjelu a
and C-that past.era-NOM after leave C STAT-PERF=head.hunt C NUM-three C

sema Tjuaqatsiłay; manu qetsin a matsidił nua se Tjuaqatsiłay,
em=sa Tjuaqatsiłay manu qetsi-en a ma-tsidił nua se Tjuaqatsiłay
AF=go (place) then fight-PF C NUM-alone by person.of (place)

aya.
aya
say
As for those treasures, three people went to Tjuaqatsiłay to hunt heads, and one was killed by the Tjuaqatsiłay people, they say.

003 *sa qalu-i anga nua maḍusa a pasa maza.*
sa qalu-i anga nua ma-ḍusa a pa-sa maza
and carry-PF indeed by NUM-two C cause-go here
He was carried back here by the two others.

004 *avan nu sika neka nu qulu nua matsidił, aya a tjautsikel a kemasi*
avan nu sika neka nu qulu nua ma-tsidił aya a tjautsikel a em=kasi
exact of reason no of head of NUM-alone say C story C AF=from

tsuay.
tsuay
long.time
And that's why one of them has no head, according to the old story.
[*kemasi*: *masi* in OA.]

Once upon a time those treasures (human figures?) were brought from Pinavavuqatsang mountain. As for those treasures, three people went to Tjuaqatsiłay to hunt heads, and one was killed by the Tjuaqatsiłay people, they say. He was carried back here by the two others. And that's why one of them has no head, according to the old story.

020 THE STONE FAN

sipaizan a qatsiłay (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p.193)

001 *ka sitsuayan ka mangtjengtjez a masi naqemizing ti*
ka si-tsuay-an ka ma-ngetje-ngetjez a masi na-em=qizing ti
after IF-long.time-NOM after STAT-RED-come C from PAST-AF=usurp F.H

Salakats, izua sipaizan a qatsiłay, a sikipaipaiz ni Salakats.
Salakats i-zua si-paiz-an a qatsiłay a si-ki-pai-paiz ni Salakats
(name) LOC-that IF-fan-NOM C stone C IF-self-RED-fan by (name)
Once upon a time when Sakalats had just come from land he had won(?), there was a stone fan which Sakalats used to fan himself.

002 *aza zua sipaizan vintsikan tua tsautsau katua marka ḍiḍi.*
a-zua zua si-paiz-an in=vetsik-an tua tsau-tsau ka-tua marka ḍiḍi
C-that that IF-fan-NOM PERF=mark-LF OBL RED-being and-OBL PL pig
That fan was carved with people and pigs.`

003 *saka mangtjez imaza; sitavał pitjua qaqerengan nua*
sa-ka m-pangetjez i-maza si-tavał pi-tjua qa-qereng-an nua
and-after AF-come LOC-here IF-upright put-there RED-lie.down-NOM of

mamazangiłan.
ma-ma-zangił-an
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
So it came here and was set up by the chief's bed.

004 *sa manu marivu tua viliviliłan.*
sa manu ma-rivu tua vili-vilił-an
and then STAT-quarrel OBL RED-behind-NOM
But later there was a quarrel (?).

005 *małama a tapaw.*
ma-łama a tapaw
STAT-burn C hut
The house was set on fire,

006 *sipałama azua sipaizan.*
si-pa-łama a-zua si-paiz-an
IF-cause-burn C-that IF-fan-NOM
and the fan was burnt too.

007 *saka nekanga tutsu.*
sa-ka neka-anga tu-tsu
and-after no-indeed OBL-this
So it doesn't exist now.

Once upon a time when Sakalats had just come from land he had won (?), there was a stone fan which Sakalats used to fan himself. That fan was carved with people and pigs. So it came here and was set up by the chief's bed. But later there was a quarrel (?). The house was set on fire, and the fan was burnt too. So it doesn't exist now.

021 TEETH IN THE VAGINA

aɬis nua kutji (Tjakuvukuvuɬ village, p.193)

001 *ka sitsuayan izua kalaingan ni Qaquangan a vavayan.*
ka si-tsuay-an i-zua ka-laing-an ni Qaquangan a vavayan
after IF-long.time-NOM LOC-that main-follow-NOM of (name) C female
Once upon a time there was a girl who was the oldest child in the Qaquangan family.

002 *nu puvaɬaw, sa nu kiuḍe azua vaɬaw, katsen nua kutji a*
nu pu-vaɬaw sa nu ki-uḍe a-zua vaɬaw kats-en nua kutji a
when have-spouse and when do-copulate C-that spouse bite-PF by vagina C

kulits; qau matsay a uqaɬay.
kulits qau m-patsay a uqaɬay
penis so AF-die C male
When she married and her husband had intercourse with her, his penis was bitten by her vagina and the husband died.
[*kiuḍe*: F326 has *ki-uḍu*.]

003 *semu maɬelima a puvaɬaw; matsay a mapuɬat.*
em=su maɬe-lima a pu-vaɬaw m-patsay a ma-puɬat
AF=remove NUM-five C have-spouse AF-die C NUM-all
She got through five husbands, and they all died.

004 *"aku maya saka maitazua a matsay a su vaɬaw?*
aku ma-aya sa-ka ma-aya-ta-zua a m-patsay a su vaɬaw
why STAT-be.thus and-after STAT-be.thus-?-that C AF-die C your(S) spouse
"Why ever is it that your husbands die like that?

005 *manu namakuda sun?*
manu na-ma-kuda sun
then PAST-STAT-do.what F.you(S)
What's the matter with you?

006 *tja qayamaw a nisun a kutji," ayain nua kina.*
tja qayam-aw a ni-sun a kutji aya-en nua kina
we(INC) inspect-LF C of-you(S) C vagina say-PF by mother
We'll have a look at your private parts," her mother told her.

007 *manu izuangata a aɬis.*
manu i-zua-anga-ta a aɬis
then LOC-that-indeed-? C tooth
And there really were teeth.

008 *qau tsingtsingan sa sualapi a aɬis.*
qau tsingtsing-an sa su-alap-i a aɬis
so cut-LF and remove-take-PF C tooth
So the teeth were cut and removed.

009 *azua* *sinualap* *a* *a-lis* *a* *ita,* *sa* *sipatsusuan* *anga* *tua*
a-zua in=su-alap a a-lis a ita sa si-pa-tsusu-an anga tua
C-that PERF=remove-take C tooth C one and IF-cause-thread-LF indeed OBL

zangaq.
zangaq
necklace
There was one tooth removed, and it was threaded onto a necklace;
[*sipatsusuan*: *sipatsusua* in OA.]

010 *saka* *izuanan* *tutsu,* *aya* *a* *tjautsikel.*
sa-ka i-zua-anan tu-tsu aya a tjautsikel
and-after LOC-that-still OBL-this say C story
and it still exists, according to the story.

Once upon a time there was a girl who was the oldest child in the Qaquangan family. When she married and her husband had intercourse with her, his penis was bitten by her vagina and the husband died. She got through five husbands, and they all died. "Why ever is it that your husbands die like that? What's the matter with you? We'll have a look at your private parts," her mother told her. And there really were teeth. So the teeth were cut and removed. There was one tooth removed, and it was threaded onto a necklace; and it still exists, according to the story.

022 EARTHQUAKES

maparumaɬ a kadjunangan (Tjakuvukuvuɬ village, p.194)

001 *aitsu* *a* *kadjunangan* *qinadjayan* *ni* *Salakats* *tua* *quay* *katua*
aya-i-tsu a ka-djunang-an in=qadjay-an ni Salakats tua quay ka-tua
be.thus-LOC-this C main-earth-NOM PERF=tie-LF by (name) OBL rattan and-OBL

tsatsuken.
tsa-tsuk-en
RED-vine.sp-PF
This earth is tied up by Salakats with rattans and vines.

002 *saka* *"qadjaw* *tu* *ki* *namatsemu* *anga* *a* *ku* *siniqadjay,"* *nu*
sa-ka qadjaw tu ki na-ma-tsemu anga a ku in=si-qadjay nu
and-after perhaps COMPL will PAST-STAT-decay indeed C I PERF=IF-tie when

aya *ti* *Salakats,* *qau* *pavalitan* *a* *siniqadjay,* *aya.*
aya ti Salakats qau pa-valit-an a in=si-qadjay aya
say F.H (name) so cause-exchange-LF C PERF=IF-tie say
So when Salakats thinks: "I wonder if the ties have rotted," then the ties are changed, they say.

003 *saka* *nu* *pavalivalit,* *qau* *maparumaɬ* *a* *kadjunangan,*
sa-ka nu pa-vali-valit qau ma-pare-uma-ɬ a ka-djunang-an
and-after when cause-RED-exchange so STAT-pair-other-times C main-earth-NOM

aya.
aya
say
And when he is changing them, the earth quakes, they say.
[*maparumaɬ*: *mapalumaɬ* in OA.]

004 *palemek* *nu* *tsuay* *a* *pagaɬu* *a* *ḍemuqaḍuq,* *sa* *uta* *ḍuqaḍuqen*
pa-lemek nu tsuay a pa-gaɬu a em=ḍuqaḍuq sa uta ḍuqaḍuq-en
cause-might when long.time C cause-slow C AF=shake and also shake-PF

nu *puraketj.*
nu pu-raketj
when have-always
Sometimes it shakes for quite a long time, and at other times it keeps on shaking.

005 *sa* *azua* *qemayam* *tua* *kadjunangan* *tua* *nakuya* *tua* *nanguaq,* *aya*
sa a-zua em=qayam tua ka-djunang-an tua na-kuya tua na-nguaq aya
and C-that AF=inspect OBL main-earth-NOM OBL STAT-bad OBL STAT-good say

varung, *aya* *a* *tjautsikel.*
varung aya a tjautsikel
chest say C story
That is when he has a mind to inspect the earth to see what is bad and good, according to the story.

This earth is tied up by Salakats with rattans and vines. So when Salakats thinks: "I wonder if the ties have rotted," then the ties are changed, they say. And when he is changing them, the earth quakes, they say. Sometimes it shakes for quite a long time, and at other times it keeps on shaking. That is when he has a mind to inspect the earth to see what is bad and good, according to the story.

023 THE FLOOD

qatsa a załum (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p.194)

001 *ka sitsuayan ka mairaw a kadjunangan, saka załum anga*
ka si-tsuay-an ka ma-iraw a ka-djunang-an sa-ka załum anga
after IF-long.time-NOM after STAT-melt C main-earth-NOM and-after water indeed

pulingelingetj a gadu, manu izua namalauł a keḍikeḍi a
pu-linge-lingetj a gadu manu i-zua na-ma-lauł a keḍi-keḍi a
have-RED-entire C mountain then LOC-that PAST-STAT-remainder C RED-small C

gadu.
gadu
mountain
Once upon a time the earth dissolved, and the mountains everywhere became water. There was just one small mountain left.

002 *qau matsay a mapułat azua tsautsau.*
qau m-patsay a ma-pułat a-zua tsau-tsau
so AF-die C NUM-all C-that RED-being
And all the people died.

003 *sa izua maḍusa a nasekelay tua ritsing nua łavilu itjua*
sa i-zua ma-ḍusa a na-se-kelay tua ritsing nua łavilu i-tjua
and LOC-that NUM-two C PAST-INVOL-hang OBL branch of tree.sp LOC-there

gadu, aya.
gadu aya
mountain say
There were just two people left who hung onto a trichodesma tree's branches on the mountain, they say.

004 *qau makułi a załum.*
qau ma-kułi a załum
so STAT-dry C water
Then the water dried up,

005 *qau mevałut azua nasekelay a marekaka.*
qau me-vałut a-zua na-se-kelay a mare-kaka
so AF-alive C-that PAST-INVOL-hang C pair-sibling
and the siblings who had hung onto the tree survived.

006 *nekanga nu sapuy; nekanga anemanema.*
neka-anga nu sapuy neka-anga a-nema-nema
no-indeed of fire no-indeed ?-RED-what
There was no fire; there was nothing.

007 *qau tsikemen anga azua rugus nua łavilu a sinikelayan, sa patuti.*
qau tsikem-en anga a-zua rugus nua łavilu a in=si-kelay-an sa patut-i
so snap-PF indeed C-that twig of tree.sp C PERF=IF-hang-LF and drill-PF
So they snapped off twigs of the trichodesma tree to which they had hung, and used them as drills.

008 *qau maqati anga a sapuy.*
qau ma-qati anga a sapuy
so STAT-create indeed C fire
So fire came,

009 *qau petsungu anga; izuanga sikesa.*
qau petsungu anga i-zua-anga si-kesa
so make.fire indeed LOC-that-indeed IF-food
and they could light a fire; they had the means to cook.

010 *sa azua maḍusanga tiamadju; qau marepuvaław.*
sa a-zua ma-ḍusa-anga ti-a-madju qau mare-pu-vaław
and C-that NUM-two-indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS so pair-have-spouse
Those two who were left married one another.

011 *manu puałak tu marka mavutsa, tu marka mapiłay, tu*
manu pu-ałak tu marka ma-vutsa tu marka ma-piłay tu
then have-child OBL PL STAT-blind OBL PL STAT-crippled OBL

matjubang, aya.
ma-tjubang aya
STAT-scrofulous say
And they had children who were blind, crippled or scrofulous, they say.

012 *saka nu matjubang pasa pairangen; nu mapiłay nu*
sa-ka nu ma-tjubang pa-sa pairang-en nu ma-piłay nu
and-after when STAT-scrofulous cause-go plains-PF when STAT-crippled when

mavutsa pasa paqaluqaluin; nu nanguanguaq a ałak
ma-vutsa pa-sa pa-qalu-qalu-in nu na-ngua-nguaq a ałak
STAT-blind cause-go cause-RED-sorghum-NOM when STAT-RED-good C child

niamadju, aya tjautsikel.
ni-a-madju aya tjautsikel
of-PL-3RD.PERS say story
The scrofulous ones were sent off to the plains people; the crippled and blind were sent to the east Paiwans; the healthy ones they took as their own children, according to the story.

013 *sa azua marekaka tiamadju; mavan nu sika maya a*
sa a-zua mare-kaka ti-a-madju ma-avan nu sika ma-aya a
and C-that pair-sibling F-PL-3RD.PERS STAT-exact of reason STAT-be.thus C

maqati a mavutsa matjubang mapiłay, aya.
ma-qati a ma-vutsa ma-tjubang ma-piłay aya
STAT-create C STAT-blind STAT-scrofulous STAT-crippled say
Now those two were siblings; and that's why the children were born blind, scrofulous or crippled like that, they say.

014 *sa ka tsuatsuay anga marepuvałavaław, djemałun anga tua*
sa ka tsua-tsuay anga mare-pu-vała-vaław em=djałun anga tua
and after RED-long.time indeed pair-have-RED-spouse AF=arrive indeed OBL

marka nanguaq.
marka na-nguaq
PL STAT-good
After a long time of intermarriage they got to having healthy children;

015 *maqati anga a tsautsau a inika mavutsa, a inika mapiłay,*
ma-qati anga a tsau-tsau a ini-ka ma-vutsa a ini-ka ma-piłay
STAT-create indeed C RED-being C not-after STAT-blind C not-after STAT-crippled

a inika matjubang, aya a tjautsikel a masi tsuay.
a ini-ka ma-tjubang aya a tjautsikel a masi tsuay
C not-after STAT-scrofulous say C story C from long.time
and so there were people who were not blind or crippled or scrofulous, according to the old story.

Once upon a time the earth dissolved, and the mountains everywhere became water. There was just one small mountain left. And all the people died. There were just two people left who hung onto a trichodesma tree's branches on the mountain, they say.

Then the water dried up, and the siblings who had hung onto the tree survived. There was no fire; there was nothing. So they snapped off twigs of the trichodesma tree to which they had hung, and used them as drills. So fire came, and they could light a fire; they had the means to cook. Those two who were left married one another. And they had children who were blind, crippled or scrofulous, they say. The scrofulous ones were sent off to the plains people; the crippled and blind were sent to the east Paiwans; the healthy ones they took as their own children, according to the story.

Now those two were siblings; and that's why the children were born blind, scrofulous or crippled like that, they say. After a long time of intermarriage they got to having healthy children; and so there were people who were not blind or crippled or scrofulous, according to the old story.

024 MAKING RIVERS

seman pana (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p.196)

001 *ka sitsuayan neka pana, aya tjautsikel.*
ka si-tsuay-an neka pana aya tjautsikel
after IF-long.time-NOM no river say story
Once upon a time there were no rivers, according to the story.

002 *sa izua sisił tjakanga qaḍis ritał.*
sa i-zua sisił tjakanga qaḍis ritał
and LOC-that thrush kite hawk eagle
The quaker-thrush, the kite, the hawk and the eagle were together,

003 *qau małavar tiamadju.*
qau ma-łavar ti-a-madju
so STAT-speak F-PL-3RD.PERS
and they had a discussion.

004 *"san pana-i; neka nu załum a tja tekelen," aya azua sisił*
sane pana-i neka nu załum a tja tekel-en aya a-zua sisił
make river-HORT no of water C we(INC) drink-PF say C-that thrush

katua tjakanga.
ka-tua tjakanga
and-OBL kite
"Let's make a river; we've no water to drink," said the quaker-thrush and the kite.

005 *manu inika ui a pusaladj azazua qaḍis katua ritał.*
manu ini-ka ui a pu-saladj a-za-zua qaḍis ka-tua ritał
then not-after yes C have-companion C-RED-that hawk and-OBL eagle
But the hawk and the eagle didn't agree to help them.

006 *"makapalak nia latip."*
ma-ka-palak nia latip
STAT-become-break our(EXC) bracelet
Our wire braclets (? OA) are / will get damaged."

007 *qau seman pana azua sisił katua tjakanga.*
qau em=sane pana a-zua sisił ka-tua tjakanga
so AF=make river C-that thrush and-OBL kite
So the thrush and the kite made a river.

008 *"nu ini nu pusaladj, mayanga temekel tua załum itjua*
nu ini nu pu-saladj maya-anga em=tekel tua załum i-tjua
when not you(P) have-companion don't-indeed AF=drink OBL water LOC-there

nia sinan pana.
nia in=sane pana
we(EXC) PERF=make river
"If you don't help, don't drink from the river we've made.

009 *nu temekel mun ki mun a matsangavu," aya azua tjakanga*
nu em=tekel mun ki mun a ma-tsangavu aya a-zua tjakanga
when AF=drink F.you(P) will F.you(P) C STAT-swell say C-that kite

katua sisiɬ.
ka-tua sisiɬ
and-OBL thrush
If you drink you will swell up," said the thrush and the kite.
[*matsangavu*: root could be *tsangaw*, but nothing like this in F.]

010 *saka nu temekel azazua qaḍis katua riɬaɬ, matsangavu, ini*
sa-ka nu em=tekel a-za-zua qaḍis ka-tua riɬaɬ ma-tsangavu ini
and-after when AF=drink C-RED-that hawk and-OBL eagle STAT-swell not

anga ka minlayap, aya tjautsikel.
anga ka min-layap aya tjautsikel
indeed after AF-fly say story
And when the hawk and eagle drank, they swelled up and couldn't fly, according to the story.

011 *sa nuka mavan tutsu nu temekel a qaḍis katua riɬaɬ*
sa nuka ma-avan tu-tsu nu em=tekel a qaḍis ka-tua riɬaɬ
and even STAT-exact OBL-this when AF=drink C hawk and-OBL eagle

matsangavu angata.
ma-tsangavu anga-ta
STAT-swell indeed-?
And even up to now if the hawk or the eagle drink they really do swell up.

Once upon a time there were no rivers, according to the story. The quaker-thrush, the kite, the hawk and the eagle were together, and they had a discussion. "Let's make a river; we've no water to drink," said the quaker-thrush and the kite. But the hawk and the eagle didn't agree to help them. Our wire bracelets (? OA) are / will get damaged." So the thrush and the kite made a river.

"If you don't help, don't drink from the river we've made. If you drink you will swell up," said the thrush and the kite. And when the hawk and eagle drank, they swelled up and couldn't fly, according to the story. And even up to now if the hawk or the eagle drink they really do swell up.

025 EATING SNAKES

keman tua qatjuvi (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p.197)

001 *azua ti Salakats keman tua qatjuvi sakamaya.*
a-zua ti Salakats em=kan tua qatjuvi sakamaya
C-that F.H (name) AF=eat OBL snake only
(Chief) Salakats ate only snakes.

002 *izua i Tjulutun itjua tsuqu a nakisalił a kemakan.*
i-zua i Tjulutun i-tjua tsuqu a na-ki-salił a em=ka-kan
LOC-that LOC (place) LOC-there bischoffia C PAST-do-isolate C AF=RED-eat
He would go off by himself to eat at Tjulutun by the bischoffia tree(?).

003 *saka nu mangtjez a vadis, sipaḍal a pi katsasavan.*
sa-ka nu m-pangetjez a vadis si-paḍal a pi ka-tsasaw-an
and-after when AF-come C chief's.meat IF-hang C put main-outside-NOM
When the tribute meat was brought, he left it (on the platform) in the courtyard.

004 *qau nu tsuatsuay anga madjapeng izua.*
qau nu tsua-tsuay anga ma-djapeng i-zua
so when RED-long.time indeed STAT-overdone LOC-that
After a long time it rotted away there.

005 *manu izua za Tjulung: "aku su ayain tsa vutjuł?*
manu i-zua zua Tjulung aku su aya-en tsa vutjuł
then LOC-that that (name) why you(S) be.thus-PF this meat
Some people of the Tjulung family said: "Why do you do that to this meat?
[*za*: variant of *se* 'people of'?]

006 *paulain.*
pa-ula-en
cause-lack-PF
It's a waste.

007 *nia alapaw sa nia kani," aya azuaza Tjulung.*
nia alap-aw sa nia kan-i aya a-zua-zua Tjulung
we(EXC) take-LF and we(EXC) eat-PF say C-RED-that (name)
We'll take and eat it," said the Tjulung family.
[*azuaza*: F has *zua-zua* compounds meaning 'kind.of', so here 'those various Tjulung ones'.]

008 *sisalu ni Salakats.*
si-salu ni Salakats
IF-believe by (name)
Salakats agreed;

009 *alapen ni Tjulung sa vaik.*
alap-en ni Tjulung sa vaik
take-PF by (name) and leave
so the Tjulung people took it and went off.

010 *qau tjału zua i tji Taupili, gemugu: "azua inika kanen ni*
qau tjału zua i tji Taupili em=gugu a-zua ini-ka kan-en ni
so reach that LOC be.at (name) AF=shout C-that not-after eat-PF by

Luvaniaw a vadis, muri a niamen anga a kadjunangan,
Luvaniaw a vadis ma-uri a ni-amen anga a ka-djunang-an
(name) C chief's.meat STAT-will C of-F.we(EXC) indeed C main-earth-NOM

azua i Małipa Tjuaqatsiłay," aya azua ła Tjulung.
a-zua i Małipa Tjuaqatsiłay aya a-zua ła Tjulung
C-that LOC (place) (place) say C-that class (name)
When they got to the Taupili house they shouted out: "The tribute meat has not been eaten by the Luvaniaw family. The land at Małipa Tjauqatsiłay will become ours," said the Tjulung people.
[*tji*: not in F; possibly a reduction of *tjua* 'there' + *i* 'LOC'.]

011 *katavakan anga niamadju, aya tjautsikel.*
ka-tavak-an anga ni-a-madju aya tjautsikel
main-habit-LF indeed of-PL-3RD.PERS say story
So it was established as theirs, according to the story.

012 *saka sitsuayan a uta tjemałava ła Luvaniaw.*
sa-ka si-tsuay-an a uta em=tjałava ła Luvaniaw
and-after IF-long.time-NOM C also AF=ask.help class (name)
At another time long ago the Luvaniaw family got help from others with work.

013 *kemsa ti Salakats tu tsengeł.*
em=kesa ti Salakats tu tsengeł
AF=food F.H (name) OBL lunch
Salakats cooked the midday meal,

014 *pakesaan tua qatjuvi a vulung a kinsa.*
pa-kesa-an tua qatjuvi a vulung a in=kesa
cause-food-LF OBL snake C snake.sp C PERF=food
and cooked a hundred-pacer snake along with the other food.

015 *sa ka makesa a kinsa, qaqivuin a tjinałava sema tapaw.*
sa ka ma-kesa a in=kesa qa-qivu-en a in=tjałava em=sa tapaw
and after STAT-food C PERF=food RED-speak-PF C PERF=ask.help AF=go hut
When the food was cooked, the helpers were called to the house.

016 *a tjinałava muri keman; pałetekuin a kinsa.*
a in=tjałava ma-uri em=kan pa-łe-teku-en a in=kesa
C PERF=ask.help STAT-will AF=eat cause-go.to-down-PF C PERF=food
The helpers were going to eat; the food was put out ready,

017 *muri sulamudan nua zuma.*
ma-uri su-lamud-an nua zuma
STAT-will remove-leaf.sp-LF by other
and one of the people was going to take the covering leaves off.

018 *manu "pagału-i a ku kinsa; izua Tjavenikiniki," aya azua ti*
manu pa-gału-i a ku in=kesa i-zua Tjavenikiniki aya a-zua ti
then cause-slow-HORT C I PERF=food LOC-that (name) say C-that F.H

Salakats.
Salakats
(name)
But Salakats said: "Be careful of what I've cooked. Tjavenikiniki is there," he said.

019 *"ki anema siayaya Tjavenikiniki?" aya a tjinałava.*
ki a-nema si-ay-aya Tjavenikiniki aya a in=tjałava
will ?-what IF-RED-say (name) say C PERF=ask.help
"What does he mean by Tjavenikiniki?" said the helpers.

020 *ka sulamudan izua qatjuvi a vulung a sinipakesa*
ka su-lamud-an i-zua qatjuvi a vulung a in=si-pa-kesa
after remove-leaf.sp-LF LOC-that snake C snake.sp C PERF=IF-cause-food

namintsekas.
na-min-tsekas
PAST-AF-split
When they took the covering leaves off, there was the hundred-pacer snake cooked with the rest and all split open.
[*namintsekas*: F311 has *m/in/e-tsekas* under *tsekas*, so *min-* here could be *in=m.*]

021 *qau marekutj a tjinałava.*
qau ma-rekutj a in=tjałava
so STAT-fear C PERF=ask.help
The helpers were afraid.

022 *"kanu, ayain itjen tua pinakesaan tua qatjuvi.*
kan-u aya-en itjen tua in=pa-kesa-an tua qatjuvi
eat-IMP say-PF F.we(INC) OBL PERF=cause-food-NOM OBL snake
"We're told to eat something cooked together with snake;

023 *tjała semavaqaran," aya a tjinałava; sa kavilad a mapułat, aya a*
tjała em=savaqar-an aya a in=tjałava sa ka-vilad a ma-pułat aya a
most AF=disgust-NOM say C PERF=ask.help and STAT-flee C NUM-all say C

tjautsikel a sitsuayan.
tjautsikel a si-tsuay-an
story C IF-long.time-NOM
it's really disgusting," said the helpers. And they all ran away, according to the old story.

(Chief) Salakats ate only snakes. He would go off by himself to eat at Tjulutun by the bischoffia tree(?). When the tribute meat was brought, he left it (on the platform) in the courtyard. After a long time it rotted away there. Some people of the Tjulung family said: "Why do you do that to this meat? It's a waste. We'll take and eat it," said the Tjulung family. Salakats agreed; so the Tjulung people took it and went off.

When they got to the Taupili house they shouted out: "The tribute meat has not been eaten by the Luvaniaw family. The land at Małipa Tjauqatsiłay will become ours," said the Tjulung people. So it was established as theirs, according to the story.

At another time long ago the Luvaniaw family got help from others with work. Salakats cooked the midday meal, and cooked a hundred-pacer snake along with the other food. When the food was cooked, the helpers were called to the house. The helpers were going to eat; the food was put out ready, and one of the people was going to take the covering leaves off. But Salakats said: "Be careful of what I've cooked. Tjavenikiniki is there," he said. "What does he mean by Tjavenikiniki?" said the helpers. When they took the covering leaves off, there was the hundred-pacer snake cooked with the rest and all split open. The helpers were afraid. "We're told to eat something cooked together with snake; it's really disgusting," said the helpers. And they all ran away, according to the old story.

026 TJIMU

Tjimu (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p.199)

001 *ka sitsuayan Tjimu ti Taupili; keman tua tsautsau, aya.*
ka si-tsuay-an Tjimu ti Taupili em=kan tua tsau-tsau aya
after IF-long.time-NOM (name) F.H (name) AF=eat OBL RED-being say
Once upon a time there was a person of the Tjimu tribe called Taupili, who ate people, they say.

002 *nu izua puałak sa ini pasemalavan tjai Taupili, sa*
nu i-zua pu-ałak sa ini pa-se-malaw-an tjai Taupili sa
when LOC-that have-child and not cause-INVOL-tell-LF OBL.H (name) and

kełangi tu izua napuałak, vaiken a malap a ałak, sa
kełang-i tu i-zua na-pu-ałak vaik-en a m-alap a ałak sa
know-PF COMPL LOC-that PAST-have-child leave-PF C AF-take C child and

kani.
kan-i
eat-PF
If anyone had a child and didn't tell Taupili, and (s)he got to know that someone had had a child, he would go and take the child and eat it.

003 *saka nu qemtsi tua tsautsau, kanen a uta, aya tjautsikel.*
sa-ka nu m=qetsi tua tsau-tsau kan-en a uta aya tjautsikel
and-after when AF=fight OBL RED-being eat-PF C also say story
When he killed people, they too were eaten, according to the story.

004 *a tapaw inika imaza i qinałan; izua itjua Tjinekał;*
a tapaw ini-ka i-maza i in=qała-an i-zua i-tjua Tjinekał
C hut not-after LOC-here LOC PERF=outsider-NOM LOC-that LOC-there (name)

a izuazuanan nu keman tua tsautsau.
a i-zua-zua-anan nu em=kan tua tsau-tsau
C LOC-RED-that-still when AF=eat OBL RED-being
His house was not here in the village; it was there at Tjinekał. It was always there that he ate people.

Once upon a time there was a person of the Tjimu tribe called Taupili, who ate people, they say. If anyone had a child and didn't tell Taupili, and (s)he got to know that someone had had a child, he would go and take the child and eat it. When he killed people, they too were eaten, according to the story. His house was not here in the village; it was there at Tjinekał. It was always there that he ate people.

027 DEER, WILD PIG, GOAT AND MUNTJAC (DEER)

venan vavuy sizi takets (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p.199)

001 *ka sitsuayan izua zua ti sa Vuluvulung.*
ka si-tsuay-an i-zua zua ti sa Vuluvulung
after IF-long.time-NOM LOC-that that F.H H (name)
Once upon a time there was a person called Vuluvulung (*or* Savuluvulung; *or* Old Granny?).

002 *manu padjumak tua ałak a uqałay mavavuvavuy itjua łitsaq.*
manu pa-djumak tua ałak a uqałay ma-vavu-vavuy i-tjua łitsaq
then cause-find OBL child C male STAT-RED-pig LOC-there mud
She/he found a boy crawling in the mud.

003 *qau alapen azua ałak, sa pakiramata-i, sa paitungi, sa*
qau alap-en a-zua ałak sa pa-ki-ramata-i sa pa-itung-i sa
so take-PF C-that child and cause-self-wash-PF and cause-cloth-PF and

pakani.
pa-kan-i
cause-eat-PF
She took the child, washed, clothed and fed it.

004 *"paulaan tu meqatsa," aya ti sa Vuluvulung.*
pa-ula-an tu me-qatsa aya ti sa Vuluvulung
cause-lack-NOM COMPL AF-big say F.H H (name)
"A pity if it doesn't grow up," said Vuluvulung.

005 *manu meqatsa.*
manu me-qatsa
then AF-big
And the child grew up.

006 *azua ti sa Vuluvulung ka tsemalis tua leklek a ta qapiz, sa vaik*
a-zua ti sa Vuluvulung ka em=tsalis tua leklek a ta qapiz sa vaik
C-that F.H H (name) after AF=rope OBL twine C OBL braid and leave

a sema tsemtsemel, katsuin azua kakeḍian.
a em=sa tsem-tsemel katsu-en a-zua ka-keḍi-an
C AF=go RED-plant carry-PF C-that RED-small-NOM
Vuluvulung made a single braided cord of hemp twine, and went to the woods, taking the child.

007 *"djadjasu tsu tjektjek nua tsalis," ayain.*
djadjas-u tsu tjektjek nua tsalis aya-en
grab-IMP this end of rope say-PF
"Take hold of the end of the cord," the child was told.

008 *qau djadjasen nua kakeḍian.*
qau djadjas-en nua ka-keḍi-an
so grab-PF by RED-small-NOM
So the child took hold of it.

009 *vaik ti sa Vuluvulung i palingułtua tsemtsemel, sa*
vaik ti sa Vuluvulung i pa-lingułtua tsem-tsemel sa
leave F.H H (name) LOC cause-around OBL RED-plant and

papetsevungi a tsalis a sema tjua kakeḍian; sa vitviti a
pa-pe-tsevung-i a tsalis a em=sa tjua ka-keḍi-an sa vitvit-i a
cause-emerge-meet-PF C rope C AF=go there RED-small-NOM and pull-PF C

tsalis.
tsalis
rope
Vuluvulung went round the woods, and brought the ends of the cord together to where the child was, and pulled on the cord.

010 *qau mapengeḍuq a kasiw a mapułat.*
qau ma-pe-ngeḍuq a kasiw a ma-pułat
so STAT-emerge-sever C tree C NUM-all
And all the trees were snapped off.

011 *vaik a sema tapaw.*
vaik a em=sa tapaw
leave C AF=go hut
They went back to the house.

012 *tsuatsuay anga pagału matsay a kasiw.*
tsua-tsuay anga pa-gału m-patsay a kasiw
RED-long.time indeed cause-slow AF-die C tree
After quite a long time the trees died;

013 *łamain, sa tjuguti tua lavu nua vaqu.*
łama-en sa tjugut-i tua lavu nua vaqu
burn-PF and sow-PF OBL chaff of millet
she burnt them off, and sowed millet chaff.

014 *tsuatsuay anga pagału, "sa-u, kiqenetji a tja tjinugut," ayain*
tsua-tsuay anga pa-gału sa-u ki-qenetj-i a tja in=tjugut aya-en
RED-long.time indeed cause-slow go-IMP do-see-PF C we(INC) PERF=sow say-PF

azua ałak ni sa Vuluvulung.
a-zua ałak ni sa Vuluvulung
C-that child by H (name)
After quite a long time Vuluvulung said to the child: "Go and look at what we sowed."
[*kiqenetji*: *qenetji* in OA.]

015 *vaik azua ałak a kiqenetj.*
vaik a-zua ałak a ki-qenetj
leave C-that child C do-see
The child went to look,

016 *mangtjez a ałak a nakiqenetj.*
m-pangetjez a ałak a na-ki-qenetj
AF-come C child C PAST-do-see
and came back after looking.

017 *"neka nu anema, vuvu," aya azua kakeḍian.*
neka nu a-nema vuvu aya a-zua ka-keḍi-an
no of ?-what grandparent say C-that RED-small-NOM
"There's nothing, granny," said the child.

018 *"pasaladji; nanguaq nu tsuay anga," aya ti sa*
pa-saladj-i na-nguaq nu tsuay anga aya ti sa
cause-companion-HORT STAT-good when long.time indeed say F.H H

Vuluvulung.
Vuluvulung
(name)
"Come along; it will be all right in time," said Vuluvulung.

019 *tsuatsuay anga a uta pagału, "sa-u, kiqenetji anan," ayain ni*
tsua-tsuay anga a uta pa-gału sa-u ki-qenetj-i anan aya-en ni
RED-long.time indeed C also cause-slow go-IMP do-see-PF still say-PF by

sa Vuluvulung.
sa Vuluvulung
H (name)
After quite a time more the child was told by Vuluvulung: "Go and have another look."

020 *vaik a kakeḍian.*
vaik a ka-keḍi-an
leave C RED-small-NOM
The child went,

021 *qau mangtjez a uta.*
qau m-pangetjez a uta
so AF-come C also
and came back again.

022 *"izuanga, vuvu, a galavagavagaw a keḍikeḍian, vuvu;*
i-zua-anga vuvu a al=gava-gavagaw a keḍi-keḍi-an vuvu
LOC-that-indeed grandparent C QAL=RED-wriggle C RED-small-NOM grandparent

qadjaw ki anema," aya azua kakeḍian.
qadjaw ki a-nema aya a-zua ka-keḍi-an
perhaps how ?-what say C-that RED-small-NOM
"Granny, now there are some small things wriggling about, granny. I don't know what they are," said the child.

023 *"pasaladji; nanguaq nu tsuay anga."*
pa-saladj-i na-nguaq nu tsuay anga
cause-companion-HORT STAT-good when long.time indeed
"Come along; it will be all right in time."

024 *tsuatsuay pagału a uta, "sa-u, kiqenetji anan," ayain ni sa*
tsua-tsuay pa-gału a uta sa-u ki-qenetj-i anan aya-en ni sa
RED-long.time cause-slow C also go-IMP do-see-PF still say-PF by H

Vuluvulung.
Vuluvulung
(name)
After quite a time more the child was told by Vuluvulung: "Go and have another look."

025 *vaik a kakeḍian a kiqenetj; mangtjez.*
vaik a ka-ke÷i-an a ki-qenetj m-pangetjez
leave C RED-small-NOM C do-see AF-come
The child went to look, and came back.

026 *"izuanga, vuvu, a kuḍakuḍalan a pagału; qadjaw ki anema,"*
i-zua-anga vuvu a ku÷a-ku÷al-an a pa-gaîu qadjaw ki a-nema
LOC-that-indeed grandparent C RED-fat-NOM C cause-slow perhaps how ?-what

aya azua kakeḍian.
aya a-zua ka-ke÷i-an
say C-that RED-small-NOM
"Now there are some quite big things, granny. I don't know what they are," said the child.

027 *"pasaladji anan," aya ti sa Vuluvulung.*
pa-saladj-i anan aya ti sa Vuluvulung
cause-companion-HORT still say F.H H (name)
"Come along still (ie. let's leave them)," said Vuluvulung.

028 *tsuatsuay anga pagału a uta, vaiken ni sa Vuluvulung katua*
tsua-tsuay anga pa-gaîu a uta vaik-en ni sa Vuluvulung ka-tua
RED-long.time indeed cause-slow C also leave-PF by H (name) and-OBL

ałak a kiqenetj.
aîak a ki-qenetj
child C do-see
After quite a time more Vuluvulung and the child went to have a look at them.

029 *manu a uta kuḍalan anga, a marka venan, a vavuy, a marka sizi,*
manu a uta ku÷al-an anga a marka venan a vavuy a marka sizi
then C also fat-NOM indeed C PL deer C pig C PL goat

marka takets, aya.
marka takets aya
PL muntjac say
And now they were big things – deer, wild pig, goats and muntjacs, they say.

030 *qau mavan anga nu sika izua nua venan nua vavuy nua sizi*
qau ma-avan anga nu sika i-zua nua venan nua vavuy nua sizi
so STAT-exact indeed of reason LOC-that of deer of pig of goat

nua takets tutsu, aya tjautsikel a masi tsuay.
nua takets tu-tsu aya tjautsikel a masi tsuay
of muntjac OBL-this say story C from long.time
And that's why there are deer, wild pigs, goats and muntjacs now, according to the old story.

Once upon a time there was a person called Vuluvulung (*or* Savuluvulung; *or* Old Granny?). She/he found a boy crawling in the mud. She took the child, washed, clothed and fed it. "A pity if it doesn't grow up," said Vuluvulung. And the child grew up.

Vuluvulung made a single braided cord of hemp twine, and went to the woods, taking the child. "Take hold of the end of the cord," the child was told. So the child took hold of it. Vuluvulung went round the woods, and brought the ends of the cord together to where the child was, and pulled on the cord. And all the trees were snapped off. They went back to the house. After quite a long time the trees died; she burnt them off, and sowed millet chaff.

After quite a long time Vuluvulung said to the child: "Go and look at what we sowed." The child went to look, and came back after looking. "There's nothing, granny," said the child.

"Come along; it will be all right in time," said Vuluvulung. After quite a time more the child was told by Vuluvulung: "Go and have another look. "The child went, and came back again. "Granny, now there are some small things wriggling about, granny. I don't know what they are," said the child.

"Come along; it will be all right in time." After quite a time more the child was told by Vuluvulung: "Go and have another look." The child went to look, and came back. "Now there are some quite big things, granny. I don't know what they are," said the child. "Come along still (i.e. let's leave them)," said Vuluvulung.

After quite a time more Vuluvulung and the child went to have a look at them. And now they were big things – deer, wild pig, goats and muntjacs, they say. And that's why there are deer, wild pigs, goats and muntjacs now, according to the old story.

028 PIGS

ḍiḍi (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p. 201)

001 *ka sitsuayan neka ḍiḍi.*
ka si-tsuay-an neka ḍiḍi
after IF-long.time-NOM no pig
Once upon a time there were no pigs.

002 *qau qepuin a tsuqelał nua vavuy, sa kisenay: "kasan ḍiḍi-u,*
qau qepu-en a tsuqelał nua vavuy sa ki-senay ka-sane ḍiḍi-u
so associate-PF C bone of pig and do-chant become-make pig-IMP

kasan ḍiḍi-u," sa ayain azua tsuqelał.
ka-sane ḍiḍi-u sa aya-en a-zua tsuqelał
become-make pig-IMP and say-PF C-that bone
The bones of wild pigs were collected, and a chant of blessing was sung over the bones:
"Become pigs, become pigs!".

003 *qau masan ḍiḍi.*
qau ma-sane ḍiḍi
so STAT-make pig
And they became pigs.

004 *avan nu sika izua nua ḍiḍi tutsu, aya a tjautsikel a masi tsuay.*
avan nu sika i-zua nua ḍiḍi tu-tsu aya a tjautsikeł a masi tsuay
exact of reason LOC-that of pig OBL-this say C story C from long.time
And that's why there are pigs now, according to the old story.

Once upon a time there were no pigs. The bones of wild pigs were collected, and a chant of blessing was sung over the bones: "Become pigs, become pigs!" And they became pigs. And that's why there are pigs now, according to the old story.

029 LICE

kutsu (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p. 202)

001 *ka sitsuayan neka nu kutsu; sa neka nu sengsengan; saka*
ka si-tsuay-an neka nu kutsu sa neka nu sengseng-an sa-ka
after IF-long.time-NOM no of louse and no of work-NOM and-after

masepeł.
ma-sepeł
STAT-anxious
Once upon a time there were no lice, and no work; so they were bored.

002 *"kemuda itjen sa kaqati a tja sengsengan?" aya a*
em=kuda itjen sa ka-qati a tja sengseng-an aya a
AF=do.what F.we(INC) and become-create C our(INC) work-NOM say C

małavar.
ma-łavar
STAT-speak
"What shall we do to make work for ourselves?" they said to one another.

003 *"tjamanguaq a tji navenli tua kutsu," aya.*
tja-ma-nguaq a tji na-n=veli tua kutsu aya
more-STAT-good C we(INC) PAST-AF=buy OBL louse say
"We would be better off to buy some lice," they said.
[*tji*: proclitic like *tje-* in Egli or class marker for animals?]

004 *venli tua kutsu, aya; sa tjugutan a paka tua qulu.*
n=veli tua kutsu aya sa tjugut-an a pa-ka tua qulu
AF=buy OBL louse say and sow-LF C cause-become OBL head
They bought some lice, they say; and sowed them in their heads.

005 *qau maqati anga a sengsengan.*
qau ma-qati anga a sengseng-an
so STAT-create indeed C work-NOM
So now they had work.

006 *nu masepeł makakutsu anga, ini anga ka masepeł.*
nu ma-sepeł ma-ka-kutsu anga ini anga ka ma-sepeł
when STAT-anxious STAT-RED-louse indeed not indeed after STAT-anxious
Now when they were bored, they would de-louse one another, and they weren't bored any longer.

007 *saka navenli ti Qaquangan, aya a tjautsikel a sitsuayan.*
sa-ka na-n=veli ti Qaquangan aya a tjautsikel a si-tsuay-an
and-after PAST-AF=buy F.H (name) say C story C IF-long.time-NOM
It was the Qaquangan family who bought them, according to the old story.

Once upon a time there were no lice, and no work; so they were bored. "What shall we do to make work for ourselves?" they said to one another. "We would be better off to buy some lice," they said. They bought some lice, they say; and sowed them in their heads. So now they had

work. Now when they were bored, they would de-louse one another, and they weren't bored any longer. It was the Qaquangan family who bought them, according to the old story.

030 ULCERS AND PAIN

pumuqan katua ngilu (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p. 202)

001 *ka sitsuayan neka pumuqan, neka ngilu, neka sengsengan; sa*
ka si-tsuay-an neka pumuqan neka ngilu neka sengseng-an sa
after IF-long.time-NOM no ulcer no pain no work-NOM and

masepeł itjen.
ma-sepeł itjen
STAT-anxious F.we(INC)
Once upon a time there were no ulcers, no pain, no work, and we were bored.

002 *"kemuda itjen sa kaqati a tja sengsengan?" aya a*
em=kuda itjen sa ka-qati a tja sengseng-an aya a
AF=do.what F.we(INC) and become-create C our(INC) work-NOM say C

małavar.
ma-łavar
STAT-speak
"What shall we do to make work for ourselves?" they said to one another.

003 *"tjamanguaq a tji navenli tua ngilu tua pumuqan, sa tja*
tja-ma-nguaq a tji na-n=veli tua ngilu tua pumuqan sa tja
more-STAT-good C we(INC) PAST-AF=buy OBL pain OBL ulcer and we(INC)

tavałan a pitju tja kula.
tavał-an a pi-tju tja kula
upright-LF C put-there our(INC) foot
"We would be better off to buy some pain and ulcers, and plant them in our legs.

004 *nu lemutud kitjen a masusepełan," aya a małavar.*
nu em=lutud ki-itjen a ma-su-sepeł-an aya a ma-łavar
when AF=painful will-F.we(INC) C STAT-remove-anxious-NOM say C STAT-speak
When they are painful, we won't feel bored," they said to one another.

005 *qau venli, sa tavałan a pitju kula, aya.*
qau n=veli sa tavał-an a pi-tju kula aya
so AF=buy and upright-LF C put-there foot say
So they bought them and planted them in their legs, it is said.

006 *avanu sika izua nua pumuqan nua ngilu tutsu.*
avan nu sika i-zua nua pumuqan nua ngilu tu-tsu
exact of reason LOC-that of ulcer of pain OBL-this
That's why there are ulcers and pain now.

007	*saka*	*navenli*	*ti*	*Tsuluɬ*	*kati*	*Taupili,*	*aya*	*a*	*tjautsikel*	*a*	*masi*
	sa-ka	na-n=veli	ti	Tsuluɬ	ka-ti	Taupili	aya	a	tjautsikel	a	masi
	and-after	PAST-AF=buy	F.II	(name)	and-F.H	(name)	say	C	story	C	from

tsuay.
tsuay
long.time
It was the Tsuluɬ and Taupili families that bought them, according to the old story.

Once upon a time there were no ulcers, no pain, no work, and we were bored. "What shall we do to make work for ourselves?" they said to one another. "We would be better off to buy some pain and ulcers, and plant them in our legs. When they are painful, we won't feel bored," they said to one another. So they bought them and planted them in their legs, it is said. That's why there are ulcers and pain now. It was the Tsuluɬ and Taupili families that bought them, according to the old story.

031 ARECA/BETEL TREE

saviki (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p. 203)

001 *ka sitsuayan izua ti sa Tjukutjuku.*
ka si-tsuay-an i-zua ti sa Tjukutjuku
after IF-long.time-NOM LOC-that F.H H (name)
Once upon a time there was a woman called Tjukutjuku.

002 *qau mapu tua ḍipupun katua aluvetjułatan, sa vaik a sema tjatjan.*
qau m-apu tua ḍipupun ka-tua aluvetjułatan sa vaik a em=sa tjatjan
so AF-betel OBL tree.sp and-OBL tree.sp and leave C AF=go spring
She chewed the nuts of the *ḍipupun* and *aluvetjułatan* trees, and went to the spring.

003 *qau sidjilay i tjatjan azua inapuan.*
qau si-djilay i tjatjan a-zua in-apu-an
so IF-spit LOC spring C-that PERF-betel-NOM
She spat into the spring what she had chewed;

004 *qau sa tsemuvuq azua djilay tua saviki.*
qau sa em=tsuvuq a-zua djilay tua saviki
so and AF=sprout C-that spit OBL betel.palm
and the spit sprouted into an areca tree.

005 *qau meqatsa azua saviki, venangał.*
qau me-qatsa a-zua saviki en=vangał
so AF-big C-that betel.palm AF=fruit
The areca tree got bigger and bore fruit;

006 *qau kisavikin anga ni sa Tjukutjuku tu apuin.*
qau ki-saviki-en anga ni sa Tjukutjuku tu apu-en
so do-betel.palm-PF indeed by H (name) COMPL betel-PF
and Tjukutjuku got areca nuts from it to chew.

007 *azua ti sa Tjukutjuku ka vaik a kivala sema zua itjua tapaw*
a-zua ti sa Tjukutjuku ka vaik a ki-vala em=sa zua i-tjua tapaw
C-that F.H H (name) after leave C self-able AF=go that LOC-there hut

nua mareqali, inika pinalimasudj a tapaw.
nua mare-qali ini-ka in=pa-li-masudj a tapaw
of pair-friend not-after PERF=cause-QAL-tidy C hut
When Tjukutjuku went to amuse herself to the house of some men friends, the house had not been tidied.

008 *qau suapan ni sa Tjukutjuku; sa tjangtjangan ta saviki, sa vaik*
qau suap-an ni sa Tjukutjuku sa tjangtjang-an ta saviki sa vaik
so sweep-LF by H (name) and lime.box-NOM OBL betel.palm and leave

a tsemikel a tjumaq.
a em=tsikel a tju-umaq
C AF=return C there-house
Tjukutjuku swept the house, and left some crushed and prepared areca nuts, and went back home.

009 *mangtjez a mareqali.*
m-pangetjez a mare-qali
AF-come C pair-friend
The men friends arrived.

010 *"ɬaqa, tima nasemuap tua tja tapaw?*
îaqa ti-ima na-em=suap tua tja tapaw
hey F-who PAST-AF=sweep OBL our(INC) hut
"What's this? Who has swept our house?

011 *tjamanguaq a tja raungen," aya.*
tja-ma-nguaq a tja raung-en aya
more-STAT-good C we(INC) trap-PF say
It would be better if we laid in wait for them," they said.

012 *qau raungen nua mareqali.*
qau raung-en nua mare-qali
so trap-PF by pair-friend
So the men friends lay in wait.

013 *manu mangtjez azua ti sa Tjukutjuku.*
manu m-pangetjez a-zua ti sa Tjukutjuku
then AF-come C-that F.H H (name)
Then Tjukutjuku came;

014 *qau puvaɬavan anga nua mareqali, aya a tjautsikel.*
qau pu-vaîaw-an anga nua mare-qali aya a tjautsikel
so have-spouse-LF indeed of pair-friend say C story
and she became the wife of (one of?) the men friends, according to the story.

015 *saka mavan nu sika izua nua saviki.*
sa-ka ma-avan nu sika i-zua nua saviki
and-after STAT-exact of reason LOC-that of betel.palm
And that's the reason why there are areca trees now.

Once upon a time there was a woman called Tjukutjuku. She chewed the nuts of the *ḍipupun* and *aluvetjuɬatan* trees, and went to the spring. She spat into the spring what she had chewed; and the spit sprouted into an areca tree. The areca tree got bigger and bore fruit; and Tjukutjuku got areca nuts from it to chew. When Tjukutjuku went to amuse herself to the house of some men friends, the house had not been tidied. Tjukutjuku swept the house, and left some crushed and prepared areca nuts, and went back home. The men friends arrived. "What's this? Who has swept our house? It would be better if we laid in wait for them," they said. So the men friends lay in wait. Then Tjukutjuku came; and she became the wife of (one of ?) the men friends, according to the story. And that's the reason why there are areca trees now.

032 QALAMUDIS AND THE WATER MONSTER

ti sa Qalamudis katua valałuvał (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p. 204)

001 *ka sitsuayan ti sa Qalamudis a Tsuluł navaik a qemałup.*
ka si-tsuay-an ti sa Qalamudis a Tsuluł na-vaik a em=qałup
after IF-long.time-NOM F.H H (name) C (name) PAST-leave C AF=hunt
Once upon a time Qalamudis of the Tsuluł family had been hunting.

002 *manu sekulił, sa kavalut a vuluq.*
manu se-kulił sa ka-valut a vuluq
then INVOL-trip and STAT-jab C spear
He tripped and lost hold of his spear,
[*sekulił*: *sekelił* in OA.]
[*kavalut*: *ma-* often changes to *ka-* after *sa*. In F, *valut* is 'digging stick'.]

003 *manu malengleng a sema tjua vatsał.*
manu ma-lengleng a em=sa tjua vatsał
then STAT-buzz C AF=go there pool
and it slid down into a deep pool.
[*lengleng*: onomatopoeic for buzzing of bee, so here for noise of spear.]

004 *qau inika kełang tu kudain nu malap.*
qau ini-ka kełang tu kuda-en nu m-alap
so not-after know COMPL do.what-PF of AF-take
He didn't know what to do to get it back.

005 *qau ledepen anga a vatsał i Dinualan.*
qau ledep-en anga a vatsał i Dinualan
so descend-PF indeed C pool LOC (place)
So he dived into the pool at Dinualan.

006 *manu lemdep; a i taladj izua qatjuvi a valałuvał.*
manu m=ledep a i taladj i-zua qatjuvi a valałuvał
then AF=descend C LOC inside LOC-that snake C monster
He dived in; and there in the pool was a monster snake.

007 *"inu anga ku vuluq?" ayain ni sa Qalamudis.*
inu anga ku vuluq aya-en ni sa Qalamudis
where indeed my spear say-PF by H (name)
"Where is my spear?" Qalamudis said to it.

008 *"izua ku siniparasudj tua tjułung; alapu," aya a valałuvał,*
i-zua ku in=si-pa-rasudj tua tjułung alap-u aya a valałuvał
LOC-that I PERF=IF-cause-align OBL bamboo.tube take-IMP say C monster

qau alapen.
qau alap-en
so take-PF
"I lined it up there with the bamboo tube; take it," said the monster. So he took it.
[*siniparasudj*: *sinipalasudj* in OA.]

009 *małavar* *tiamadju:* *"parepaqali-i;* *vava-i* *sa* *tja*
ma-łavar ti-a-madju pare-pa-qali-i vava-i sa tja
STAT-speak F-PL-3RD.PERS pair-cause-friend-HORT alcohol-HORT and we(INC)

kinvava," *aya* *a* *małavar.*
ken-vava aya a ma-łavar
consume-alcohol say C STAT-speak
They said to one another: "Let's become friends. Let's make beer and drink it," they said to one another.

010 *qau* *mirava* *ti* *sa* *Qalamudis,* *kemułup,* *kematsing,* *qemezetj* *tua*
qau mi-rava ti sa Qalamudis em=kułup em=katsing em=qezetj tua
so AF-prepare F.H H (name) AF=jacket AF=leggings AF=press OBL

pinułayłayan; *sa* *vaik* *a* *łetaladj* *tua* *załum* *a*
in=pu-łayłay-an sa vaik a łe-taladj tua załum a
PERF=have-eagle.feather-NOM and leave C go.to-inside OBL water C

kinvava.
ken-vava
consume-alcohol
Qalamudis got ready; he put on a sleeveless jacket and leggings, and pressed on his head an eagle-feather decoration; and he went into the water for a drinking party.

011 *qau* *mapulaw* *anga* *ti* *sa* *Qalamudis;* *sema* *katsauan.*
qau ma-pulaw anga ti sa Qalamudis em=sa ka-tsau-an
so STAT-drunk indeed F.H H (name) AF=go main-being-NOM
Qalamudis got drunk. As he came out
[*katsauan*: 'the world', so here refers to coming from the water back to land.]

012 *"pangtjezu* *anga* *i* *tjanuaken* *nu* *tsuatsuay* *anga,"* *ayain* *ni* *sa*
pangetjez-u anga i tjanu-aken nu tsua-tsuay anga aya-en ni sa
come-IMP indeed LOC OBL-I when RED-long.time indeed say-PF by H

Qalamudis.
Qalamudis
(name)
he said: "After a time you come to my place," he said to the monster.

013 *qau* *mangtjez* *a* *valałuvał* *i* *tjai* *Tsułuł* *a* *kinvava.*
qau m-pangetjez a valałuvał i tja-i Tsułuł a ken-vava
so AF-come C monster LOC more-LOC (name) C consume-alcohol
So the monster came to the Tsułuł house for a drinking party.

014 *sa* *mapulaw* *anga* *azua* *valałuvał;* *vaik* *anga* *tsemikel.*
sa ma-pulaw anga a-zua valałuvał vaik anga em=tsikel
and STAT-drunk indeed C-that monster leave indeed AF=return
The monster got drunk, and then went back.

015 *maruquruqu* *i* *djalan,* *aya.*
ma-ruqu-ruqu i djalan aya
STAT-RED-roll LOC road say
It rolled about in the path, they say.

016	*sa*	*azazua*	*qali*	*ni*	*sa*	*Qalamudis,*	*nu*	*kiqenetj*	*a*	*qaliqali,*	*qatjuvi;*
	sa	a-za-zua	qali	ni	sa	Qalamudis	nu	ki-qenetj	a	qali-qali	qatjuvi
	and	C-RED-that	friend	of	H	(name)	when	do-see	C	RED-friend	snake

łakua	*nu*	*kiqenetj*	*ti*	*sa*	*Qalamudis,*	*tsautsau,*	*aya*	*a*	*tjautsikel.*
łakua	nu	ki-qenetj	ti	sa	Qalamudis	tsau-tsau	aya	a	tjautsikel
but	when	do-see	F.H	H	(name)	RED-being	say	C	story

Now that friend of Qalamudis, when others looked at it, it was a snake; but when Qalamudis looked at it, it was human, according to the story.

Once upon a time Qalamudis of the Tsułu family had been hunting. He tripped and lost hold of his spear, and it slid down into a deep pool. He didn't know what to do to get it back. So he dived into the pool at Dinualan. He dived in; and there in the pool was a monster snake. "Where is my spear?" Qalamudis said to it.

"I lined it up there with the bamboo tube; take it," said the monster. So he took it. They said to one another: "Let's become friends. Let's make beer and drink it," they said to one another. Qalamudis got ready; he put on a sleeveless jacket and leggings, and pressed on his head an eagle-feather decoration; and he went into the water for a drinking party.

Qalamudis got drunk. As he came out he said: "After a time you come to my place," he said to the monster. So the monster came to the Tsułu house for a drinking party. The monster got drunk, and then went back. It rolled about in the path, they say. Now that friend of Qalamudis, when others looked at it, it was a snake; but when Qalamudis looked at it, it was human, according to the story.

033 WHERE THE DOG SETTLED

kadjułean nua vatu (Tjakuvukuvuł village, p. 206)

001 *ka sitsuayan ka mangtjengtjez qemiladj i Siniłizaw a*
ka si-tsuay-an ka ma-ngetje-ngetjez em=qiladj i Siniłizaw a
after IF-long.time-NOM after STAT-RED-come AF=sit LOC (place) C

salasaladj ni Salakats: ti Qaquangan ti Pałaiłai ti Tequng ti
sala-saladj ni Salakats ti Qaquangan ti Pałaiłai ti Tequng ti
RED-companion of (name) F.H (name) F.H (name) F.H (name) F.H

Qavulung ti Vałuan ti Taupili.
Qavulung ti Vałuan ti Taupili
(name) F.H (name) F.H (name)
Once upon a time the companions of Salakats came together and sat down at Siniłizaw: (the family heads of) Qaquangan, Pałaiłai, Tequng, Qavulung, Vałuan and Taupili.

002 *"kitjen a imazanga i Siniłizaw," aya a varung niamadju.*
ki-itjen a i-maza-anga i Siniłizaw aya a varung ni-a-madju
will-F.we(INC) C LOC-here-indeed LOC (place) say C chest of-PL-3RD.PERS
"We'll stay here at Siniłizaw," they thought.

003 *manu izua vatu vuqavuqał.*
manu i-zua vatu vuqa-vuqał
then LOC-that dog RED-white
But there was a white dog.

004 *qau qemengal azua vatu; inika djułe i Siniłizaw.*
qau em=qengal a-zua vatu ini-ka djułe i Siniłizaw
so AF=howl C-that dog not-after settle LOC (place)
This dog howled and wouldn't settle down at Siniłizaw.

005 *"tjamanguaq a tji navaik, aya a varung nua vatu.*
tja-ma-nguaq a tji na-vaik aya a varung nua vatu
more-STAT-good C we(INC) PAST-leave say C chest of dog
"The dog thinks we would do better to leave here.

006 *masa inika djułe a vatu," aya.*
ma-sa ini-ka djułe a vatu aya
STAT-maybe not-after settle C dog say
It seems the dog won't settle down," they said.

007 *qau mirava tua nanemanemanga mapułat; sa vaik.*
qau mi-rava tua na-nema-nema-anga ma-pułat sa vaik
so AF-prepare OBL PAST-RED-what-indeed NUM-all and leave
So they all got everything ready, and left.

008 *semekez i Tjanumaq a vatu.*
em=sekez i Tjanumaq a vatu
AF=rest LOC (place) C dog
The dog rested at Tjanumaq.

009 *"masa uri a imaza itjen, a semekez a vatu," aya.*
ma-sa uri a i-maza itjen a em=sekez a vatu aya
STAT-maybe will C LOC-here F.we(INC) C AF=rest C dog say
"It seems we'll stay here; the dog is resting," they said.

010 *qau vaik a uta a vatu.*
qau vaik a uta a vatu
so leave C also C dog
But the dog went on again,

011 *qau semekez itjua Ḍaqaḍaqa.*
qau em=sekez i-tjua Ḍaqaḍaqa
so AF=rest LOC-there (place)
and then rested at Ḍaqaḍaqa.

012 *qau semekez a tsautsau.*
qau em=sekez a tsau-tsau
so AF=rest C RED-being
The people rested too.

013 *"masa uri a imaza itjen," aya.*
ma-sa uri a i-maza itjen aya
STAT-maybe will C LOC-here F.we(INC) say
"It seems we'll stay here," they said.

014 *qau vaik a uta a vatu, tjału zua i tja tapaw tutsu.*
qau vaik a uta a vatu tjału zua i tja tapaw tu-tsu
so leave C also C dog reach that LOC our(INC) hut OBL-this
But the dog went on again, and reached where our houses are now.

015 *kemali tua qipu a vatu sa qazaw.*
em=kali tua qipu a vatu sa qazaw
AF=dig OBL soil C dog and lie.down
The dog dug in the ground and lay down.

016 *"masa uri a imazanga a kadjułean nua vatu, a qemazaw*
ma-sa uri a i-maza-anga a ka-djułe-an nua vatu a em=qazaw
STAT-maybe will C LOC-here-indeed C ?-settle-NOM by dog C AF=lie.down

imaza.
i-maza
LOC-here
"It seems that this will be where the dog will settle down at last, as it's lying down here.

017 *tja manguaq a tji naseman tapaw," aya małavar.*
tja ma-nguaq a tji na-em=sane tapaw aya ma-łavar
more STAT-good C we(INC) PAST-AF=make hut say STAT-speak
We would do better to build houses," they said to one another.

018 *qau seman tapaw a mapułat.*
qau em=sane tapaw a ma-pułat
so AF=make hut C NUM-all
So they all built houses.

019 *sa azazua vatu ini anga ka garavagaw.*
sa a-za-zua vatu ini anga ka ar=gavagaw
and C-RED-that dog not indeed after QAL=wriggle
And that dog didn't move any more.
[*garavagaw*: note *garagav* in F92.]

020 *saka tsuay anga masan talau anga, aya a tjautsikel a masi*
sa-ka tsuay anga ma-sane talau anga aya a tjautsikel a masi
and-after long.time indeed STAT-make crystal indeed say C story C from
tsuay.
tsuay
long.time
And after a time it turned into crystal, according to the old story.

Once upon a time the companions of Salakats came together and sat down at Siniɬizaw: (the family heads of) Qaquangan, Paɬaiɬai, Tequng, Qavulung, Vaɬuan and Taupili. "We'll stay here at Siniɬizaw," they thought.

But there was a white dog. This dog howled and wouldn't settle down at Siniɬizaw. "The dog thinks we would do better to leave here. It seems the dog won't settle down," they said. So they all got everything ready, and left. The dog rested at Tjanumaq. "It seems we'll stay here; the dog is resting," they said.

But the dog went on again, and then rested at Ḍaqaḍaqa. The people rested too. "It seems we'll stay here," they said.

But the dog went on again, and reached where our houses are now. The dog dug in the ground and lay down. "It seems that this will be where the dog will settle down at last, as it's lying down here. We would do better to build houses," they said to one another. So they all built houses. And that dog didn't move any more. And after a time it turned into crystal, according to the old story.

034 SAPAYAS AND THE QAVULUNG FAMILY

ti Sapayas katua ɬa Qavulung (Tjakuvukuvuɬ village, p. 207)

001 *ka sitsuayan izua ti Sapayas; vaik a sema Velikiɬ.*
ka si-tsuay-an i-zua ti Sapayas vaik a em=sa Velikiɬ
after IF-long.time-NOM LOC-that F.H (name) leave C AF=go (place)
Once upon a time someone called Sapayas went to Velikiɬ.

002 *qau metsevung katua ɬa Qavulung.*
qau me-tsevung ka-tua ɬa Qavulung
so AF-meet and-OBL class (name)
He met people of the Qavulung family,

003 *qau maɬavar tua kadjunangan i Velikiɬ.*
qau ma-ɬavar tua ka-djunang-an i Velikiɬ
so STAT-speak OBL main-earth-NOM LOC (place)
and they discussed the land at Velikiɬ.

004 *"muri a niaken tsu a kadjunangan," aya ti Sapayas.*
ma-uri a ni-aken tsu a ka-djunang-an aya ti Sapayas
STAT-will C of-I this C main-earth-NOM say F.H (name)
"This land will be mine," said Sapayas.

005 *manu "a niamen tsu a kadjunangan," aya marivu tiamadju.*
manu a ni-amen tsu a ka-djunang-an aya ma-rivu ti-a-madju
then C of-F.we(EXC) this C main-earth-NOM say STAT-quarrel F-PL-3RD.PERS
But they disagreed; "This land is ours," they said.

006 *"metsevung anga a maɬavar nu tjaiviliɬ," aya, sa vaik a*
me-tsevung anga a ma-ɬavar nu tja-i-viliɬ aya sa vaik a
AF-meet indeed C STAT-speak when more-LOC-behind say and leave C

mavaday.
ma-vaday
STAT-separate
"We'll meet to discuss it later," they said, and went their separate ways.

007 *tsuatsuay anga pagaɬu, qau metsevung sema zua i Pinaqaquɬatan.*
tsua-tsuay anga pa-gaɬu qau me-tsevung em=sa zua i Pinaqaquɬatan
RED-long.time indeed cause-slow so AF-meet AF=go that LOC (place)
After quite a little time they met at Pinaqaquɬatan.

008 *matsidiɬ ti Sapayas; a se Vulavulat izua maputat.*
ma-tsidiɬ ti Sapayas a se Vulavulat i-zua ma-puɬat
STAT-alone F.H (name) C person.of (place) LOC-that NUM-all
Sapayas was on his own, but all the Vulavulat people were there.

009 *"kaɬavari tua kadjunangan," aya ti Sapayas.*
ka-ɬavar-i tua ka-djunang-an aya ti Sapayas
become-speak-HORT OBL main-earth-NOM say F.H (name)
"Let's discuss the land," said Sapayas.

010 *qau "idu, paqaqetsi-i," aya ła Qavulung.*
qau id-u pa-qa-qetsi-i aya ła Qavulung
so come-IMP cause-RED-fight-HORT say class (name)
But the Qavulung family said, "Come on, let's fight!"

011 *qau panaqen ti Sapayas.*
qau panaq-en ti Sapayas
so arrow-PF F.H (name)
Sapayas was shot at.

012 *"maya penanaq.*
maya en=panaq
don't AF=arrow
"Don't shoot!

013 *kałavari," aya ti Sapayas.*
ka-łavar-i aya ti Sapayas
become-speak-HORT say F.H (name)
Let's talk," said Sapayas.

014 *ini langeda; kamayan a panaq.*
ini langeda ka-ma-aya-an a panaq
not hear become-STAT-be.thus-LF C arrow
They didn't listen, and kept on shooting.

015 *a nu panaqen, ipuq ti Sapayas; ini kadjameq.*
a nu panaq-en ipuq ti Sapayas ini ka-djameq
C when arrow-PF fall F.H (name) not STAT-catch
When he was shot at, Sapayas lay down, and wasn't hit.

016 *qau "maya penanaq.*
qau maya en=panaq
so don't AF=arrow
"Don't shoot!

017 *kałavari," aya ti Sapayas.*
ka-łavar-i aya ti Sapayas
become-speak-HORT say F.H (name)
Let's talk," said Sapayas.

018 *ini langeda ła Qavulung; kamayan a panaq.*
ini langeda ła Qavulung ka-ma-aya-an a panaq
not hear class (name) become-STAT-be.thus-LF C arrow
The Qavulung family didn't listen, and kept on shooting.

019 *"nu qemaḍiw mun, gału anan ḍi.*
nu em=qaḍiw mun gału anan ḍi
when AF=rival F.you(P) slow still oh
"If you challenge me, just wait a bit.

020 *temałiw anan aken tua ku tseqełap," aya ti Sapayas.*
em=tałiw anan aken tua ku tseqełap aya ti Sapayas
AF=whet.stone still F.I OBL my knife say F.H (name)
I'll just sharpen my sword," said Sapayas.

021 *temałiw azazua ti Sapayas.*
em=tałiw a-za-zua ti Sapayas
AF=whet.stone C-RED-that F.H (name)
Sapayas sharpened it;

022 *pesapuy sepulingelingetj tua kazatjan.*
pe-sapuy se-pu-linge-lingetj tua ka-zatja-an
emerge-fire INVOL-have-RED-entire OBL main-level-NOM
and fire burst out all over the level land.

023 *malipat i Rił urił uan a sapuy.*
ma-lipat i Rił urił uan a sapuy
STAT-disappear LOC (place) C fire
The fire reached Rił urił uan.

024 *"ua, ini.*
ua ini
hey not
"Hey, no!

025 *nakuya tsu.*
na-kuya tsu
STAT-bad this
This is no good.

026 *ini tja ka muri temezeng.*
ini tja ka ma-uri em=tezeng
not we(INC) after STAT-will AF=tolerate
We won't be able to stand this.

027 *tja kaviladay," aya ła Qavulung, sa kavilad.*
tja ka-vilad-ay aya ła Qavulung sa ka-vilad
we(INC) STAT-flee-will say class (name) and STAT-flee
We'll run away," said the Qavulung family, and they ran away.

028 *qau "tjczuanga.*
qau tje-zua-anga
so do.at-that-indeed
"That's enough.

029 *nia sisaluan anga a kadjunangan," ayain ni Qavulung ti*
nia si-salu-an anga a ka-djunang-an aya-en ni Qavulung ti
we(EXC) IF-believe-LF indeed C main-earth-NOM say-PF by (name) F.H

Sapayas.
Sapayas
(name)
We concede the land," said Qavulung to Sapayas.

030 *qau pautez anga.*
qau pautez anga
so utmost indeed
So that was the end (*or* So he was victorious).

031 *saka ni Sapayas a kadjunangan tutsu azazua i Velikił, aya*
sa-ka ni Sapayas a ka-djunang-an tu-tsu a-za-zua i Velikił aya
and-after of (name) C main-earth-NOM OBL-this C-RED-that LOC (place) say

a tjautsikel.
a tjautsikel
C story
And the land at Velikił belongs to Sapayas now, according to the story.

Once upon a time someone called Sapayas went to Velikił. He met people of the Qavulung family, and they discussed the land at Velikił. "This land will be mine," said Sapayas. But they disagreed; "This land is ours," they said. "We'll meet to discuss it later," they said, and went their separate ways.

After quite a little time they met at Pinaqaquɬatan. Sapayas was on his own, but all the Vulavulat people were there. "Let's discuss the land," said Sapayas. But the Qavulung family said, "Come on, let's fight!" Sapayas was shot at. "Don't shoot! Let's talk," said Sapayas. They didn't listen, and kept on shooting.

When he was shot at, Sapayas lay down, and wasn't hit. "Don't shoot! Let's talk," said Sapayas. The Qavulung family didn't listen, and kept on shooting. "If you challenge me, just wait a bit. I'll just sharpen my sword," said Sapayas. Sapayas sharpened it; and fire burst out all over the level land. The fire reached Riɬuriɬuan. "Hey, no! This is no good. We won't be able to stand this. We'll run away," said the Qavulung family, and they ran away. "That's enough. We concede the land," said Qavulung to Sapayas.

So that was the end (*or* So he was victorious). And the land at Velikił belongs to Sapayas now, according to the story.

035 THE PEOPLE OF TJAUVALIVALI

se Tjauvalivali (Łaleklek village, p. 209)

001 *azua se Tjauvalivali a vavayavayan sakamaya, neka nu uqałay.*
a-zua se Tjauvalivali a vaya=vavayan sakamaya neka nu uqałay
C-that person.of (place) C RED=female only no of male
The people of Tjauvalivali were only females, no male.

002 *saka "sałinga tu puałak itjen," aya.*
sa-ka sa-łinga tu pu-ałak itjen aya
and-after QAL-desire OBL have-child F.we(INC) say
They said: "We want to have children."
[*sałinga*: *salinga* in OA.]

003 *sa sema gadu tjemugułudj a pavalivali.*
sa em=sa gadu em=tjugułudj a pa-vali-vali
and AF=go mountain AF=bend.over C cause-RED-wind
And they went to the mountain and bent down (?) and let the wind blow on them.
[*tjemugułudj*: F has *tj/m/ugełuł*. Variants, or mistranscription in OA?]

004 *saka mavunglay, sa puałak.*
sa-ka ma-vungelay sa pu-ałak
and-after STAT-pregnant and have-child
They became pregnant and had children.

005 *manu vavayan sakamaya, saka mapiłay sakamaya; inika venala.*
manu vavayan sakamaya sa-ka ma-piłay sakamaya ini-ka en=vala
then female only and-after STAT-crippled only not-after AF=able
But they were all female; and they were all crippled, not strong.

006 *manu mumał a sema gadu a tjemugułudj.*
manu ma-uma-ł a em=sa gadu a em=tjugułudj
then STAT-other-times C AF=go mountain C AF=bend.over
So they went to the mountain again and bent over.
[*tjemugułudj*: *tjemagułudj* in OA.]

007 *saka izua a qemałuqałup se Tjauzayazaya.*
sa-ka i-zua a em=qału-qałup se Tjauzayazaya
and-after LOC-that C AF=RED-hunt person.of (place)
And there was a man of Tjauzayazaya out hunting.

008 *saka łevavaw tua kasiw a łemizaw.*
sa-ka łe-va-vaw tua kasiw a em=łizaw
and-after go.to-RED-above OBL tree C AF=look
He climbed a tree to have a look,

009 *manu izua a vavayavayan a natjemugułudj.*
manu i-zua a vaya=vavayan a na-em=tjugułudj
then LOC-that C RED=female C PAST-AF=bend.over
and there were the women bending over.

010 *saka ɬemengɬeng azua uqaɬay.*
sa-ka em=ɬeng-ɬeng a-zua uqaɬay
and-after AF=RED-look.at C-that male
The man had a look,

011 *"aku izua vavayan a namaitazua?" aya.*
aku i-zua vavayan a na-ma-aya-ta-zua aya
why LOC-that female C PAST-STAT-be.thus-?-that say
and said: "Why are the women doing that?"
[ocurrence of singular unreduplicated *vavayan* here unexplained.]

012 *saka paɬiɬi.*
sa-ka pa-ɬiɬi
and-after cause-visit
He went over to them.

013 *manu tjenglay tua uqaɬay azua vavayavayan; saka djemadjas saka*
manu tjenglay tua uqaɬay a-zua vaya=vavayan sa-ka em=djadjas sa-ka
then like OBL male C-that RED=female and-after AF=grab and-after

puzekatj.
pu-zekatj
have-share
The women liked the man, and got hold of him and had intercourse (?).

014 *sa puaɬak tua uqaɬay.*
sa pu-aɬak tua uqaɬa
and have-child OBL male
And they bore male children.

015 *saka mirazek a kitjuqinaɬan, aya a tjautsikel.*
sa-ka mi-razek a ki-tju-in=qaɬa-an aya a tjautsikel
and-after AF-plentiful C do-apart-PERF=outsider-NOM say C story
And so they flourished as a separate village, according to the story.

The people of Tjauvalivali were only females, no male. They said: "We want to have children." And they went to the mountain and bent down (?) and let the wind blow on them. They became pregnant and had children. But they were all female; and they were all crippled, not strong. So they went to the mountain again and bent over. And there was a man of Tjauzayazaya out hunting. He climbed a tree to have a look, and there were the women bending over. The man had a look, and said: "Why are the women doing that?" He went over to them. The women liked the man, and got hold of him and had intercourse (?). And they bore male children. And so they flourished as a separate village, according to the story.

036 DOGS

vatu (Łaleklek village, p. 210)

001 *izua azua vatu a nakitjuqizing, aya a tjautsikel.*
i-zua a-zua vatu a na-ki-tju-qizing aya a tjautsikel
LOC-that C-that dog C PAST-do-apart-usurp say C story
There were some dogs which had belonged to Qizing village (OA; *or* which had been usurped), according to the story.
[*nakitjuqizing*: OA have 'belonged to Qizing vilage'; alternative 'which had been usurped' is based on F *qizing* 'usurp, encroach'.]

002 *izua i Palił aliław a vatu.*
i-zua i Palił aliław a vatu
LOC-that LOC (place) C dog
There were dogs in the Lower Paiwan area.

003 *saka nu qemałup, nu qaqatsaqatsaan a vavuy a venan a takets,*
sa-ka nu em=qałup nu qa-qatsa-qatsa-an a vavuy a venan a takets
and-after when AF=hunt of RED-RED-big-NOM C pig C deer C muntjac

lingełen nua vatu a pasa dudut tua qinałan; sa
lingeł-en nua vatu a pa-sa du-dut tua in=qała-an sa
surround-PF by dog C cause-go RED-approach OBL PERF=outsider-NOM and

djadjasi sa kani a mapułat.
djadjas-i sa kan-i a ma-pułat
grab-PF and eat-PF C NUM-all
When there was hunting, the big wild pigs, deer and muntjacs were surrounded and driven by the dogs to near the village, and were all caught and eaten.

004 *azua nu kasi tsadja, inika makakatsu tu qaqatsaqatsaan.*
a-zua nu kasi tsadja ini-ka maka-katsu tu qa-qatsa-qatsa-an
C-that when from far not-after finished-carry OBL RED-RED-big-NOM
When they came from a distance, they couldn't carry the big ones;

005 *avan nu sika lemingeł a pasa dudut tua tapaw.*
avan nu sika em=lingeł a pa-sa du-dut tua tapaw
exact of reason AF=surround C cause-go RED-approach OBL hut
that's why they drove them to near the houses.

006 *avan a kakeḍikeḍian a tangpatsen a sema tapaw, sa kani a*
avan a ka-keḍi-keḍi-an a tangepats-en a em=sa tapaw sa kan-i a
exact C RED-RED-small-NOM C hold.in.mouth-PF C AF=go hut and eat-PF C

mapułat.
ma-pułat
NUM-all
The little ones were carried in the mouth to the houses, and were all eaten.

007 *manu sema pairang a tsautsau a maḍusa mareqali.*
manu em=sa pairang a tsau-tsau a ma-ḍusa mare-qali
then AF=go plains C RED-being C NUM-two pair-friend
Two men friends went down to the plains.

008 *manu djumaken nazua vatu, sa katsi, sa patsay azua tsautsau a*
manu djumak-en nua-zua vatu sa kats-i sa patsay a-zua tsau-tsau a
then find-PF by-that dog and bite-PF and die C-that RED-being C

maḍusa.
ma-ḍusa
NUM-two
Some dogs found them and bit them, and both men died.

009 *"aku izua zazua vatu? saɬinga aravats," aya a tsautsau.*
aku i-zua za-zua vatu sa-ɬinga a-ravats aya a tsau-tsau
why LOC-that RED-that dog QAL-desire C-true say C RED-being
People said: "Why are there dogs like that? We would very much like some."

010 *saka kemats azua.*
sa-ka em=kats a-zua
and-after AF=bite C-that
But they bit.

011 *manu "tja kudain anga," aya.*
manu tja kuda-en anga aya
then we(INC) do.what-PF indeed say
So they said: "What shall we do?"

012 *saka qemavay, sa paluvluvi tua quvaɬ.*
sa-ka em=qavay sa pa-luvluv-i tua quvaɬ
and-after AF=dumpling and cause-mix-PF OBL hair
They made dumplings, and mixed hair in with them.

013 *saka keman a vatu, sa katsingas a aɬis nua vatu.*
sa-ka em=kan a vatu sa ka-tsingas a aɬis nua vatu
and-after AF=eat C dog and STAT-wedged C tooth of dog
And when the dogs ate them, their teeth were all stuck up.
[*sa katsingas*: *saka tsingas* in OA.]

014 *sa djekepi nua tsautsau a kuku a ḍusa, a uqaɬay a ita, a vavayan*
sa djekep-i nua tsau-tsau a kuku a ḍusa a uqaɬay a ita a vavayan
and catch-PF by RED-being C pet C two C male C one C female

a ita; sa vaikan anga a sema a paqaluqalu.
a ita sa vaik-an anga a em=sa a pa-qalu-qalu
C one and leave-LF indeed C AF=go C cause-RED-sorghum
So the people took two puppies, one male and one female; and they took them off to the East Paiwan area.
[*paqaluqalu*: F has 'East-coast Paiwan'.]

015	*sa*	*puałak*	*anga,*	*sa*	*puvatu*	*anga*	*a*	*tsautsau,*	*aya*	*a*	*tjautsikel.*
	sa	pu-ałak	anga	sa	pu-vatu	anga	a	tsau-tsau	aya	a	tjautsikel
	and	have-child	indeed	and	have-dog	indeed	C	RED-being	say	C	story

The dogs had puppies, and so people got dogs, according to the story.

There were some dogs which had belonged to Qizing village (OA; *or* which had been usurped), according to the story. There were dogs in the Lower Paiwan area. When there was hunting, the big wild pigs, deer and muntjacs were surrounded and driven by the dogs to near the village, and were all caught and eaten. When they came from a distance, they couldn't carry the big ones; that's why they drove them to near the houses. The little ones were carried in the mouth to the houses, and were all eaten.

Two men friends went down to the plains. Some dogs found them and bit them, and both men died. People said: "Why are there dogs like that? We would very much like some." But they bit. So they said: "What shall we do?" They made dumplings, and mixed hair in with them. And when the dogs ate them, their teeth were all stuck up. So the people took two puppies, one male and one female; and they took them off to the East Paiwan area. The dogs had puppies, and so people got dogs, according to the story.

037 MUNTJAC

takets (Łaleklek village, p. 211)

001 *aitsu* *a* *venan* *kemasi* *Lunguan* *i* *łavek* *a* *mangtjez,* *aya* *a*
aya-i-tsu a venan em=kasi Lunguan i łavek a m-pangetjez aya a
be.thus-LOC-this C deer AF=from (place) LOC sea C AF-come say C

tjautsikel.
tjautsikel
story
Deer came from Lunguan by the sea, according to the story.

002 *saka* *ka* *patagił* *a* *kemasi* *i* *łavek,* *inika* *tja*
sa-ka ka pa-tagił a em=kasi i łavek ini-ka tja
and-after after cause-originate C AF=from LOC sea not-after we(INC)

sunasian.
su-nasi-an
remove-breath-LF
When they began to come from the sea, we didn't kill them.

003 *azua* *mamaw* *tua* *udjudju* *anan;* *saka* *inika* *tjen* *a* *djemameq*
a-zua m-amaw tua udjudju anan sa-ka ini-ka tjua-en a em=djameq
C-that AF-same OBL sprout still and-after not-after there-PF C AF=catch

nu *kemuang* *itjen.*
nu em=kuang itjen
when AF=firearm F.we(INC)
They were still like soft sprouts(?); and we didn't catch them when we were shooting.
[*udjudju*: = RED-*udju*? 'sprout' is referring to their horns?]

004 *azua* *ini* *anan* *a* *san* *satsemeli.*
a-zua ini anan a sane satsemel-i
C-that not still C make wild.game-PF
We didn't then consider them as wild game.
[*satsemeli*: *tsemel* is 'plants', so this could be *sa-tsemeli* 'ones that eat grass'?]

005 *nu* *tsuatsuay* *anga* *saka* *namasan* *venan* *anga,* *sa*
nu tsua-tsuay anga sa-ka na-ma-sane venan anga sa
when RED-long.time indeed and-after PAST-STAT-make deer indeed and

puquvał *anga,* *sa* *putsuqarułqułan* *anga,* *tsałeqił* *anga* *a* *kula,*
pu-quvał anga sa pu-tsu-ar=qułquł-an anga tsałeqił anga a kula
have-hair indeed and have-?-QAL=hoof-NOM indeed hard indeed C foot

vaik *anga* *sema* *gadu* *a* *djemavats.*
vaik anga em=sa gadu a em=djavats
leave indeed AF=go mountain C AF=walk
After a long time when they had become deer, with hair and hooves and hard feet, they walked up to the mountains.

006 *avan anga zazua tja qałupen anga, sa tja kuangi anga.*
avan anga zua-zua tja qałup-en anga sa tja kuang-i anga
exact indeed RED-that we(INC) hunt-PF indeed and we(INC) firearm-PF indeed
After that we hunted them and shot them.

007 *avan anga zazua patagił a malap itjen tua venan.*
avan anga zua-zua pa-tagił a m-alap itjen tua venan
exact indeed RED-that cause-originate C AF-take F.we(INC) OBL deer
It was then we began to take deer;

008 *saka malap anga tua zua venan a vetsivetsikan.*
sa-ka m-alap anga tua zua venan a vetsi-vetsik-an
and-after AF-take indeed OBL that deer C RED-mark-NOM
and we took the spotted deer.

009 *saka nu uqałay malualu a tequng; saka nu vavayan inika*
sa-ka nu uqałay ma-alu-alu a tequng sa-ka nu vavayan ini-ka
and-after of male STAT-RED-eight C horn and-after of female not-after

putequng.
pu-tequng
have-horn
The males had 8-point antlers, and the females had no antlers.

010 *sa liaw anga, sa vaik anga djaravats a penulingelingetj tua*
sa liaw anga sa vaik anga ar=djavats a in=pu-linge-lingetj tua
and many indeed and leave indeed randomly=walk C PERF=have-RED-entire OBL

kadjunangan.
ka-djunang-an
main-earth-NOM
Their number increased, and they roamed all over the land.

011 *manu metsevung tua zua takets.*
manu me-tsevung tua zua takets
then AF-meet OBL that muntjac
A deer met a muntjac.

012 *"kasinu sun a djaravaravats?" aya azua takets.*
kasi-inu sun a ar=ar=va=djavats aya a-zua takets
from-where you(S) C randomly=randomly=RED=walk say C-that muntjac
"Where have you come from roaming about?" said the muntjac.

013 *"imaza ken angata a djaravaravats."*
i-maza aken anga-ta a ar=ar=va=djavats
LOC-here F.I indeed-? C randomly=randomly=RED=walk
"I roam all round here."

014 *"aku izua zazua namaitazua? aku putequng tua liaw?*
aku i-zua zua-zua na-ma-aya-ta-zua aku pu-tequng tua liaw
why LOC-that RED-that PAST-STAT-be.thus-?-that why have-horn OBL many

aku vetsivetsikan?" aya zazua takets.
aku vetsi-vetsik-an aya zua-zua takets
why RED-mark-NOM say RED-that muntjac
"Why is he like that, with lots of horns and spots?" said the muntjac.

015 *vaik a sema tju Kavulungan.*
vaik a em=sa tju Kavulungan
leave C AF=go there (place)
And it went to Kavulungan mountain.

016 *saka izua zazua venan a nakemizing izua i tju*
sa-ka i-zua zua-zua venan a na-em=kizing i-zua i tju
and-after LOC-that RED-that deer C PAST-AF=spoon LOC-that LOC there

Kavulungan.
Kavulungan
(place)
On Kavulungan there was the ancestor (? OA) of the deer.
[*nakemizing*: 'ancestor' in OA but F only has *qizing* 'usurp', so = *naqemizing* 'predator'?]

017 *saka "izua zazua ku sinitsevungan, sałinga tua tjalupung nua*
sa-ka i-zua zua-zua ku in=si-tsevung-an sa-łinga tua tjalupung nua
and-after LOC-that RED-that I PERF=IF-meet-NOM QAL-desire OBL hat of

venan azua mareunem.
venan a-zua mare-unem
deer C-that pair-six
"I've met someone who wants a 6-pointer deer's hat.
[*mareunem*: glossed as 'water-deer' in OA.]

018 *vaik aken a tjeqała," aya azua takets.*
vaik aken a tje-qała aya a-zua takets
leave F.I C do.at-outsider say C-that muntjac
I'm off on a journey," said the muntjac.

019 *sa tjalupungan a tjalupung nua mareunem, sa vaik azua a tjeqała*
sa tjalupung-an a tjalupung nua mare-unem sa vaik a-zua a tje-qała
and hat-LF C hat of pair-six and leave C-that C do.at-outsider

a sema zua tua venan malualu.
a em=sa zua tua venan ma-alu-alu
C AF=go that OBL deer STAT-RED-eight
He put on the 6-pointer's hat, and went on a journey to the 8-pointer deer.

020 *manu małavar azua: "aku liaw a su tequng? kẹdi a niaken," aya*
manu ma-łavar a-zua aku liaw a su tequng kẹdi a ni-aken aya
then STAT-speak C-that why many C your(S) horn small C of-I say

zazua.
zua-zua
RED-that
Then he thought: "Why have you got lots of points on your antlers? There are few on mine," he said.

021 *vaik a tsemikel a sema tju Kavulungan.*
vaik a em=tsikel a em=sa tju Kavulungan
leave C AF=return C AF=go there (place)
He went back to Kavulungan.

022 *"ken a kizułu anan a ku tequng a ku tjalupung," aya zazua takets.*
aken a ki-zuîu anan a ku tequng a ku tjalupung aya zua-zua takets
F.I C do-add still C my horn C my hat say RED-that muntjac
"I want to add more points to my hat," said the muntjac.

023 *manu "neka.*
manu neka
then no
"No.

024 *idan patsikelu," aya zua mareunem.*
id-an pa-tsikel-u aya zua mare-unem
come-LF cause-return-IMP say that pair-six
Give it back," said the 6-pointer.

025 *saka "upai ku pałiłiay azua su siayaya."*
sa-ka u-pai ku pa-îîî-ay a-zua su si-ay-aya
and-after ?-well I cause-visit-LF C-that your(S) IF-RED-say
"Right, I'll go and see what you are talking about."

026 *sa vaik anga zazua a tjeqała.*
sa vaik anga zua-zua a tje-qaîa
and leave indeed RED-that C do.at-outsider
And he went off on a journey;

027 *łakua inika metsevung.*
îakua ini-ka me-tsevung
but not-after AF-meet
but didn't meet anyone.

028 *"aku neka?" aya zazua mareunem ka tsemikel anga.*
aku neka aya zua-zua mare-unem ka em=tsikel anga
why no say RED-that pair-six after AF=return indeed
"Why was there no one?" said the 6-pointer when he got back.

029 *"nasa su lutjuken aken.*
nasa su lutjuk-en aken
perhaps you(S) bad-PF F.I
"It seems you were just fooling me.

030 *łakua kisedjami a su tjalupung, nasaya su varung.*
łakua ki-sedjam-i a su tjalupung nasa-aya su varung
but do-borrow-PF C your(S) hat perhaps-say your(S) chest
You just thought 'I'll borrow your hat'.

031 *iru anga ka ui a pasedjam tjanusun," aya zua mareunem tua*
iru anga ka ui a pa-sedjam tjanu-sun aya zua mare-unem tua
will.not indeed after yes C cause-borrow OBL-you(S) say that pair-six OBL

takets.
takets
muntjac
I certainly won't lend it to you," said the 6-pointer to the muntjac.

032 *manu qemaung anga zua takets, aya.*
manu em=qaung anga zua takets aya
then AF=cry indeed that muntjac say
So the muntjac cried, they say.

033 *avan nu sika małetutsu anga temulats a takets "aa aa", aya a*
avan nu sika małe-tu-tsu anga em=tulats a takets aa aa aya a
exact of reason NUM-RED-this indeed AF=howl C muntjac ah ah say C

tjautsikel.
tjautsikel
story
And that's why the muntjac howls "Aa aa!" right up to the present, according to the story.
[*temulats*: *tulats* not known, but F has *terats* 'loud shout'.]

Deer came from Lunguan by the sea, according to the story. When they began to come from the sea, we didn't kill them. They were still like soft sprouts(?); and we didn't catch them when we were shooting. We didn't then consider them as wild game. After a long time when they had become deer, with hair and hooves and hard feet, they walked up to the mountains. After that we hunted them and shot them.

It was then we began to take deer; and we took the spotted deer. The males had 8-point antlers, and the females had no antlers. Their number increased, and they roamed all over the land. A deer met a muntjac. "Where have you come from roaming about?" said the muntjac.

"I roam all round here."

"Why is he like that, with lots of horns and spots?" said the muntjac. And it went to Kavulungan mountain. On Kavulungan there was the ancestor (? OA) of the deer. "I've met someone who wants a 6-pointer deer's hat. I'm off on a journey," said the muntjac. He put on the 6-pointer's hat, and went on a journey to the 8-pointer deer. Then he thought: "Why have you got lots of points on your antlers? There are few on mine," he said.

He went back to Kavulungan. "I want to add more points to my hat," said the muntjac. "No. Give it back," said the 6-pointer.

"Right, I'll go and see what you are talking about." And he went off on a journey; but didn't meet anyone. "Why was there no one?" said the 6-pointer when he got back. "It seems you were just fooling me. You just thought 'I'll borrow your hat'. I certainly won't lend it to you," said the 6-pointer to the muntjac. So the muntjac cried, they say. And that's why the muntjac howls "Aa aa!" right up to the present, according to the story.

038 TSUDJUY

ti sa Tsudjuy (Łaleklek village, p. 214)

001 *izua azazua qinałan i Kałuyung, matjaeneenem a umaq,*
i-zua a-za-zua in=qała-an i Kałuyung matja-une-unem a umaq
LOC-that C-RED-that PERF=outsider-NOM LOC (place) NUM-RED-six C house

aya a tjautsikel.
aya a tjautsikel
say C story
There was a village at Kałuyung with six households, according to the story.

002 *sa manu a qemałup a sema zua i Łaitaw.*
sa manu a em=qałup a em=sa zua i Łaitaw
and then C AF=hunt C AF=go that LOC (place)
They went hunting to Łaitaw.

003 *ka tsemikel anga maqepu azua izua i Putjazaran i*
ka em=tsikel anga ma-qepu a-zua i-zua i Putjazaran i
after AF=return indeed STAT-associate C-that LOC-that LOC (place) LOC

pasalaulauz i Kałuyung a namaqepu.
pa-sa-lau-lauz i Kałuyung a na-ma-qepu
cause-go-RED-down LOC (place) C PAST-STAT-associate
When they got back, they gathered at Putjazaran in the lower part of Kałuyung.

004 *manu "patsuni aken," aya zua ti sa Tsudjuy, nu vetseluqen a*
manu pa-tsun-i aken aya zua ti sa Tsudjuy nu vetseluq-en a
then cause-see-HORT F.I say that F.H H (name) when break-PF C

kasiw a papetsevutsevungen.
kasiw a pa-pe-tsevu-tsevung-en
tree C cause-emerge-RED-meet-PF
"Look at me!" said Tsudjuy, while he broke trees which had been put together.

005 *"aku maya?" aya a salasaladj.*
aku ma-aya aya a sala-saladj
why STAT-be.thus say C RED-companion
"Why can he do that?" said his companions,

006 *mavilad a sema umaq.*
ma-vilad a em=sa umaq
STAT-flee C AF=go house
and ran away to their homes.

007 *ka tjaivilił anga azua ti sa Tsudjuy tjelu anga a qadaw*
ka tja-i-vilił anga a-zua ti sa Tsudjuy tjelu anga a qadaw
after more-LOC-behind indeed C-that F.H H (name) three indeed C sun

tu qinałupan.
tu in=qałup-an
OBL PERF=hunt-LF
Afterwards Tsudjuy went hunting for three days.

008 *"aku maya sun?" ayain nua mamazangiłan.*
aku ma-aya sun aya-en nua ma-ma-zangił-an
why STAT-be.thus F.you(S) say-PF by STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
"Why are you like that?" asked the chief.

009 *manu "aki ken a makuda aya a ventseluq tua kasiw?" aya*
manu aki aken a ma-kuda aya a in=vetseluq tua kasiw aya
then how F.I C STAT-do.what be.thus C PERF=break OBL tree say

zazua.
zua-zua
RED-that
"Why am I able to break trees like that?"(?) he said.

010 *łakua "uri kitjutapaw aken.*
łakua uri ki-tju-tapaw ake
but will do-apart-hut F.I
But "I'll live in a house apart.

011 *saka nu masan palak aken, maya kidut; matsay mun,"*
sa-ka nu ma-sane palak aken maya ki-dut m-patsay mun
and-after when STAT-make sorcery F.I don't do-approach AF-die F.you(P)

ayain azua salasaladj.
aya-en a-zua sala-saladj
say-PF C-that RED-companion
When I am possessed, don't come near; you'll die," he said to his companions.

012 *sa vaik azua a seman djalan tu sisa tjatjan.*
sa vaik a-zua a em=sane djalan tu si-sa tjatjan
and leave C-that C AF=make road OBL IF-go spring
He went to make a path leading to a spring.

013 *ka maqatsuvung a seman djalan, seman djalungan pizua i*
ka ma-qa-tsuvung a em=sane djalan em=sane djalung-an pi-zua i
after STAT-?-complete C AF=make road AF=make well-LF put-that LOC

vetsekadan tua djełeqi; saka maqatsuvung anga azua sinan
ve-tsekad-an tua djełeqi sa-ka ma-qa-tsuvung anga a-zua in=sane
?-middle-LF OBL cliff and-after STAT-?-complete indeed C-that PERF=make

tjatjan.
tjatjan
spring
When he had finished making the path, he made a well in the middle of a rock-face; and so the spring was finished.

014 *saka vaik a kikasiw tu sisan tapaw.*
sa-ka vaik a ki-kasiw tu si-sane tapaw
and-after leave C do-tree OBL IF-make hut
Then he went to get wood to make a house.

015 *łakua inika masi tjakit, inika masi putjaw; vetseluqen tua lima.*
łakua ini-ka masi tjakit ini-ka masi putjaw vetseluq-en tua lima
but not-after from knife not-after from axe break-PF OBL hand
But he didn't use a knife or axe; he broke trees with his hands.

016 *saka nu masi kasiw, makatał tua sialangan.*
sa-ka nu masi kasiw maka-ita-ł tua si-alang-an
and-after when carry tree NUM-one-times OBL IF-make-NOM
When he carried the wood, he carried all the rafters in one journey.

017 *sa kiqatsiłay tu siupu makapusał, vinatsaq tua*
sa ki-qatsiłay tu si-upu maka-pa-ḍusa-ł in=vatsaq tua
and do-stone OBL IF-wall NUM-cause-two-times PERF=carry.pole OBL

sialangan.
si-alang-an
IF-make-NOM
He collected stones for the walls in two journeys, carrying them with a rafter for a pole.
[*makapusał*: *pa-ḍusa* has reduced to *pusa* (or could be *pi-* or *pu-* too).]
[*sialangan*: unclear how *alang* 'make' gives rafter.]

018 *sa vaik anga a kitsukes; kimaya ḍusa tjatał a pasa melava,*
sa vaik anga a ki-tsukes ki-ma-aya ḍusa tjatał a pa-sa me-lava
and leave indeed C do-post do-STAT-be.thus two span C cause-go AF-wide

saka pasa laḍuq kimaya tjelu a tjatał.
sa-ka pa-sa laḍuq ki-ma-aya tjelu a tjatał
and-after cause-go long do-STAT-be.thus three C span
He went to get pillars; they were about two arm spans wide and three arm spans long.
[*kimaya*: *ki maya* in OA.]
[*pasa*: F 23-24 has *pa-sa(1)* 'transfer st. to' and *pa-sa(2)* 'nearly']

019 *saka maqatsuvung anga kiniqepu, sa san tapaw anga*
sa-ka ma-qa-tsuvung anga in=ki-qepu sa sane tapaw anga
and-after STAT-?-complete indeed PERF=do-associate and make hut indeed

zazua, aya.
zua-zua aya
RED-that say
He finished collecting the materials, and made a house, they say.

020 *saka "aku izua zazua a pupitsul a mamaw tu tsemas?" aya.*
sa-ka aku i-zua zua-zua a pu-pitsul a ma-amaw tu tsemas aya
and-after why LOC-that RED-that C have-strong C STAT-same OBL god say
"Why is he as strong as a god?" said his former companions,

021	*saka*	*samaɬi*	*aravats*	*azua*	*salasaladj,*	*aya*	*a*	*tjautsikel.*
	sa-ka	sa-ma-aɬi	a-ravats	a-zua	sala-saladj	aya	a	tjautsikel
	and-after	QAL-STAT-different	C-true	C-that	RED-companion	say	C	story

very surprised, according to the story.

[*samaɬi*: see F 24 for entry under *sa-(3)*]

There was a village at Kaɬuyung with six households, according to the story. They went hunting to Ɬaitaw. When they got back, they gathered at Putjazaran in the lower part of Kaɬuyung. "Look at me!" said Tsudjuy, while he broke trees which had been put together.

"Why can he do that?" said his companions, and ran away to their homes. Afterwards Tsudjuy went hunting for three days. "Why are you like that?" asked the chief. "Why am I able to break trees like that?"(?) he said. But, "I'll live in a house apart. When I am possessed, don't come near; you'll die," he said to his companions.

He went to make a path leading to a spring. When he had finished making the path, he made a well in the middle of a rock-face; and so the spring was finished. Then he went to get wood to make a house. But he didn't use a knife or axe; he broke trees with his hands. When he carried the wood, he carried all the rafters in one journey. He collected stones for the walls in two journeys, carrying them with a rafter for a pole. He went to get pillars; they were about two arm spans wide and three arm spans long. He finished collecting the materials, and made a house, they say. "Why is he as strong as a god?" said his former companions, very surprised, according to the story.

039 THE EVIL-EYE MAN

pałi (Łaleklek village, p. 216)

001 *izua i Kałuyung azua ła Paiquluvuy a namasan pałi, aya*
i-zua i Kałuyung a-zua ła Paiquluvuy a na-ma-sane pałi aya
LOC-that LOC (place) C-that class (place) C PAST-STAT-make magic say

a tjautsikel.
a tjautsikel
C story
There was a person of the Paiquluvuy family in Kałuyung who became an evil-eye man, according to the story.
[*Kałuyung*: *Kaluyung* in OA.]

002 *nu kivangavang azua, izua patsunan a sasiq anema; paridiw*
nu ki-vangavang a-zua i-zua pa-tsun-an a sasiq a-nema pa-ridiw
when self-play C-that LOC-that cause-see-LF C ant ?-what cause-in.order

a matsay, aya.
a m-patsay aya
C AF-die say
As he walked about, ants or anything else he saw died, they say.

003 *"aku mayaya sun? nasa uri nakuya sun," aya a*
aku ma-ay-aya sun nasa uri na-kuya sun aya a
why STAT-RED-be.thus F.you(S) perhaps will STAT-bad F.you(S) say C

łamadju.
ła-madju
class-3RD.PERS
"Why are you like that? You're going to be someone bad," people said.

004 *sivaik a sema pana; uri paqayam tua tsiqaw.*
si-vaik a em=sa pana uri pa-qayam tua tsiqaw
IF-leave C AF=go river will cause-inspect OBL fish
They took him to the river to see the fish;

005 *manu ka kiqenetj tua tsiqaw, matsay anga.*
manu ka ki-qenetj tua tsiqaw m-patsay anga
then after do-see OBL fish AF-die indeed
and when he looked at the fish they died.

006 *"ai nasa uri ka pałi sun," aya zazua salasaladj.*
ai nasa uri ka pałi sun aya zua-zua sala-saladj
oh perhaps will after magic F.you(S) say RED-that RED-companion
"Oh! It seems you're becoming an evil-eye man," said his companions.

007 *saka tsemikel a sema umaq.*
sa-ka em=tsikel a em=sa umaq
and-after AF=return C AF=go house
So they went back home.

008 *łakua sivaik a sema pasa navanavał.*
łakua si-vaik a em=sa pa-sa nava-navał
but IF-leave C AF=go cause-go RED-south
But they took him down south,

009 *sa san tapavan.*
sa sane tapaw-an
and make hut-LF
and made him a house.

010 *saka izuanga timadju a matsidił.*
sa-ka i-zua-anga ti-madju a ma-tsidił
and-after LOC-that-indeed F-3RD.PERS C STAT-alone
And he was there by himself.

011 *"azua nu kitevel tua salasaladj, azua semengats," aya.*
a-zua nu ki-tevel tua sala-saladj a-zua em=sengats aya
C-that when do-join OBL RED-companion C-that AF=dislike say
"When he is with his former companions he is dangerous," they said.
[*semengats*: *semungats* in OA.]

012 *avanu sikitjukuda.*
avan nu si-ki-tju-kuda
exact of IF-do-apart-do.what
That's why he had to live apart.

013 *saka zua pali a papatsay timadju, marekutj a małaqałan*
sa-ka zua pali a pa-patsay ti-madju ma-rekutj a ma-ała-qała-an
and-after that magic C cause-die F-3RD.PERS STAT-fear C STAT-RED-outsider-NOM

a qaliqali.
a qali-qali
C RED-friend
So because the evil-eye man could kill, people of other villages were afraid.

014 *saka avanu sipakitjavilił tua vava tua vutjuł tua*
sa-ka avan nu si-pa-ki-tja-vilił tua vava tua vutjuł tua
and-after exact of IF-cause-do-more-behind OBL alcohol OBL meat OBL

qavay tua kinsa, aya.
qavay tua in=kesa aya
dumpling OBL PERF=food say
So they took turns to give him beer, meat, dumplings and other food, they say.
[*sipakitjavilił*: unclear - the gloss 'take turns' is from the Japanese translation in OA.]

015 *manu nasa masupil anga azua małaqałan, sa*
manu nasa ma-supil anga a-zua ma-ała-qała-an sa
then perhaps STAT-tired indeed C-that STAT-RED-outsider-NOM and

sunasii *nua* *se* *Vungaliz,* *sa* *łułu-i.*
su-nasi-i nua se Vungaliz sa îuîu-i
remove-breath-PF by person.of (place) and gather-PF
But it seems the people got tired of it, and the people of Vungaliz killed him and picked up (his head);

016 *manu* *sivaik* *azua* *tjałuzua* *i* *pana* *i* *Tjuakalangan.*
manu si-vaik a-zua tjaîu-zua i pana i Tjuakalangan
then IF-leave C-that reach-that LOC river LOC (place)
and took it to the river at Tjuakalangan.

017 *"tja* *qayamaw,"* *aya* *zazua.*
tja qayam-aw aya zua-zua
we(INC) inspect-LF say RED-that
"Let's have a look," they said.

018 *manu* *ka* *suqulengan* *a* *mudingan,* *manu* *matsay* *a* *se*
manu ka su-quleng-an a mudingan manu m-patsay a se
then after remove-covering-LF C face then AF-die C person.of
Vungaliz.
Vungaliz
(place)
But when they uncovered the face, the Vungaliz people died.

019 *saka* *matsidił* *anga* *a* *pinatseqisan* *a* *pi* *tsungal,* *aya.*
sa-ka ma-tsidiî anga a pinatseqisan a pi tsungal aya
and-after NUM-alone indeed C glare C put knee say
One survived wounded in the knee from his glare, they say.
[*pinatseqisan*: unclear, could be *in=pa-tseqis-an* but no root *tseqis* known, 'glare' is translation of Japanese gloss in OA.]

020 *saka* *matsidił* *anga* *nu* *pakaqiaw* *sema* *umaq* *i* *Vungaliz.*
sa-ka ma-tsidiî anga nu pa-ka-qiyaw em=sa umaq i Vungaliz
and-after STAT-alone indeed when cause-?-assist AF=go house LOC (place)
He went off alone back home to Vungaliz calling for help.

021 *"matsay* *amen,"* *aya,* *aya* *a* *tjautsikel.*
m-patsay amen aya aya a tjautsikel
AF-die F.we(EXC) say say C story
"We're being killed," he said, according to the story.

There was a person of the Paiquluvuy family in Kałuyung who became an evil-eye man, according to the story. As he walked about, ants or anything else he saw died, they say. "Why are you like that? You're going to be someone bad," people said. They took him to the river to see the fish; and when he looked at the fish they died. "Oh! It seems you're becoming an evil-eye man," said his companions. So they went back home.

But they took him down south, and made him a house. And he was there by himself. "When he is with his former companions he is dangerous," they said. That's why he had to live apart. So because the evil-eye man could kill, people of other villages were afraid. So they took turns to give him beer, meat, dumplings and other food, they say.

But it seems the people got tired of it, and the people of Vungaliz killed him and picked up (his head); and took it to the river at Tjuakalangan. "Let's have a look," they said. But when they uncovered the face, the Vungaliz people died. One survived wounded in the knee from his glare, they say. He went off alone back home to Vungaliz calling for help. "We're being killed," he said, according to the story.

040 TJUKUTJUKU

Tjukutjuku (Łaleklek village, p. 218)

001 *izua ti Tjukutjuku a pinatsayan nua kama nua kina, aya a*
i-zua ti Tjukutjuku a in=patsay-an nua kama nua kina aya a
LOC-that F.H (name) C PERF=die-LF by father by mother say C

milimilingan.
mili-miling-an
RED-past.era-NOM
There was a person called Tjukutjuku whose father and mother had died, according to the old story.

002 *saka izua ti sa Tjamuakakay, saka galemgemi azua ti*
sa-ka i-zua ti sa Tjamuakakay sa-ka al=gemgem-i a-zua ti
and-after LOC-that F.H H (name) and-after QAL=fist-PF C-that F.H

Tjukutjuku.
Tjukutjuku
(name)
There was also a person called Tjamuakakay (*or* Muakakay, her aunt, OA), who disliked Tjukutjuku.

003 *saka zua vavayan a kakeḍian pułatan tua nanemanemanga*
sa-ka zua vavayan a ka-keḍi-an pułat-an tua na-nema-nema-anga
and-after that female C RED-small-NOM all-LF OBL PAST-RED-what-indeed

tua qinałan tua kadjunangan.
tua in=qała-an tua ka-djunang-an
OBL PERF=outsider-NOM OBL main-earth-NOM
The young girl had no inheritance of village or land left.

004 *mangtjez azua tju Makazayazaya ti Pułałułałuyan kati Kułełułełu*
m-pangetjez a-zua tju Makazayazaya ti Pułałułałuyan ka-ti Kułełułełu
AF-come C-that there (place) F.H (name) and-F.H (name)

a kisudju tua zua ti Tjukutjuku.
a ki-sudju tua zua ti Tjukutjuku
C do-sweetheart OBL that F.H (name)
Pułałułałuyan and Kułełułełu of Makazayazaya came to court Tjukutjuku.

005 *saka zazua ti sa Tjamuakakay patalaq azua.*
sa-ka zua-zua ti sa Tjamuakakay pa-talaq a-zua
and-after RED-that F.H H (name) cause-jealous C-that
So Tjamuakakay was jealous.

006 *"aku nu kisudjuan zazua namaya?" ayain azua tia*
aku nu ki-sudju-an zua-zua na-ma-aya aya-en a-zua ti-a
why you(P) do-sweetheart-LF RED-that PAST-STAT-be.thus say-PF C-that F.H-PL

Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan kati Kuɬeɬuɬeɬu.
Puîaîuîaîuyan ka-ti Kuîeîuîeîu
(name) and-F.H (name)
"Why do you court someone like that?" she said to Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan and Kuɬeɬuɬeɬu.

007 *azua ti Tjukutjuku tjenglayen nua zua maḍusa.*
a-zua ti Tjukutjuku tjenglay-en nua zua ma-÷usa
C-that F.H (name) like-PF by that NUM-two
But these two liked Tjukutjuku.

008 *vaik azua sema vavua mazelizeliuɬ.*
vaik a-zua em=sa va-vua ma-zeli-zeliuî
leave C-that AF=go RED-field STAT-RED-work
They all went to the fields and worked together.

009 *ka nadjemaɬun i vavua, "aku nu kizeliuɬan a namaya?*
ka na-em=djaîun i va-vua aku nu ki-zeliuî-an a na-ma-aya
after PAST-AF=arrive LOC RED-field why you(P) do-work-LF C PAST-STAT-be.thus

savaqar tua kaḍaḍi tua nakuyan.
savaqar tua ka÷a÷i tua na-kuya-an
disgust OBL rag OBL STAT-bad-NOM
When she got to the fields, (she said): "Why do you help someone like that with her work? She's disgusting in her rags and ugliness.

010 *sa-u tsikelu," ayain ni sa Tjamuakakay a maḍusa.*
sa-u tsikel-u aya-en ni sa Tjamuakakay a ma-÷usa
go-IMP return-IMP say-PF by H (name) C NUM-two
Go off home," Tjamuakakay said to the two men.

011 *manu ini kilangda azazua a matjelu.*
manu ini ki-langeda a-za-zua a ma-tjelu
then not do-hear C-RED-that C NUM-three
But the three of them didn't listen to her.

012 *seman quma tua vasa, saka sema tapaw zazua kentsengeɬ.*
em=sane quma tua vasa sa-ka em=sa tapaw zua-zua ken-tsengeî
AF=make field OBL taro and-after AF=go hut RED-that consume-lunch
They made a field of taro, and then went to the hut for lunch.
[*sema*: *seman* in OA.]

013 *ka keman azua, "maya kidadut tua maḍusa; sasequ*
ka em=kan a-zua ma-aya ki-da-dut tua ma-÷usa sa-sequ
after AF=eat C-that STAT-be.thus do-RED-approach OBL NUM-two QAL-smell

sun savaqar," ayain ni sa Tjamuakakay ti Tjukutjuku.
sun savaqar aya-en ni sa Tjamuakakay ti Tjukutjuku
F.you(S) disgust say-PF by H (name) F.H (name)
When they were eating, Tjamuakakay said to Tjukutjuku: "Don't go near those two. You smell and are disgusting."

014 *sa patjadaan ni sa Tjamuakakay azua ti Tjukutjuku.*
sa patjada-an ni sa Tjamuakakay a-zua ti Tjukutjuku
and allot.food-LF by H (name) C-that F.H (name)
Tjamuakakay shared out food for Tjukutjuku;

015 *saka nu patjada, sinu kakeḍian ni Tjukutjuku; avan a*
sa-ka nu patjada in=su ka-keḍi-an ni Tjukutjuku avan a
and-after when allot.food PERF=remove RED-small-NOM of (name) exact C

ni sa Tjamuakakay qatsaqatsan.
ni sa Tjamuakakay qatsa-qatsa-an
of H (name) RED-big-NOM
and when she did so the bits for Tjukutjuku were all small, and it was Tjamuakakay's that were the big ones.

016 *manu saka keman azua, sema zua i tjai Tjukutjuku.*
manu sa-ka em=kan a-zua em=sa zua i tjai Tjukutjuku
then and-after AF=eat C-that AF=go that LOC OBL.H (name)
But when the two men ate they came to Tjukutjuku.

017 *sa ka makakan, vaik a sema kavavuan.*
sa ka maka-kan vaik a em=sa ka-va-vua-an
and after finished-eat leave C AF=go main-RED-field-NOM
When they had finished eating, they went back to the fields.

018 *saka seleman anga a sema tapaw.*
sa-ka selem-an anga a em=sa tapaw
and-after dark-NOM indeed C AF=go hut
When it was getting dark they came to the hut.

019 *ka uri vaik azua, "kasiułayu," ayain ti Tjukutjuku ni sa*
ka uri vaik a-zua kasi-ułay-u aya-en ti Tjukutjuku ni sa
after will leave C-that from-overnight-IMP say-PF F.H (name) by H

Tjamuakakay.
Tjamuakakay
(name)
When they were going to go, Tjamuakakay said to Tjukutjuku; "Stay here!"
[*kasiułayu*: F has *ułay* 'st broken inside st' with subentry *si-ułay* 'to stay overnight'.]

020 *inika ui ti Tjukutjuku.*
ini-ka ui ti Tjukutjuku
not-after yes F.H (name)
Tjukutjuku wouldn't agree.

021 *i vavaw tua tapaw a kalutskuts.*
i va-vaw tua tapaw a al=kuts-kuts
LOC RED-above OBL hut C QAL=RED-shout
Tjamuakakay got on the hut and shouted.
[*kalutskuts*: = *al=kuts-kuts*? but unclear and nothing in F. Could mean 'topmost', or could be *garutsguts* 'scratching'.]

022 *"ari," ayain azua maḍusa.*
ari aya-en a-zua ma-ḍusa
go.on say-PF C-that NUM-two
"Let's go!" she said to the two men.
[*ari*: expect *ari-i* 'go.on-HORT'.]

023 *manu qemaung sakamaya.*
manu em=qaung sakamaya
then AF=cry only
And Tjukutjuku cried.

024 *manu, "ari sakamaya," aya zazua maḍusa, ayain ti Tjukutjuku.*
manu ari sakamaya aya zua-zua ma-ḍusa aya-en ti Tjukutjuku
then go.on only say RED-that NUM-two say-PF F.H (name)
So those two said to Tjukutjuku: "Come on, let's go."

025 *inika ui angata.*
ini-ka ui anga-ta
not-after yes indeed-?
But she refused.

026 *vaikan a sema umaq masalasaladj.*
vaik-an a em=sa umaq ma-sala-saladj
leave-LF C AF=go house STAT-RED-companion
So they left her and went off home together.

027 *manu kemłang anga azua vuvu a sitsuayan a namatsay*
manu m=kełang anga a-zua vuvu a si-tsuay-an a na-m-patsay
then AF=know indeed C-that grandparent C IF-long.time-NOM C PAST-AF-die

anga.
anga
indeed
Now Tjukutjuku's grandparent (grandfather, OA), who was long since dead, knew about it all.

028 *mangtjez azua ti sa vuluvulung a venatsaq tua lukuł.*
m-pangetjez a-zua ti sa vulu-vulung a en=vatsaq tua lukuł
AF-come C-that F.H H RED-old C AF=carry.pole OBL box
And this old person came, carrying a box on a pole.

029 *izua anemanemanga sipavay tjai Tjukutjuku, tua zangaq tua*
i-zua a-nema-nema-anga si-pa-vay tjai Tjukutjuku tua zangaq tua
LOC-that ?-RED-what-indeed IF-cause-give OBL.H (name) OBL necklace OBL

kałat tua situngan.
kałat tua si-itung-an
bracelet OBL IF-cloth-NOM
Tjukutjuku was given all kinds of things – necklaces, bracelets and clothes.

030 *"veritsan anga a su kava; nasa sakuya," ayain*
verits-an anga a su kava nasa sa-kuya aya-en
discard-LF indeed C your(S) clothing perhaps QAL-bad say-PF

ni sa vuluvulung.
ni sa vulu-vulung
by H RED-old
"Throw away your clothes; they seem nasty," said the old person.

031 *sa kipavalit anga azua ti Tjukutjuku.*
sa ki-pa-valit anga a-zua ti Tjukutjuku
and do-cause-exchange indeed C-that F.H (name)
So Tjukutjuku changed her clothes.

032 *saka "uri vaik aken," aya azua vuluvulung.*
sa-ka uri vaik aken aya a-zua vulu-vulung
and-after will leave F.I say C-that RED-old
"I'm going," said the old person.

033 *"kitsiur aken," aya zua ti Tjukutjuku.*
ki-tsiur aken aya zua ti Tjukutjuku
do-together F.I say that F.H (name)
"I'll come with you," said Tjukutjuku.

034 *manu "maya.*
manu maya
then don't
"Don't!

035 *aku kitsiur sun? ła namatsay anga ken a sitsuayan,"*
aku ki-tsiur sun ła na-m-patsay anga aken a si-tsuay-an
why do-together F.you(S) really PAST-AF-die indeed F.I C IF-long.time-NOM

aya, saka inika ui.
aya sa-ka ini-ka ui
say and-after not-after yes
Why would you go with me? I've been dead a long time," said the old person, who wouldn't agree,

036 *sa zua vaik anga sakamaya azua vuluvulung.*
sa zua vaik anga sakamaya a-zua vulu-vulung
and that leave indeed only C-that RED-old
and just went off.

037 *manu małianga zazua mangtjez anga kasi umaq azazua*
manu ma-ła-anga zua-zua m-pangetjez anga kasi umaq a-za-zua
then STAT-dawn-indeed RED-that AF-come indeed from house C-RED-that

matjelu.
ma-tjelu
NUM-three
Next day the other three came from home.

038 *saka* *nakemavanga* *nazemangaq* *anga* *nakemałat*
sa-ka na-em=kava-anga na-em=zangaq anga na-em=kałat
and-after PAST-AF=clothing-indeed PAST-AF=necklace indeed PAST-AF=bracelet

anga.
anga
indeed
Tjukutjuku was wearing the new clothes, necklaces and bracelets.

039 *saka* *"uki* *kasinu* *sa* *tsinakaw* *ni* *tsaqi,"* *aya* *azua* *ti* *sa*
sa-ka u-ki kasi-inu sa in=tsakaw ni tsaqi aya a-zua ti sa
and-after ?-how from-where go PERF=steal by dung say C-that F.H H

Tjamuakakay.
Tjamuakakay
(name)
"So where has the stinker stolen those?" said Tjamuakakay.

040 *"ni* *vuvu* *a* *sinipavay* *taqezemetj.*
ni vuvu a in=si-pa-vay ta-qezemetj
by grandparent C PERF=IF-cause-give PAST-night
"The grandparent gave them to me last night,

041 *'kemłang* *aken* *tu* *kinagalemgeman* *sun* *nia* *tjaina.*
m=kełang aken tu in=ka-al=gemgem-an sun ni-a tjaina
AF=know F.I OBL PERF=?-QAL=fist-LF F.you(S) by-PL mother.H
and said: 'I know your aunt dislikes you.
[*nia*: *-a* 'plural' unexplained, unless it means 'aunts', or other females of mother's generation.]

042 *(nu)* *tsemikel* *anga* *sun* *a* *sema* *umaq,* *qaqivu* *anga* *tua* *vali*
nu em=tsikel anga sun a em=sa umaq qa-qivu anga tua vali
when AF=return indeed F.you(S) C AF=go house RED-speak indeed OBL wind

tua *semuap* *tu* *su* *umaq,'* *ayain* *ni* *vuvu,"* *aya* *ti* *Tjukutjuku.*
tua em=suap tu su umaq aya-en ni vuvu aya ti Tjukutjuku
OBL AF=sweep OBL your(S) house say-PF by grandparent say F.H (name)
When you go home, tell the wind to sweep your house,' said the grandparent," said Tjukutjuku.

043 *manu* *uri* *vaik* *anga* *azua.*
manu uri vaik anga a-zua
then will leave indeed C-that
When they were going to leave,

044 *"vatsaqu* *azua* *ku* *nanemanemanga,"* *aya* *ti* *Tjukutjuku* *tua* *zua*
vatsaq-u a-zua ku na-nema-nema-anga aya ti Tjukutjuku tua zua
carry.pole-IMP C-that my PAST-RED-what-indeed say F.H (name) OBL that

maḍusa.
ma-ḍusa
NUM-two
Tjukutjuku said to the two men: "Carry my things."

045 *manu "maya," ayain ni Tjamuakakay azua maḍusa.*
manu maya aya-en ni Tjamuakakay a-zua ma-ḍusa
then don't say-PF by (name) C-that NUM-two
"Don't!" said Tjamuakakay to the two.

046 *manu "vatsaqu sakamaya.*
manu vatsaq-u sakamaya
then carry.pole-IMP only
"Just carry them.

047 *inika ku tsinakaw; sinipavay ni vuvu," aya azua ti*
ini-ka ku in=tsakaw in=si-pa-vay ni vuvu aya a-zua ti
not-after I PERF=steal PERF=IF-cause-give by grandparent say C-that F.H

Tjukutjuku.
Tjukutjuku
(name)
I didn't steal them. The grandparent gave them to me," said Tjukutjuku.

048 *sa vatsaqi anga nazua maḍusa a djemałun i umaq.*
sa vatsaq-i anga nua-zua ma-ḍusa a em=djałun i umaq
and carry.pole-PF indeed by-that NUM-two C AF=arrive LOC house
So the two carried them back to the house.

049 *pasa qaqivuin a vali, sa suapi a umaq ni Tjukutjuku, sa*
pai-sa qa-qivu-en a vali sa suap-i a umaq ni Tjukutjuku sa
well-and RED-speak-PF C wind and sweep-PF C house of (name) and

pasa qumaqani anga azua nanemanemanga.
pa-sa qumaq-an-i anga a-zua na-nema-nema-anga
cause-go indoors-NOM-PF indeed C-that PAST-RED-what-indeed
She tried giving orders to the wind, and it swept Tjukutjuku's house, and she put all her things into the house.

050 *sa pasa puzayazayai a załum a ḍiḍi.*
sa pa-sa pu-zaya-zaya-i a załum a ḍiḍi
and cause-go have-RED-up-PF C water C pig
And she put water and the pigs in the inner part.

051 *sa kavaruk a "makułi a załum," aya zazua.*
sa kavaruk a ma-kułi a załum aya zua-zua
and swear C STAT-dry C water say RED-that
And she swore: "The water has run dry."

052 *makułi a załum, saka nekanga nu sikesa, nu tekelen.*
ma-kułi a załum sa-ka neka-anga nu si-kesa nu tekel-en
STAT-dry C water and-after no-indeed of IF-food of drink-PF
The water ran dry, and there was none to cook with or to drink.

053 *manu matsay anga a kakeḍian a ramałemałeng.*
manu m-patsay anga a ka-keḍi-an a małe=ramałeng
then AF-die indeed C RED-small-NOM C RED=adult
So children and old people died.

054 *manu kiqaung anga sikataqałan.*
manu ki-qaung anga si-ka-ta-qała-an
then do-cry indeed IF-main-?-outsider-NOM
When the villagers asked,

055 *mangtjez azua vuluvulung.*
m-pangetjez a-zua vulu-vulung
AF-come C-that RED-old
the old person came,

056 *"pavayi aken tua załum.*
pa-vay-i aken tua załum
cause-give-HORT F.I OBL water
and said: "Give me some water.

057 *idan a su tjakumuł."*
id-an a su tjakumuł
come-LF C your(S) quilt
Give me your blanket.

058 *sa tjevengi ni Tjukutjuku, sa pavayan anga tazua vuluvulung.*
sa tjeveng-i ni Tjukutjuku sa pa-vay-an anga ta-zua vulu-vulung
and moisture-PF by (name) and cause-give-LF indeed OBL-that RED-old
And Tjukutjuku wetted it, and gave it to the old person.

059 *manu maqepu a qaliqali a teptepan.*
manu ma-qepu a qali-qali a teptep-an
then STAT-associate C RED-friend C suck-LF
Then others gathered round and sucked it.

060 *saka megarang ti Tjukutjuku.*
sa-ka me-garang ti Tjukutjuku
and-after AF-scold F.H (name)
Tjukutjuku got annoyed.

061 *"tsuqitsuqi," aya tua sikataqałan.*
tsuqitsuq-i aya tua si-ka-ta-qała-an
rumble-HORT say OBL IF-main-?-outsider-NOM
"That's enough," she said to the villagers.
[*tsuqitsuqi*: unclear, could mean growl?]

062 *manu "nia patsevudi tua załum a su qinałan," aya.*
manu nia pa-tsevud-i tua załum a su in=qała-an aya
then we(EXC) cause-flow-PF OBL water C your(S) PERF=outsider-NOM say
"We'll give your village a source of water."

063 *tsevud anga a załum; sa mirazek anga a qinałan, aya a*
tsevud anga a załum sa mi-razek anga a in=qała-an aya a
flow indeed C water and AF-plentiful indeed C PERF=outsider-NOM say C

tjautsikel.
tjautsikel
story
So water emerged, and the village flourished, according to the story.

There was a person called Tjukutjuku whose father and mother had died, according to the old story. There was also a person called Tjamuakakay (*or* Muakakay, her aunt, OA), who disliked Tjukutjuku. The young girl had no inheritance of village or land left. Pułałułałuyan and Kułełułełu of Makazayazaya came to court Tjukutjuku. So Tjamuakakay was jealous. "Why do you court someone like that?" she said to Pułałułałuyan and Kułełułełu. But these two liked Tjukutjuku.

They all went to the fields and worked together. When she got to the fields, (she said): "Why do you help someone like that with her work? She's disgusting in her rags and ugliness. Go off home", Tjamuakakay said to the two men. But the three of them didn't listen to her. They made a field of taro, and then went to the hut for lunch. When they were eating, Tjamuakakay said to Tjukutjuku: "Don't go near those two. You smell and are disgusting."

Tjamuakakay shared out food for Tjukutjuku; and when she did so the bits for Tjukutjuku were all small, and it was Tjamuakakay's that were the big ones. But when the two men ate they came to Tjukutjuku. When they had finished eating, they went back to the fields. When it was getting dark they came to the hut. When they were going to go, Tjamuakakay said to Tjukutjuku; "Stay here!" Tjukutjuku wouldn't agree. Tjamuakakay got on the hut and shouted. "Let's go!" she said to the two men. And Tjukutjuku cried.

So those two said to Tjukutjuku: "Come on, let's go." But she refused. So they left her and went off home together. Now Tjukutjuku's grandparent (grandfather OA), who was long since dead, knew about it all. And this old person came, carrying a box on a pole. Tjukutjuku was given all kinds of things-necklaces, bracelets and clothes. "Throw away your clothes; they seem nasty," said the old person. So Tjukutjuku changed her clothes. "I'm going," said the old person. "I'll come with you," said Tjukutjuku.

"Don't! Why would you go with me? I've been dead a long time," said the old person, who wouldn't agree, and just went off. Next day the other three came from home. Tjukutjuku was wearing the new clothes, necklaces and bracelets. "So where has the stinker stolen those?" said Tjamuakakay.

"The grandparent gave them to me last night, and said: 'I know your aunt dislikes you. When you go home, tell the wind to sweep your house,' said the grandparent," said Tjukutjuku. When they were going to leave, Tjukutjuku said to the two men: "Carry my things."

"Don't!" said Tjamuakakay to the two. "Just carry them. I didn't steal them. The grandparent gave them to me," said Tjukutjuku. So the two carried them back to the house. She tried giving orders to the wind, and it swept Tjukutjuku's house, and she put all her things into the house. And she put water and the pigs in the inner part. And she swore: "The water has run dry." The water ran dry, and there was none to cook with or to drink. So children and old people died.

When the villagers asked, the old person came, and said: "Give me some water. Give me your blanket." And Tjukutjuku wetted it, and gave it to the old person. Then others gathered round and sucked it. Tjukutjuku got annoyed. "That's enough," she said to the villagers. "We'll give your village a source of water." So water emerged, and the village flourished, according to the story.

041 KULUI

Kului (Łaleklek village, p. 222)

001 *naizua zazua ti sa Kului, a naputsekeł tua vuluvulung,*
na-i-zua zua-zua ti sa Kului a na-pu-tsekeł tua vulu-vulung
PAST-LOC-that RED-that F.H H (name) C PAST-have-spouse OBL RED-snake.sp

aya a tjautsikel.
aya a tjautsikel
say C story
Once there was a person called Kului who was married to a hundred-pace snake, according to the story.
[*tua vuluvulung*: "hundred-pace" is a nickname of fearful respect given to the very poisonous snake after whose bite you can only take 100 steps and then die.]

002 *saka nu qezemezemetj tsautsau, saka nu maqadaw qatjuvi.*
sa-ka nu zeme=qezemetj tsau-tsau sa-ka nu ma-qadaw qatjuvi
and-after when RED=night RED-being and-after when STAT-sun snake
At night it was human, and in the day it was a snake.

003 *inika tja łengłengan a zuma.*
ini-ka tja łeng-łeng-an a zuma
not-after we(INC) RED-look.at-LF C other
The rest of us couldn't see it.

004 *izuazua tua vakar a pinaseleman tua itung.*
i-zua-zua tua vakar a in=pa-selem-an tua itung
LOC-RED-that OBL basket C PERF=cause-dark-LF OBL cloth
It was in a bamboo basket hidden by clothes.

005 *saka inika ui tja patsunan ni Kului.*
sa-ka ini-ka ui tja pa-tsun-an ni Kului
and-after not-after yes we(INC) cause-see-LF by (name)
Kului didn't allow us to look at it.

006 *manu "ki anema izua?" aya ti sa Ulung a kaka.*
manu ki a-nema i-zua aya ti sa Ulung a kaka
then how ?-what LOC-that say F.H H (name) C sibling
"What's in there?" said her sibling Ulung.

007 *"aku sikaqiłi aya tja qayamen?"*
aku si-ka-qiłi aya tja qayam-en
why IF-become-forbidden be.thus we(INC) inspect-PF
"Why are we not allowed to see it?"

008 *"sa-u satjatjanu," ayain ti Kului ni sa Ulung.*
sa-u sa-tjatjan-u aya-en ti Kului ni sa Ulung
go-IMP go-spring-IMP say-PF F.H (name) by H (name)
"Go to the spring for water," said Ulung to Kului.

009 *ka qayamen, manu qatjuvi a vuluvulung.*
ka qayam-en manu qatjuvi a vulu-vulung
after inspect-PF then snake C RED-snake.sp
When (s)he had a look, it was a hundred-pace snake.

010 *saka "aku ka qayamen aken?" aya, sa vaik anga zazua*
sa-ka aku ka qayam-en aken aya sa vaik anga zua-zua
and-after why after inspect-PF F.I say and leave indeed RED-that

malipat (tua) valuku a i navał.
ma-lipat tua valuku a i navał
STAT-disappear OBL hole C LOC south
"Why are you looking at me?" it said, and disappeared down the hole in the south.

011 *ka mangtjez ti Kului kasi tjatjan, ka qayamen a vakar, nekanga*
ka m-pangetjez ti Kului kasi tjatjan ka qayam-en a vakar neka-anga
after AF-come F.H (name) from spring after inspect-PF C basket no-indeed

a qatjuvi.
a qatjuvi
C snake
When Kului came back from the spring and looked at the basket, there was no snake.

012 *"inu anga?" aya ti Kului.*
inu anga aya ti Kului
where indeed say F.H (name)
"Where is it?" said Kului.

013 *"aku su pinivakar a qatjuvi?" aya ti sa Ulung, sa*
aku su in=pi-vakar a qatjuvi aya ti sa Ulung sa
why you(S) PERF=put-basket C snake say F.H H (name) and

kagarangi ti Kului.
ka-garang-i ti Kului
become-scold-PF F.H (name)
"Why did you put a snake in the basket?" said Ulung, and scolded Kului.

014 *manu "ku zukatj azua," aya ti sa Kului.*
manu ku zukatj a-zua aya ti sa Kului
then my husband C-that say F.H H (name)
"That's my husband," said Kului.

015 *"ki maya nu ranaven tu vaik amen, ka nu qayamen.*
ki ma-aya nu ranaw-en tu vaik amen ka nu qayam-en
do STAT-be.thus you(P) intend-PF OBL leave F.we(EXC) after you(P) inspect-PF
"I suppose you deliberately made us go, when you had a look.

016 *łakua ki tja kudain? vaik aken a kitsiur," aya.*
łakua ki tja kuda-en vaik aken a ki-tsiur aya
but how we(INC) do.what-PF leave F.I C do-together say
What are we to do? I'm going off with him," she said.

017 *saka* *maulaw* *anga,* *aya* *a* *tjautsikel.*
sa-ka ma-ulaw anga aya a tjautsikel
and-after STAT-lost indeed say C story
And she disappeared, according to the story.

Once there was a person called Kului who was married to a hundred-pace snake, according to the story. At night it was human, and in the day it was a snake. The rest of us couldn't see it. It was in a bamboo basket hidden by clothes. Kului didn't allow us to look at it. "What's in there?" said her sibling Ulung. "Why are we not allowed to see it?"

"Go to the spring for water," said Ulung to Kului. When (s)he had a look, it was a hundred-pace snake. "Why are you looking at me?" it said, and disappeared down the hole in the south. When Kului came back from the spring and looked at the basket, there was no snake. "Where is it?" said Kului.

"Why did you put a snake in the basket?" said Ulung, and scolded Kului. "That's my husband," said Kului. "I suppose you deliberately made us go, when you had a look. What are we to do? I'm going off with him," she said. And she disappeared, according to the story.

042 THE MONKEY AND THE CRAB

ti ḍail kati gagang (Kułałau village, p. 224)

001 *izua ti ḍail kati gagang.*
i-zua ti ḍail ka-ti gagang
LOC-that F.H monkey and-F.H crab
There were a monkey and a crab.

002 *"ari, kiitjui," aya; sa vaik a maḍusa.*
ari ki-itju-i aya sa vaik a ma-ḍusa
go.on do-loquat-HORT say and leave C NUM-two
"Come on, let's collect loquat fruit," they said; and the two of them went off.

003 *djemałun ta kasiw.*
em=djałun ta kasiw
AF=arrive OBL tree
They got to the tree,

004 *uri pasa łevavaw ti gagang.*
uri pa-sa łe-va-vaw ti gagang
will cause-go go.to-RED-above F.H crab
and the crab was going to try to climb up.

005 *manu inika lemaut; setsalaput sakamaya.*
manu ini-ka em=laut se-tsa-laput sakamaya
then not-after AF=able INVOL-?-slip only
But he couldn't; he just slipped down.

006 *saka ti ḍaiḍail anga a łevavaw.*
sa-ka ti ḍai-ḍail anga a łe-va-vaw
and-after F.H RED-monkey indeed C go.to-RED-above
So it was the monkey who climbed up.

007 *manu nu izuanga kiniitju ni ḍaiḍail, gesgesen a*
manu nu i-zua-anga in=ki-itju ni ḍai-ḍail gesges-en a
then when LOC-that-indeed PERF=do-loquat by RED-monkey shake-PF C

kaikapu, sa katjani a namalum, sa łułu-i ni gagang.
kaikapu sa ka-tjani a na-ma-lum sa łułu-i ni gagang
cloth and main-fall C PAST-STAT-ripe and gather-PF by crab
When the monkey had picked any loquats, the crab shook the cloth container, and ripe ones fell out, and the crab picked them up.

008 *"aku a keḍi anga ku kiniitju, qalian? lingu su getselen a*
aku a keḍi anga ku in=ki-itju qali-an lingu su getsel-en a
why C small indeed I PERF=do-loquat friend-NOM perhaps you(S) claw-PF C

ku kaikapu."
ku kaikapu
my cloth
"Friend, why are there so few left of what I've picked? Perhaps you have torn the cloth."
[*lingu.* F has *ligu.*]

009 *"anema naya, qalian? qayamu a su kaikapu, tu ki zua*
a-nema na-aya qali-an qayam-u a su kaikapu tu ki zua
?-what PAST-say friend-NOM inspect-IMP C your(S) cloth COMPL how that

verits kemuda."
verits em=kuda
discard AF=do.what
"What are you saying, friend? Look at your cloth, to see whether there is a tear or anything."
[*verits*: 'discard, lose, throw away' in F, but Japanese gloss in OA is 'tear'.]

010 *sa qayamen; neka.*
sa qayam-en neka
and inspect-PF no
When he looked, there was no tear.

011 *"pai, qalian, ku ɬinuɬu sakamaya," aya ti gagang.*
pai qali-an ku in=îuîu sakamaya aya ti gagang
well friend-NOM I PERF=gather only say F.H crab
"Well, friend, I just picked them up," said the crab.

012 *"ari, saumaqi."*
ari sa-umaq-i
go.on go-house-HORT
"Let's go home."

013 *manu maɬia, vaik a kizaman.*
manu ma-îia vaik a ki-zaman
then STAT-dawn leave C do-torch
Next day they went to get miscanthus grass for torches.

014 *"pai, qalian, paɬaɬamai."*
pai qali-an pa-îa-îama-i
well friend-NOM cause-RED-burn-HORT
"Well, friend, let's try burning one another."

015 *"tiaken-ay anan tjaisangas," sa ɬamain ni ḍaiḍail.*
ti-aken-ay anan tja-i-sangas sa îama-en ni ÷ai-÷ail
F-I-will still more-LOC-first and burn-PF by RED-monkey
"Well I'll go first," (said the crab), and the monkey set fire (to the grass).

016 *"sekuda sun tua ku sapui, qalian?"*
se-kuda sun tua ku sapuy qali-an
INVOL-do.what you(S) OBL my fire friend-NOM
"What do you think of my fire, friend?"

017 *"makuda ɬa uqaɬay.*
ma-kuda ɬa uqaɬay
STAT-do.what really male
"It's nothing to a tough male like me.

018 *uza tsu anan aken.*
uza tsu anan aken
here this still F.I
I'm still here.

019 *sa tisun-ay anan, qalian i ḍaiḍail."*
sa ti-sun-ay anan qali-an i ḍai-ḍail
and F-you(S)-will still friend-NOM which RED-monkey
Now it's your turn, friend monkey."

020 *ɬevavaw ta kasiw ti ḍaiḍail; ɬamain ni gagang.*
ɬe-va-vaw ta kasiw ti ḍai-ḍail ɬama-en ni gagang
go.to-RED-above OBL tree F.H RED-monkey burn-PF by crab
The monkey went up a tree, and the crab set fire to it (*or* the grass).

021 *"sekuda sun tua ku sapui, qalian?"*
se-kuda sun tua ku sapuy qali-an
INVOL-do.what F.you(S) OBL my fire friend-NOM
"What do you think of my fire, friend?"

022 *"makuda ɬa uqaɬay.*
ma-kuda ɬa uqaɬay
STAT-do.what really male
"It's nothing to a tough male like me.

023 *uza tsu anan aken."*
uza tsu anan aken
here this still F.I
I'm still here."

024 *sa maqevutj a sapui.*
sa ma-qevutj a sapuy
and STAT-extinguish C fire
Then the fire went out.

025 *manu ini anga ka malangda.*
manu ini anga ka ma-langeda
then not indeed after STAT-hear
The monkey couldn't be heard any more.

026 *"ku kimaw anan ti ku qali," aya.*
ku kim-aw anan ti ku qali aya
I search-LF still F.H my friend say
"I'll go and look for my friend," said the crab.

027 *manu djumaken; namatsay anga.*
manu djumak-en na-m-patsay anga
then find-PF PAST-AF-die indeed
He found him, and he was dead.

028 *"ki ku kuda-i sa ti ku qali, sa mevałut?"*
ki ku kuda-i sa ti ku qali sa me-vałut
how I do.what-HORT and F.H my friend and AF-alive
"What am I to do to bring my friend back to life?"
[*mevałut*: *evałut* in OA.]

029 *sa vutsiqi, sa sualapi a qavuvung, sa tsapa-i.*
sa vutsiq-i sa su-alap-i a qavuvung sa tsapa-i
and cut-PF and remove-take-PF C heart and dry-PF
He cut him open, took out his heart, and dried it.

030 *"kemuda mevałut ti ku qali?" aya.*
em=kuda me-vałut ti ku qali aya
AF=do.what AF-alive F.H my friend say
"How will my friend come back to life?" he said.

031 *manu mevałut.*
manu me-vałut
then AF-alive
Then he came back to life.

032 *"uzai, qalian, a ku kiniḍałułan tua se Tjuvałułukay," ayain.*
uzay qali-an a ku in=ki-ḍałuł-an tua se Tjuvałułukay aya-en
there friend-NOM C I PERF=do-waves-LF OBL person.of (place) say-PF
"Here, friend, is what I won off the Tjuvałułukay people," he said;
[*kiniḍałułan*: unclear how *ḍałuł* 'waves of sea' give 'win' as suggested by OA Japanese gloss.]

033 *sa kani, sa "ari, saumaqi anga."*
sa kan-i sa ari sa-umaq-i anga
and eat-PF and go.on go-house-HORT indeed
and they ate it. And they said: "Come on, let's go home."

034 *sa maselem.*
sa ma-selem
and STAT-dark
It got dark.

035 *"ari, qalian, kisudju-i."*
ari qali-an ki-sudju-i
go.on friend-NOM do-sweetheart-HORT
"Come on, friend, let's go courting."

036 *sa "ika ken a uri kisudju, qalian," aya ti gagang.*
sa ika aken a uri ki-sudju qali-an aya ti gagang
and not F.I C will do-sweetheart friend-NOM say F.H crab
"I'm not going courting, friend," said the crab.

037 *manu kitjavilił ti gagang, sa paka patekuteku*
manu ki-tja-vilił ti gagang sa pa-maka pa-teku-teku
then do-more-behind F.H crab and cause-via cause-RED-down

tua garałigał.
tua ar=gałigał
OBL QAL=bed
But the crab followed, and went along underneath the bed-space.

038 *manu getselen a qalitsi ni ḍaiḍail, sa vaikan.*
manu getsel-en a qalitsi ni ḍai-ḍail sa vaik-an
then claw-PF C penis of RED-monkey and leave-LF
He pinched off the monkey's penis, and went off with it.

039 *manu vaik a sema vangaw ti gagang.*
manu vaik a em=sa vangaw ti gagang
then leave C AF=go sky.light F.H crab
The crab went up to the sky-light.

040 *sipałeteku tua kinsa ni Tjukutjuku ti ḍaiḍail;*
si-pa-ła-teku tua in=kesa ni Tjukutjuku ti ḍai-ḍail
IF-cause-go.to-down OBL PERF=food by (name) F.H RED-monkey

kemakan anga ti ḍaiḍail.
em=ka-kan anga ti ḍai-ḍail
AF=RED-eat indeed F.H RED-monkey
Tjukutjuku set some food before the monkey, and the monkey was eating it.

041 *tjanian a paka vangaw tua qalitsi pasa tua kinsa.*
tjani-an a pa-maka vangaw tua qalitsi pa-sa tua in=kesa
fall-LF C cause-via sky.light OBL penis cause-go OBL PERF=food
Through the sky-light was the way the crab dropped the penis into the food.

042 *"iyaa, niaken a qalitsi tsu," aya ti ḍaiḍail, sa sułułu-i, sa*
iya ni-aken a qalitsi tsu aya ti ḍai-ḍail sa su-łułu-i sa
ah of-I C penis this say F.H RED-monkey and remove-gather-PF and

vaikan a tjumaq.
vaik-an a tju-umaq
leave-LF C there-house
"Ugh! This is my penis," said the monkey, and picked it out, and took it home.

043 *"aku azua su sualapen a ku qalitsi?"*
aku a-zua su su-alap-en a ku qalitsi
why C-that you(S) remove-take-PF C my penis
"Why did you remove my penis?"

044 *"nataqed aken sakamaya," aya ti gagang a kitevela.*
na-taqed aken sakamaya aya ti gagang a ki-tevela
PAST-sleep F.I only say F.H crab C self-answer
"I was asleep all the time," said the crab to excuse himself.

045 *sa amin anga a kai.*
sa amin anga a kai
and no.more indeed C speech
That's the end of the story.

There were a monkey and a crab. "Come on, let's collect loquat fruit," they said; and the two of them went off. They got to the tree, and the crab was going to try to climb up. But he couldn't; he just slipped down. So it was the monkey who climbed up. When the monkey had picked any loquats, the crab shook the cloth container, and ripe ones fell out, and the crab picked them up. "Friend, why are there so few left of what I've picked? Perhaps you have torn the cloth."

"What are you saying, friend? Look at your cloth, to see whether there is a tear or anything." When he looked, there was no tear. "Well, friend, I just picked them up," said the crab. "Let's go home."

Next day they went to get miscanthus grass for torches. "Well, friend, let's try burning one another."

"Well I'll go first," (said the crab), and the monkey set fire (to the grass). "What do you think of my fire, friend?"

"It's nothing to a tough male like me. I'm still here. Now it's your turn, friend monkey." The monkey went up a tree, and the crab set fire to it (*or* the grass). "What do you think of my fire, friend?"

"It's nothing to a tough male like me. I'm still here." Then the fire went out. The monkey couldn't be heard any more. "I'll go and look for my friend," said the crab. He found him, and he was dead. "What am I to do to bring my friend back to life?" He cut him open, took out his heart, and dried it. "How will my friend come back to life?" he said. Then he came back to life. "Here, friend, is what I won off the Tjuvałułukay people," he said; and they ate it. And they said: "Come on, let's go home."

It got dark. "Come on, friend, let's go courting." "I'm not going courting, friend," said the crab. But the crab followed, and went along underneath the bed-space. He pinched off the monkey's penis, and went off with it. The crab went up to the sky-light. Tjukutjuku set some food before the monkey, and the monkey was eating it. Through the sky-light was the way the crab dropped the penis into the food. "Ugh! This is my penis," said the monkey, and picked it out, and took it home. "Why did you remove my penis?"

"I was asleep all the time," said the crab to excuse himself. That's the end of the story.

043 PUŁAŁUŁAŁUYAN AND TJUKUTJUKU

ti Pułałułałuyan kati Tjukutjuku (Kułałau village, p. 227)

001 *izua ti Pułałułałuyan a se Łinasalas; saka izua ti*
i-zua ti Pułałułałuyan a se Łinasalas sa-ka i-zua ti
LOC-that F.H (name) C person.of (place) and-after LOC-that F.H

Tjukutjuku a se Makalaulauz.
Tjukutjuku a se Makalaulauz
(name) C person.of (place)
There was a person called Pułałułałuyan of Łinasalas, and also Tjukutjuku of Makalaulauz.

002 *"ari, qałupi," aya tua sikataqałan; sa vaik a sema qemałup.*
ari qałup-i aya tua si-ka-ta-qała-an sa vaik a em=sa em=qałup
go.on hunt-HORT say OBL IF-main-?-outsider-NOM and leave C AF=go AF=hunt
"Come on, let's go hunting," said (Pułałułałuyan) to his fellow-villagers; and they went hunting.

003 *manu izua kasiw a qatsaqatsa.*
manu i-zua kasiw a qatsa-qatsa
then LOC-that tree C RED-big
Now there was a tall tree,

004 *manu łevavaw ti Pułałułałuyan.*
manu łe-va-vaw ti Pułałułałuyan
then go.to-RED-above F.H (name)
and Pułałułałuyan climbed up it.

005 *manu łengłengen ti Tjukutjuku, a pasa Makalaulauz.*
manu łeng-łeng-en ti Tjukutjuku a pa-sa Makalaulauz
then RED-look.at-PF F.H (name) C cause-go (place)
He saw Tjukutjuku over in Makalaulauz,

006 *manu tjenglay ti Pułałułałuyan.*
manu tjenglay ti Pułałułałuyan
then like F.H (name)
and fell in love with her.

007 *"ku kudavaw tsu," aya ti Pułałułałuyan; sa sikivułu tua quvał tu*
ku kuda-aw tsu aya ti Pułałułałuyan sa si-ki-vułu tua quvał tu
I do.what-LF this say F.H (name) and IF-self-pluck OBL hair OBL

talayan.
ta-alay-an
one-thread-NOM
"What shall I do about this?" said Pułałułałuyan, and pulled out one of his hairs.
[*kudavaw*: *kuda* + *-aw* with intrusive *v*.]
[*sikivułu*: F has *velu* not *vułu*.]

008 *manu sipavali, sa djałun tjai Tjukutjuku.*
manu si-pa-vali sa djałun tja-i Tjukutjuku
then IF-cause-wind and arrive more-LOC (name)
It was carried by the wind all the way to Tjukutjuku,

009 *manu sema tapułu.*
manu em=sa tapułu
then AF=go lap
and went into her lap.

010 *sa kavunglay ti Tjukutjuku.*
sa ka-vungelay ti Tjukutjuku
and become-pregnant F.H (name)
Tjukutjuku became pregnant.

011 *makalimał a vunglanglay; puałak tu uqałay tu ti Kułełułełu.*
maka-lima-ł a lang=vungelay pu-ałak tu uqałay tu ti Kułełułełu
NUM-five-times C RED=pregnant have-child OBL male OBL F.H (name)
She was pregnant for five days, and bore à son called Kułełułełu.

012 *"aku a puałak a paqeteleng a neka nu tsekeł?*
aku a pu-ałak a pa-qeteleng a neka nu tsekeł
why C have-child C cause-randomly C no of spouse
"Why has she had a child on the side without being married?

013 *kałavaru a temaqałan tuki tima a navenunglay."*
ka-łavar-u a ta-ma-qała-an tu-ki ti-ima a na-en=vungelay
main-speak-IMP C ?-STAT-outsider-NOM COMPL-how F-who C PAST-AF=pregnant
All the village must find out who made her pregnant."

014 *manu neka.*
manu neka
then no
But no one was found.

015 *"kełu," ayain ti Pułałułałuyan a se Łinasalas.*
kełu ayaen ti Pułałułałuyan a se Łinasalas
come-IMP say-PF F.H (name) C person.of (place)
Then Pułałułałuyan of Łinasalas was asked to come.

016 *manu mangtjez ti Pułałułałuyan.*
manu m-pangetjez ti Pułałułałuyan
then AF-come F.H (name)
So he came.

017 *"pai, ła kina, avan tsu a ku kama."*
pai ła kina avan tsu a ku kama
well really mother exact this C my father
(The child said:) "Now, mother, this is my father."

018 *saka* *"iya,* *manu* *avan* *tsu* *a* *kama,"* *aya* *a* *temaqaɬan.*
sa-ka iya manu avan tsu a kama aya a ta-ma-qaɬa-an
and-after ah then exact this C father say C ?-STAT-outsider-NOM
So all the village said: "Well, so this is the father!"

019 *sa* *pavay* *anga* *sakamaya* *tua* *sinilisi,* *sa* *pareputsekeɬ*
sa pa-vay anga sakamaya tua in=si-lisi sa pare-pu-tsekeɬ
and cause-give indeed only OBL PERF=IF-bride.price and pair-have-spouse

anga *sakamaya.*
anga sakamaya
indeed only
So he gave the bride-price, and they finished by getting married.

020 *saka* *amin* *a* *kai.*
sa-ka amin a kai
and-after no.more C speech
That's the end of the story.

There was a person called Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan of Ɬinasalas, and also Tjukutjuku of Makalaulauz. "Come on, let's go hunting," said (Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan) to his fellow-villagers; and they went hunting. Now there was a tall tree, and Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan climbed up it. He saw Tjukutjuku over in Makalaulauz, and fell in love with her. "What shall I do about this?" said Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan, and pulled out one of his hairs. It was carried by the wind all the way to Tjukutjuku, and went into her lap. Tjukutjuku became pregnant. She was pregnant for five days, and bore a son called Kuɬeɬuɬeɬu. "Why has she had a child on the side without being married? All the village must find out who made her pregnant." But no one was found.

Then Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan of Ɬinasalas was asked to come. So he came. (The child said:) "Now, mother, this is my father." So all the village said: "Well, so this is the father!" So he gave the bride-price, and they finished by getting married. That's the end of the story.

044 PUŁAŁUŁAŁUYAN AND THE HAWK

ti Pułałułałuyan katua qaḍis (Kułałau village, p. 228)

001 *izua ti Pułałułałuyan a Vavuluvulungan.*
i-zua ti Pułałułałuyan a Vavuluvulungan
LOC-that F.H (name) C (name)
There was Pułałułałuyan Vavuluvulungan.

002 *izua ti Tjukutjuku a Kaḍangiangian i qinałan a mamaw.*
i-zua ti Tjukutjuku a Kaḍangiangian i in=qała-an a ma-amaw
LOC-that F.H (name) C (name) LOC PERF=outsider-NOM C STAT-same
There was Tjukutjuku Kaḍangiangian in the same village.

003 *izua kuku ni Pułałułałuyan a qaḍis.*
i-zua kuku ni Pułałułałuyan a qaḍis
LOC-that pet of (name) C hawk
Pułałułałuyan had a pet hawk.

004 *nu kisudju ti Pułałułałuyan a sema Kaḍangiangian, avanu*
nu ki-sudju ti Pułałułałuyan a em=sa Kaḍangiangian avan nu
when do-sweetheart F.H (name) C AF=go (name) exact when

qaqivuin azua qaḍis.
qa-qivu-en a-zua qaḍis
RED-speak-PF C-that hawk
When Pułałułałuyan went courting to the Kaḍangiangian house, he called the hawk to go along.

005 *manu izua quma itjua Djałalu.*
manu i-zua quma i-tjua Djałalu
then LOC-that field LOC-there (place)
On the way there was a field at Djałalu.

006 *manu vaik tia Pułałułałuyan katua qaḍis.*
manu vaik ti-a Pułałułałuyan ka-tua qaḍis
then leave F.H-PL (name) and-OBL hawk
Pułałułałuyan and the hawk went off.

007 *manu rinaung nua qała a se Łinasalas.*
manu in=raung nua qała a se Łinasalas
then PERF=trap by outsider C person.of (place)
Enemies from Łinasalas lay in ambush.

008 *manu kemłang a qaḍis tu izua qała.*
manu m=kełang a qaḍis tu i-zua qała
then AF=know C hawk COMPL LOC-that outsider
The hawk knew there were enemies there.

009 *"ari tsikeli, Pułałułałuyan; imaza qała."*
ari tsikel-i Pułałułałuyan i-maza qała
go.on return-HORT (name) LOC-here outsider
"Come on, let's go back, Pułałułałuyan; there are enemies here."

010 *"pumaya," aya ti Pułałułałuyan.*
pu-ma-aya aya ti Pułałułałuyan
have-STAT-be.thus say F.H (name)
"Never mind," said Pułałałułuyan.

011 *manu djemałun tua quma, sa kuangi nua qała ti Pułałułałuyan;*
manu em=djałun tua quma sa kuang-i nua qała ti Pułałułałuyan
then AF=arrive OBL field and firearm-PF by outsider F.H (name)

manu matsay.
manu m-patsay
then AF-die
They reached the field, and Pułałułałuyan was shot by the enemies, and died.

012 *"'ai anga ti kaka i Pułałułałuyan," aya a kuku a qaḍis.*
ai anga ti kaka i Pułałułałuyan aya a kuku a qaḍis
oh indeed F.H sibling which (name) say C pet C hawk
"Oh poor brother Pułałułałuyan!" said the pet hawk.

013 *"ku kudavaw ti kaka a papevałut?"*
ku kuda-aw ti kaka a pa-pe-vałut
I do.what-LF F.H sibling C cause-emerge-alive
"What can I do to bring my brother back to life?"

014 *manu mevałut.*
manu me-vałut
then AF-alive
Well he came back to life.

015 *mangtjez a qiyayaw.*
m-pangetjez a ya=qiyaw
AF-come C RED=assist
People came to the rescue.

016 *"anema nu qaqiyaven?" aya ti Pułałułałuyan.*
a-nema nu qa-qiyaw-en aya ti Pułałułałuyan
?-what you(P) RED-assist-PF say F.H (name)
"What's all the fuss about?" said Pułałułałuyan.

017 *"matsay anga, aya men tjanusun."*
m-patsay anga aya amen tjanu-sun
AF-die indeed say F.we(EXC) OBL-you(S)
"We thought you were dead."

018 *"ki izua za matsay? ła uqałay.*
ki i-zua zua m-patsay ła uqałay
how LOC-that that AF-die really male
"Dead indeed, a tough male like me!

019 *ari sakamaya, saumaqi."*
ari sakamaya sa-umaq-i
go.on only go-house-HORT
Come on, let's just go home."

020 *mangtjez i umaq.*
m-pangetjez i umaq
AF-come LOC house
When he got home,

021 *qemauqaung a kina.*
em=qau-qaung a kina
AF=RED-cry C mother
his mother was crying.

022 *"maya qemaung, kina; izuanan aken.*
maya em=qaung kina i-zua-anan aken
don't AF=cry mother LOC-that-still F.I
"Don't cry, mother, I'm still alive.

023 *makuda ɬa uqaɬay."*
ma-kuda ɬa uqaɬay
STAT-do.what really male
It's nothing to a male like me."

024 *amin a kai.*
amin a kai
no.more C speech
That's the end of the story.

There was Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan Vavuluvulungan. There was Tjukutjuku Kaḍangiangian in the same village. Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan had a pet hawk. When Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan went courting to the Kaḍangiangian house, he called the hawk to go along. On the way there was a field at Djaɬalu. Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan and the hawk went off. Enemies from Ɬinasalas lay in ambush. The hawk knew there were enemies there. "Come on, let's go back, Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan; there are enemies here."

"Never mind," said Puɬaɬaɬuɬuyan. They reached the field, and Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan was shot by the enemies, and died. "Oh poor brother Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan!" said the pet hawk. "What can I do to bring my brother back to life?" Well he came back to life. People came to the rescue.

"What's all the fuss about?" said Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan.

"We thought you were dead."

"Dead indeed, a tough male like me! Come on, let's just go home." When he got home, his mother was crying. "Don't cry, mother, I'm still alive. It's nothing to a male like me." That's the end of the story.

045 A CANNIBAL

keman tua tsautsau (Kułałau village, p. 230)

001 *izua se Paḍingulay a keman tua tsautsau, aya a tjautsikel.*
i-zua se Paḍingulay a em=kan tua tsau-tsau aya a tjautsikel
LOC-that person.of (place) C AF=eat OBL RED-being say C story
It is said there was a person of Paḍingulay who ate people.

002 *qayamen a djamuq na ałak.*
qayam-en a djamuq nua ałak
inspect-PF C blood of child
She/he tested the blood of children.

003 *nu qadiadid, siverits.*
nu adi=qadid si-verits
when RED=bitter IF-discard
If it was bitter, he threw the child away.

004 *nu qałemqemqem, papeqatsain, sa tsułu-i anga nu*
nu ał=qem-qemqem pa-pe-qatsa-en sa tsułu-i anga nu
when QAL=RED-sweet cause-emerge-big-PF and butcher-PF indeed when

meqatsa.
me-qatsa
AF-big
If it was sweet, he let the child grow up, and killed it when it was grown.

It is said there was a person of Paḍingulay who ate people. She/he tested the blood of children. If it was bitter, he threw the child away. If it was sweet, he let the child grow up, and killed it when it was grown.

046 THE TABOO RIVER

pana a palisi (Kułałau village, p. 230)

001 *naizua ti sa Ḍangaḍang, navaik a sema pana sema*
na-i-zua ti sa Ḍangaḍang na-vaik a em=sa pana em=sa
PAST-LOC-that F.H H (name) PAST-leave C AF=go river AF=go

Tjuruqułivangerangeraw.
Tjuruqułivangerangeraw
(place)
There was a person called Ḍangaḍang. He went to the river to the Place of Many Rainbows.
[*Tjuruqułivangerangeraw*: *tjuru-quł-range=vangeraw*: *tjuru-* short for *tjuruvu* F303, *quł* F23.]

002 *ka manu manadip a lepets a pinanadipan.*
ka manu m-panadip a lepets a in=panadip-an
after then AF-fish.with.hook C headcloth C PERF=fish.with.hook-LF
When he fished with a hook, he caught a mourning head-cloth.

003 *saka mumał a manadip a kavakavanga.*
sa-ka ma-uma-ł a m-panadip a kava-kava-anga
and-after STAT-other-times C AF-fish.with.hook C RED-clothing-indeed
The next time he caught a robe.
[*kavakavanga*: could be a single form 'robe'.]

004 *saka małia manadip uta, saka tsautsau anga.*
sa-ka ma-ł-ia m-panadip uta sa-ka tsau-tsau anga
and-after STAT-dawn AF-fish.with.hook also and-after RED-being indeed
Next day he fished again, and this time it was a person.

005 *sa "nakuya tsu.*
sa na-kuya tsu
"This is no good.

006 *kimaya siqazał; kimaya ken a uri matsay." aya, sa vaik*
ki-ma-aya si-qazał ki-ma-aya aken a uri m-patsay aya sa vaik
do-STAT-be.thus IF-dread do-STAT-be.thus F.I C will AF-die say and leave

anga sema umaq.
anga em=sa umaq
indeed AF=go house
There's something frightful about it. Perhaps I'm going to die," he said, and went home.

007 *ka mangtjez i umaq, "palisi anga izua.*
ka m-pangetjez i umaq palisi anga i-zua
after AF-come LOC house taboo indeed LOC-that
When he got home, the villagers said: "That's taboo.

008 *mayanga a sema zua penanadip, a umaq nua tsemas," ayanga*
maya-anga a em=sa zua en=panadip a umaq nua tsemas aya-anga
don't-indeed C AF=go that AF=fish.with.hook C house of god say-indeed

tamaqaɬan.
ta-ma-qaɬa-an
?-STAT-outsider-NOM
Don't go there to fish; it's the home of a god."

009 *saka ini anga ka sema zua; marekutj anga sakamaya.*
sa-ka ini anga ka em=sa zua ma-rekutj anga sakamaya
and-after not indeed after AF=go that STAT-fear indeed only
So he didn't go there any more; he was too frightened.

010 *naizua ti Qeɬung kati sa Pangil a sema zua semenasenay a*
na-i-zua ti Qeɬung ka-ti sa Pangil a em=sa zua em=sena-senay a
PAST-LOC-that F.H (name) and-F.H H (name) C AF=go that AF=RED-chant C

maresudjusudju.
mare-sudju-sudju
pair-RED-sweetheart
There were Qeɬung and Pangil who went there singing and courting.

011 *matsay ti sa Qeɬung, ka mangtjez i umaq.*
m-patsay ti sa Qeɬung ka m-pangetjez i umaq
AF-die F.H H (name) after AF-come LOC house
Qeɬung died when he got home.

012 *sa nekanga nu ɬiadet a sema zua.*
sa neka-anga nu ɬia-det a em=sa zua
and no-indeed of be.in-near C AF=go that
So no one else went near there.
[*ɬiadet*: F69 has *ɬia-dut* under *dut*, and F142 has *ɬi-a-dut* under *ɬi-a*.]

013 *amin a kai.*
amin a kai
no.more C speech
That's the end.

There was a person called Ḍangaḍang. He went to the river to the Place of Many Rainbows. When he fished with a hook, he caught a mourning head-cloth. The next time he caught a robe. Next day he fished again, and this time it was a person. "This is no good. There's something frightful about it. Perhaps I'm going to die," he said, and went home.

When he got home, the villagers said: "That's taboo. Don't go there to fish; it's the home of a god." So he didn't go there any more; he was too frightened. There were Qeɬung and Pangil who went there singing and courting. Qeɬung died when he got home. So no one else went near there. That's the end.

047 KUŁEŁUŁEŁU

ti Kułełułełu (Kułałau village, p. 231)

001 *naizua tia sa Pułałułałuyan kati sa Sułupłupan, a puałak*
na-i-zua ti-a sa Pułałułałuyan ka-ti sa Sułupłupan a pu-ałak
PAST-LOC-that F.II-PL H (name) and-F.H H (name) C have-child

tua ałak a maḍusa.
tua ałak a ma-ḍusa
OBL child C NUM-two
Once upon a time Pułałułałuyan and Sułupłupan had two children.

002 *"ka iumaqan su kaka.*
ka i-umaq-an su kaka
after LOC-house-LF your(S) sibling
"Stay at home with your sibling.

003 *vaik anan amen a sema vavua.*
vaik anan amen a em=sa va-vua
leave still F.we(EXC) C AF=go RED-field
We are just going to the fields.

004 *kiman anga tua tja vaqu sa tsugtsugan anga," ayain ti*
kim-an anga tua tja vaqu sa tsugtsug-an anga aya-en ti
search-LF indeed OBL our(INC) millet and bump-LF indeed say-PF F.H

Kułełułełu.
Kułełułełu
(name)
Find some of our millet and pound it," they said to Kułełułełu.

005 *saka vaik a kina katua kama a sema vavua.*
sa-ka vaik a kina ka-tua kama a em=sa va-vua
and-after leave C mother and-OBL father C AF=go RED-field
So mother and father went off to the fields.

006 *sitsugtsug a kaka tua djełep.*
si-tsugtsug a kaka tua djełep
IF-bump C sibling OBL wall
He hit his sibling against a stone wall.

007 *azua "tsugtsugan anga," aya tia kina.*
a-zua tsugtsug-an anga aya ti-a kina
C-that bump-LF indeed say F.H-PL mother
That was because his mother had said "Pound it".
[*tia*: marked for plural, suggesting that *kina* is shorthand here for mother and father.]

008 *sa patsay azua kaka.*
sa patsay a-zua kaka
and die C-that sibling
So the sibling died.

009 *sa pangtjez a kama katua kina.*
sa pangetjez a kama ka-tua kina
and come C father and-OBL mother
Father and mother came.

010 *"ainu anga su kaka?"*
a-inu anga su kaka
?-where indeed your(S) sibling
"Where is your sibling?"

011 *"uzay namatsay anga.*
uzay na-m-patsay anga
there PAST-AF-die indeed
"There, dead.

012 *'tsugtsugan anga,' nu aya mun, avan a ku sitsugtsug."*
tsugtsug-an anga nu aya mun avan a ku si-tsugtsug
bump-LF indeed when say F.you(P) exact C I IF-bump
"You said 'Pound it'; that's why I pounded her/him."

013 *"aku a su sitsugtsug?*
aku a su si-tsugtsug
why C you(S) IF-bump
"Why did you pound her/him?

014 *avan a vaqu a ku siaya tu su sitsugtsug."*
avan a vaqu a ku si-aya tu su si-tsugtsug
exact C millet C I IF-say COMPL you(S) IF-bump
It was the millet I meant you to pound."

015 *sa kałia, vaik azua kina katua kama.*
sa ka-łia vaik a-zua kina ka-tua kama
and PAST-dawn leave C-that mother and-OBL father
Next day mother and father went off.

016 *"łała-an anga tja ḍiḍi," ayain ti Kułułułułu.*
łała-an anga tja ḍiḍi aya-en ti Kułułułułu
heat-LF indeed our(INC) pig say-PF F.H (name)
"Boil some water for the pig," they said to Kułułułułu;

017 *sa vaik azua kama katua kina.*
sa vaik a-zua kama ka-tua kina
and leave C-that father and-OBL mother
and father and mother went off.

018 *sa pułała zua uta.*
sa pu-łała zua uta
and have-heat that also
He put some water on to boil.

019 *ka makalała, djekepen a ḍiḍi sa pasa pariuki, sa patsay azua*
ka maka-łała djekep-en a ḍiḍi sa pa-sa pariuk-i sa patsay a-zua
after finished-heat catch-PF C pig and cause-go wok-PF and die C-that

ḍiḍi.
ḍiḍi
pig
When it had boiled, he caught the pig and put it in the wok, and the pig died.

020 *sa pangtjez a kina katua kama kasi vavua.*
sa pangetjez a kina ka-tua kama kasi va-vua
and come C mother and-OBL father from RED-field
Mother and father came back from the fields.

021 *"ainu anga tja ḍiḍi?"*
a-inu anga tja ḍiḍi
?-where indeed our(INC) pig
"Where is our pig?"

022 *"azua 'łała-ananga,' aya mun; saka uzay namatsay anga."*
a-zua łała-an anga aya mun sa-ka uzay na-m-patsay anga
C-that heat-LF indeed say F.you(P) and-after there PAST-AF-die indeed
"You said 'Boil some water for it'; and there it is dead."

023 *"azua 'łała-an anga,' aya men, ala avan a su sipakanan,*
a-zua łała-an anga aya amen ala avan a su si-pa-kan-an
C-that heat-LF indeed say F.we(EXC) but exact C you(S) IF-cause-eat-LF

nia siaya; saka nakuya tsu," aya.
nia si-aya sa-ka na-kuya tsu aya
we(EXC) IF-say and-after STAT-bad this say
"When we said 'Boil some water for it', we meant it for you to feed it. This is no good," they said.

024 *sa djaułan tua pulingaw.*
sa djauł-an tua pu-lingaw
and call-LF OBL have-know
So they called the shaman.

025 *sa "tja kapalisi, sa djekepu a tja ḍiḍi," ayain nua kama.*
sa tja ka-palisi sa djekep-u a tja ḍiḍi aya-en nua kama
and we(INC) become-taboo and catch-IMP C our(INC) pig say-PF by father
"We'll perform a ceremony; you catch our pig," said his father.

026 *manu avan a kama djekepen.*
manu avan a kama djekep-en
then exact C father catch-PF
But it was his father he caught hold of.

027 *"nakuya maitazua.*
na-kuya ma-aya-ta-zua
STAT-bad STAT-be.thus-?-that
"That's no good.

028 *avan a ḍiḍi a ku siaya.*
avan a ḍiḍi a ku si-aya
exact C pig C I IF-say
I meant the pig.

029 *ini; nakuya tsu.*
ini na-kuya tsu
not STAT-bad this
No, that's no good.

030 *kapalisi a kirimu.*
ka-palisi a ki-rimu
become-taboo C do-quick
Let's perform the ceremony quickly.

031 *tja sukulungay, tja sulutjukay."*
tja su-kulung-ay tja su-lutjuk-ay
we(INC) remove-awkward-LF we(INC) remove-bad-LF
Let's get rid of his stupidity and evil."

032 *sa djekepi a kama katua pulingaw, sa patsay anga sakamaya*
sa djekep-i a kama ka-tua pu-lingaw sa patsay anga sakamaya
and catch-PF C father and-OBL have-know and die indeed only

izua.
i-zua
LOC-that
But he caught hold of his father and the shaman, and they died there and then.

033 *saka amin.*
sa-ka amin
and-after no.more
The end.

Once upon a time Pułałułałuyan and Sułupłupan had two children. "Stay at home with your sibling. We are just going to the fields. Find some of our millet and pound it," they said to Kułełułełu. So mother and father went off to the fields. He hit his sibling against a stone wall. That was because his mother had said "Pound it". So the sibling died. Father and mother came. "Where is your sibling?"

"There, dead. You said 'Pound it'; that's why I pounded her/him."

"Why did you pound her/him? It was the millet I meant you to pound." Next day mother and father went off. "Boil some water for the pig," they said to Kułełułełu; and father and mother went off. He put some water on to boil. When it had boiled, he caught the pig and put it in the wok, and the pig died. Mother and father came back from the fields. "Where is our pig?"

"You said 'Boil some water for it'; and there it is dead."

"When we said 'Boil some water for it', we meant it for you to feed it. This is no good," they said. So they called the shaman. "We'll perform a ceremony; you catch our pig," said his father. But it was his father he caught hold of. "That's no good. I meant the pig. No, that's no good. Let's perform the ceremony quickly. Let's get rid of his stupidity and evil." But he caught hold of his father and the shaman, and they died there and then. The end.

048 A TWO-HEADED MONSTER

ḍakasi (Kułałau village, p. 234)

001 *izua tia Muakakai kati Tjukutjuku.*
i-zua ti-a Muakakai ka-ti Tjukutjuku
LOC-that F.H-PL (name) and-F.H (name)
There were two people called Muakakai and Tjukutjuku.

002 *"ari, kivasa-i," aya sa vaik a tjału vavua.*
ari ki-vasa-i aya sa vaik a tjału va-vua
go.on do-taro-HORT say and leave C reach RED-field
"Come on, let's collect taro," they said, and went to the fields.

003 *izua ḍakasi, mauḍusa a qulu.*
i-zua ḍakasi mau-ḍusa a qulu
LOC-that monster NUM-two C head
There was a monster with two heads.

004 *"ḍaakasi ḍaakasi, kisamuła-u, ła maḍusa.*
ḍaakasi ḍaakasi ki-samuła-u ła ma-ḍusa
? ? do-urgent-IMP class NUM-two
"*Ḍaakasi ḍaakasi*, work hard you two.

005 *uri matsay mun maqezemetj.*
uri m-patsay mun ma-qezemetj
will AF-die F.you(P) STAT-night
You will die tonight.

006 *ḍaakasi ḍaakasi, kivasa-u a kirimu.*
ḍaakasi ḍaakasi ki-vasa-u a ki-rimu
? ? do-taro-IMP C do-quick
Collect the taro quickly.

007 *uri matsay mun maqezemetj."*
uri m-patsay mun ma-qezemetj
will AF-die F.you(P) STAT-night
You will die tonight."

008 *sa vaik a sema umaq.*
sa vaik a em=sa umaq
and leave C AF=go house
So they went home.

009 *manu maka qezung a matsidił, maka pałing a matsidił.*
manu maka qezung a ma-tsidił maka pałing a ma-tsidił
then via window C NUM-alone via doorway C NUM-alone
One went through the window and one through the doorway.

010 *maqaqułis i tala namatsay.*
ma-qa-qułis i tala na-m-patsay
STAT-RED-turn LOC bedspace PAST-AF-die
(They bumped their heads together. (OA)) They lay dead, head to foot, in the space between the bed platforms.

011 *amin a kai.*
amin a kai
no.more C speech
That's the end.

There were two people called Muakakai and Tjukutjuku. "Come on, let's collect taro," they said, and went to the fields. There was a monster with two heads. "*Ḍaakasi ḍaakasi*, work hard you two. You will die tonight. Collect the taro quickly. You will die tonight." So they went home. One went through the window and one through the doorway. (They bumped their heads together. (OA)) They lay dead, head to foot, in the space between the bed platforms. That's the end.

049 ORIGIN OF THE FIVE–YEAR FESTIVAL

małeveq (Kułałau village, p. 234)

001 *naizua ti sa Rungiłingan a natsemukatsukar.*
na-i-zua ti sa Rungiłingan a na-em=tsuka-tsukar
PAST-LOC-that F.H H (name) C PAST-AF=RED-dry.clothes
There was (in heaven (OA)) a person called Rungiłingan who had been drying some clothes.

002 *matjani a łeteku a sema Lingutjał.*
ma-tjani a łe-teku a em=sa Lingutjał
STAT-fall C go.to-down C AF=go (place)
He fell down to the Lingutjał house,

003 *sa djumaken ni sa Łemud.*
sa djumak-en ni sa Łemud
and find-PF by H (name)
and was found by Łemud.

004 *"kemasinu sun?"*
em=kasi-inu sun
AF=from-where F.you(S)
"Where are you from?"

005 *"kemasi tjarivavaw aken.*
em=kasi tjari-va-vaw aken
AF=from utmost-RED-above F.I
"I'm from heaven.

006 *pai petsunguan aken, uła ken a kiayan tua tsevuł a sema*
pai petsungu-an aken uła aken a ki-aya-an tua tsevuł a em=sa
well make.fire-LF F.I so.that F.I C do-be.thus-LF OBL smoke C AF=go

tjarivavaw."
tjari-va-vaw
utmost-RED-above
Light a fire for me, so that I can go up to heaven with the smoke."
[*kiayan*: whole form glossed as 'follow after' in F61]

007 *sa petsungu anga.*
sa petsungu anga
and make.fire indeed
He lit a fire.

008 *"nu sika lima sa kiayan anga tua tsevuł, uri seman*
nu sika lima sa ki-aya-an anga tua tsevuł uri em=sane
when number five and do-be.thus-LF indeed OBL smoke will AF=make

pulingaw amen.
pu-lingaw amen
have-know F.we(EXC)
"On the fifth day, come up with the smoke; we will make (you) a shaman.

009 *nu sika lima sa nu mangtjez sun i tjarivavaw,*
nu sika lima sa nu m-pangetjez sun i tjari-va-vaw
when number five and when AF-come F.you(S) LOC utmost-RED-above

tjukatsasavanu anga; sa kilangdangda-i anga nu
tju-ka-tsasaw-an-u anga sa ki-angeda=langeda-i anga nu
there-main-outside-NOM-IMP indeed and do-RED=hear-PF indeed when

malada men.
ma-lada amen
STAT-ritual F.we(EXC)
On the fifth day when you come to heaven, stay in the courtyard, and listen while we perform the rite.

010 *nu talangtangtang, sa tjiɬivaru anga, nu uri nemingats anga*
nu al=tang-tangtang sa tjiɬivar-u anga nu uri em=ningats anga
when QAL=RED-dawn go granary-IMP indeed when will AF=recite indeed

men."
amen
F.we(EXC)
When it's getting light, go in the indoor granary, when we are beginning to recite(?).

011 *saka i tjiɬivar anga ti sa Ɬemud, a patsutsun tua kisan*
sa-ka i tjiɬivar anga ti sa Ɬemud a pa-tsu-tsun tua ki-sane
and-after LOC granary indeed F.H H (name) C cause-RED-see OBL do-make

pulingalingaw.
pu-linga-lingaw
have-RED-know
So Ɬemud was in the granary watching the rite of making a shaman.

012 *ka maɬia, "ki ken a vaik anan," aya ti sa Ɬemud.*
ka ma-ɬia ki aken a vaik anan aya ti sa Ɬemud
after STAT-dawn will F.I C leave still say F.H H (name)
Next day Ɬemud said: "I'll be off now."

013 *"anema a nu vusam, anema nu tjaɬayan?"*
a-nema a nu vusam a-nema nu tjaɬayan
?-what C your(P) seed ?-what your(P) big.seeds
"What small and bigger seeds do you have?"

014 *"qaliḍuḍu, vala."*
qaliḍuḍu vala
taro.sp taro.sp
"We have *qaliḍuḍu* and *vala* taro."

015 *"katsu tusa vusam, a tjelu a vusaman, a vuluvulung, a tjamekuɬ, a*
katsu tu-tsa vusam a tjelu a vusam-an a vulu-vulung a tjamekuɬ a
carry OBL-this seed C three C seed-NOM C RED-millet.sp C millet.sp C

łailiman.
îailiman
millet.sp
"Take these small seeds of three kinds: *vuluvulung*, *tjamekuł* and *łailiman* millet.
[*łailiman*: *lailiman* in F.]

016 *ari sa-u tjua Qutsułi.*
ari sa-u tjua Qutsuîi
go.on go-IMP there (place)
Off you go to Qutsułi.

017 *katsu tua ḍiḍi a vulivuliqan."*
katsu tua ÷i÷i a vuli-vuliq-an
carry OBL pig C RED-striped-NOM
Take a dappled pig."

018 *"małevłeveq amen," ayain ni sa Rungiłingan.*
ma-îev-îeveq amen aya-en ni sa Rungiîingan
STAT-RED-festival.type F.we(EXC) say-PF by H (name)
"We are celebrating the five–year festival," added Rungiłingan;

019 *"alau pai kałevequ anga, sa tsektseku anga tua kasiw."*
ala-u pai ka-îeveq-u anga sa tsektsek-u anga tua kasiw
but-IMP well become-festival.type-IMP indeed and stake-IMP indeed OBL tree
"so you too celebrate it, and stick wooden stakes in the ground."

020 *sa vaik anga ti sa Łemud a sema tjariteku.*
sa vaik anga ti sa ïemud a em=sa tjari-teku
and leave indeed F.H H (name) C AF=go utmost-down
Łemud went back to the world below.

021 *mangtjez ti sa Łemud.*
m-pangetjez ti sa ïemud
AF-come F.H H (name)
He arrived;

022 *tsemektsek tua kasiw; mangtjez i Livulivuan.*
em=tsektsek tua kasiw m-pangetjez i Livulivuan
AF=stake OBL tree AF-come LOC (place)
he stuck stakes in. He got to Livulivuan,

023 *sa vaik a sema Rusivavan uta tsemektsek.*
sa vaik a em=sa Rusivavan uta em=tsektsek
and leave C AF=go (place) also AF=stake
and went to Rusivavan sticking in stakes.

024 *saka "nakuya tsu a neka nu pulingaw," aya.*
sa-ka na-kuya tsu a neka nu pu-lingaw aya
and-after STAT-bad this C no of have-know say
"It's bad there are no shamans," he (*or* they) said;

025 *sa kisan pulingaw a marekakakaka a małe lima, a siruvetjek ni*
sa ki-sane pu-lingaw a mare-kaka-kaka a małe lima a si-ru-vetjek ni
and do-make have-know C pair-RED-sibling C NUM five C IF-many-sibling of

sa Łemud.
sa Łemud
H (name)
and five siblings, Łemud's siblings, became shamans.

026 *sa tulu-i tuazua kinitulu a kasi tjarivavaw; sa*
sa tulu-i tua-zua in=ki-tulu a kasi tjari-va-vaw sa
and teach-PF OBL-that PERF=do-teach C from utmost-RED-above and

patagił anga uta małeveq a i tjariteku.
pa-tagił anga uta ma-łeveq a i tjari-teku
cause-originate indeed also STAT-festival.type C LOC utmost-down
And he taught them what he had learnt from heaven; and they began to celebrate the festival in the world below too.

027 *saka izua.*
sa-ka i-zua
and-after LOC-that
And it goes on.

028 *saka amin.*
sa-ka amin
and-after no.more
The end.

There was (in heaven (OA)) a person called Rungiłingan who had been drying some clothes. He fell down to the Lingutjał house, and was found by Łemud. "Where are you from?"

"I'm from heaven. Light a fire for me, so that I can go up to heaven with the smoke." He lit a fire. "On the fifth day, come up with the smoke; we will make (you) a shaman. On the fifth day when you come to heaven, stay in the courtyard, and listen while we perform the rite. When it's getting light, go in the indoor granary, when we are beginning to recite(?)."

So Łemud was in the granary watching the rite of making a shaman. Next day Łemud said: "I'll be off now."

"What small and bigger seeds do you have?"

"We have *qaliḍuḍu* and *vala* taro."

"Take these small seeds of three kinds: *vuluvulung*, *tjamekuł* and *łailiman* millet. Off you go to Qutsułi. Take a dappled pig."

"We are celebrating the five–year festival," added Rungiłingan; "so you too celebrate it, and stick wooden stakes in the ground." Łemud went back to the world below. He arrived; he stuck stakes in. He got to Livulivuan, and went to Rusivavan sticking in stakes. "It's bad there are no shamans," he (*or* they) said; and five siblings, Łemud's siblings, became shamans. And he taught them what he had learnt from heaven; and they began to celebrate the festival in the world below too. And it goes on. The end.

050 THE PENIS WHICH BECAME A MAN

qalitsi a metsautsau (Kułałau village, p. 236)

001 *naizua tia Kułełułełu katua sedjeł a qalitsi.*
na-i-zua ti-a Kułełułełu ka-tua sedjeł a qalitsi
PAST-LOC-that F.H-PL (name) and-OBL only C penis
There were Kułełułełu and just a penis.

002 *pinatsayan anga nua kina katua kama.*
in=patsay-an anga nua kina ka-tua kama
PERF=die-LF indeed by mother and-OBL father
They had been left orphans by their parents.

003 *sa vaik a kisudju a sema Pakuvadavaday ti Kułełułełu, sa*
sa vaik a ki-sudju a em=sa Pakuvadavaday ti Kułełułełu sa
and leave C do-sweetheart C AF=go (place) F.H (name) and

katsu-i azua a kisudju azua qalitsi a pinituvung.
katsu-i a-zua a ki-sudju a-zua qalitsi a in=pi-tuvung
carry-PF C-that C do-sweetheart C-that penis C PERF=put-container
Kułełułełu went courting to Pakuvadavaday, and took along the penis in a container to go courting.

004 *saka nu semenay, a kisełang azua qalitsi.*
sa-ka nu em=senay a ki-sełang a-zua qalitsi
and-after when AF=chant C do-equal C-that penis
When they sang, the penis sang along too.

005 *saka małia, sa vaik a sema tjatjan azua maresudjusudju a*
sa-ka ma-łia sa vaik a em=sa tjatjan a-zua mare-sudju-sudju a
and-after STAT-dawn and leave C AF=go spring C-that pair-RED-sweetheart C

tia Kułełułełu katia Muakakai katia Tjukutjuku.
ti-a Kułełułełu ka-ti-a Muakakai ka-ti-a Tjukutjuku
F.H-PL (name) and-F.H-PL (name) and-F.H-PL (name)
Next day the boy- and girl-friends went to the spring – Kułełułełu and Muakakai and Tjukutjuku.

006 *ti Muakakai a sangasangasan, saka ti Tjukutjuku, saka ti*
ti Muakakai a sanga-sangas-an sa-ka ti Tjukutjuku sa-ka ti
F.H (name) C RED-first-NOM and-after F.H (name) and-after F.H

Qalitsi, saka ti Kułełułełu a vilivilił-an.
Qalitsi sa-ka ti Kułełułełu a vili-vilił-an
penis and-after F.H (name) C RED-behind-NOM
Muakakai was first, then Tjukutjuku, then Penis, and Kułełułełu last.

007 *mangtjez i tjatjan; temalaw a mapułat.*
m-pangetjez i tjatjan em=talaw a ma-pułat
AF-come LOC spring AF=hold.liquid C NUM-all
They got to the spring, and all dipped out water.

008 *ka kiramata, patsual azua qalitsi, tjaluktjuk a pasa puzałuman.*
ka ki-ramata pa-tsual a-zua qalitsi al=tjuktjuk a pa-sa pu-załum-an
after self-wash cause-copy C-that penis QAL=beak C cause-go have-water-NOM
When they washed themselves, the penis copied the others and made a dripping noise(?) into the water.
[*puzałuman*: F358 'water-source, vessel'.]

009 *madudu ti Tjukutjuku; veseqitjen tua kasiw, sa sivułuq malipat*
ma-dudu ti Tjukutjuku veseqitj-en tua kasiw sa si-vułuq ma-lipat
STAT-angry F.H (name) flog-PF OBL tree and IF-throw STAT-disappear

i lauz.
i lauz
LOC down
Tjukutjuku was angry and hit it with a piece of wood, and threw it out of sight downhill.

010 *"adadadadadada," aya ti Qalitsi.*
adadadadadada aya ti Qalitsi
ow say F.H penis
"Ow ow ow," said Penis.

011 *"ari saumaqi anga," aya.*
ari sa-umaq-i anga aya
go.on go-house-HORT indeed say
"Come on, let's go home," they said.

012 *ti Muakakai a sangasangasan, saka ti Tjukutjuku, saka ti*
ti Muakakai a sanga-sangas-an sa-ka ti Tjukutjuku sa-ka ti
F.H (name) C RED-first-NOM and-after F.H (name) and-after F.H

Qalitsi, saka ti Kułełułełu a pangtjez i umaq.
Qalitsi sa-ka ti Kułełułełu a pangetjez i umaq
penis and-after F.H (name) C come LOC house
Muakakai was first, then Tjukutjuku, then Penis, then Kułełułełu as they got home.

013 *tjara maka tjumatjumaq anga azua vavayavayan katua tia*
tjara maka tjuma-tju-umaq anga a-zua vaya=vavayan ka-tua ti-a
surely via RED-there-house indeed C-that RED=female and-OBL F.H-PL

Kułełułełu katia Qalitsi.
Kułełułełu ka-ti-a Qalitsi
(name) and-F.H-PL penis
They went round by their homes, the girls and Kułełułełu and Penis.

014 *mangtjez i tjumaq tia Kułełułełu katia Qalitsi.*
m-pangetjez i tju-umaq ti-a Kułełułełu ka-ti-a Qalitsi
AF-come LOC there-house F.H-PL (name) and-F.H-PL penis
Kułełułełu and Penis got home.

015 *"nakuya sun; masiaq itjen.*
na-kuya sun ma-siaq itjen
STAT-bad F.you(S) STAT-shame F.we(INC)
"You're bad. It was embarrassing for us.

016 *su djungusen sakamaya tua tja sudju.*
su djungus-en sakamaya tua tja sudju
you(S) close.to-PF only OBL our(INC) sweetheart
You were getting close to(?) our girl-friends.

017 *'kaituvutuvungu,' nu ku su ayain, inika sun a*
ka-i-tuvu-tuvung-u nu ku su aya-en ini-ka sun a
main-LOC-RED-container-IMP when I you(S) say-PF not-after F.you(S) C
kilangda."
ki-langeda
do-hear
Although I said to you, 'Stay in the container,' you didn't listen to me."

018 *"ari nu maya, sałazuki," aya ti Qalitsi tjai Kułełułełu.*
ari nu ma-aya sa-łazuk-i aya ti Qalitsi tjai Kułełułełu
go.on when STAT-be.thus go-plains-HORT say F.H penis OBL.H (name)
"Oh well, come on; let's go to the plains," said Penis to Kułełułełu.
[*sałazuki*: *sałakuzi* in OA.]

019 *"ari nu maya," ayain; sa pangtjez i łazuk.*
ari nu ma-aya aya-en sa pangetjez i łazuk
go.on when STAT-be.thus say-PF and come LOC plains
"All right, let's go," he replied. So they reached the plains.

020 *sa "anema su katjenglayan, uła tjen a sema tsiam?"*
sa a-nema su ka-tjenglay-an uła tjen a em=sa tsiam
and ?-what you(S) become-like-LF so.that F.we(INC) C AF=go shop
"If we go to the shop, what do you fancy?"

021 *"avan a tsiqaw katua ngiaw a ku katjenglayan."*
avan a tsiqaw ka-tua ngiaw a ku ka-tjenglay-an
exact C fish and-OBL cat C I become-like-LF
"I fancy a fish and a cat."

022 *saka amin nu velin.*
sa-ka amin nu veli-en
and-after no.more of buy-PF
So that's all they bought.

023 *sa vaik, sa pangtjez i umaq.*
sa vaik sa pangetjez i umaq
and leave and come LOC house
They left and got back home.

024 *"pasa puzayazayanu aken i tavi, sa pasazua-i uta*
pa-sa pu-zaya-zaya-an-u aken i tavi sa pa-sa-zua-i uta
cause-go have-RED-up-NOM-IMP F.I LOC shelf and cause-go-that-HORT also
azua ngiaw katua tsiqaw."
a-zua ngiaw ka-tua tsiqaw
C-that cat and-OBL fish
"Put me in the inner part of the house on the shelf, and put the cat and the fish there too."

025 *manu kikulat anan nua ngiaw, sa kasalisalitj a maka tua djui nua*
manu ki-kulat anan nua ngiaw sa ka-sali-salitj a maka tua djui nua
then do-frisk still by cat and main-RED-toss C via OBL thorn of

tsiqaw a qalitsi.
tsiqaw a qalitsi
fish C penis
The cat kept frisking about(?), and the penis was tossed between the fins of the fish.

026 *manu magutsal, manu metsautsau, saka ti Pułałułałuyan a ngadan.*
manu ma-gutsal manu me-tsau-tsau sa-ka ti Pułałułałuyan a ngadan
then STAT-burst then AF-RED-being and-after F.H (name) C name
And it burst open and turned into a person, whose name was Pułałułałuyan.

027 *"kełu anga, kaka.*
keł-u anga kaka
come-IMP indeed sibling
"Come on, brother,

028 *idan a ku situngan."*
id-an a ku si-itung-an
come-LF C my IF-cloth-NOM
give me some clothes."

029 *manu mingtjus ti Kułełułełu.*
manu m-pingtjus ti Kułełułełu
then AF-startled F.H (name)
Kułełułełu was startled.

030 *"aku izuanga tsa ku saladj?" aya.*
aku i-zua-anga tsa ku saladj aya
why LOC-that-indeed this my companion say
"Why have I now got this companion?" he said.

031 *manu namagutsal anga azua qalitsi, sa kalevanga ti*
manu na-ma-gutsal anga a-zua qalitsi sa ka-leva-anga ti
then PAST-STAT-burst indeed C-that penis and STAT-pleased-indeed F.H

Kułełułełu sakamaya; sa pałungpavi anga, sa pazangaqi anga.
Kułełułełu sakamaya sa pa-łungpaw-i anga sa pa-zangaq-i anga
(name) only and cause-robe-PF indeed and cause-necklace-PF indeed
Well the penis had burst open, and Kułełułełu was very pleased. And he put on him a robe and a necklace.

032 *"ari tsasavi anga sema saułaułay a qemiladj a mapapaw*
ari tsasaw-i anga em=sa sa-uła-ułay a em=qiladj a ma-papaw
go.on outside-HORT indeed AF=go QAL-RED-piece C AF=sit C STAT-aside

ḍusa; uła łemengłeng tia Muakakai kati Tjukutjuku."
ḍusa uła em=łeng-łeng ti-a Muakakai ka-ti Tjukutjuku
two so.that AF=RED-look.at F.H-PL (name) and-F.H (name)
"Come on, let's go outside to the seats in the courtyard and sit there side by side; so that Muakakai and Tjukutjuku can see us."

033 *manu łengłengen ni Tjukutjuku.*
manu łeng-łeng-en ni Tjukutjuku
then RED-look.at-PF by (name)
So Tjukutjuku saw them.

034 *"tsasavu, kina," aya.*
tsasaw-u kina aya
outside-IMP mother say
"Go outside, mother," she said.

035 *sa tsasaw a kina.*
sa tsasaw a kina
and outside C mother
Mother went out.

036 *"sa-u, kina, pałiłii azua i Vavuluvulungan ki tima zua*
sa-u kina pa-łiłi-i a-zua i Vavuluvulungan ki ti-ima zua
go-IMP mother cause-visit-HORT C-that LOC (name) how F-who that
qałaqała."
qała-qała
RED-outsider
"Mother, go and see who the visitor is at the Vavuluvulungan house."

037 *manu sa sazua kina, sa pangtjez i Pakuvadavaday azua kina.*
manu sa sa-zua kina sa pangetjez i Pakuvadavaday a-zua kina
then go H-that mother and come LOC (place) C-that mother
So mother went there, and she came back to the Pakuvadavaday house.

036 *"qadjaw ki tima; ika ken a kemłang."*
qadjaw ki ti-ima ika aken a m=kełang
perhaps how F-who not F.I C AF=know
"I don't know who it is. I don't know him."

039 *"sa-u; 'idu,' aya-u, kina."*
sa-u id-u aya-u kina
go-IMP come-IMP say-IMP mother
"Go and tell him to come here, mother."

040 *vaik a kina; djemałun i Vavuluvulungan.*
vaik a kina em=djałun i Vavuluvulungan
leave C mother AF=arrive LOC (name)
Mother went, and reached the Vavuluvulungan house.

041 *"ari, ła maḍusa, kivangavangi a sema tjanuamen," ayain.*
ari ła ma-ḍusa ki-vangavang-i a em=sa tjanu-amen aya-en
go.on class NUM-two do-play-HORT C AF=go OBL-we(EXC) say-PF
"Come on, you two, come for a visit to our house," she said to them.

042 *manu "uaa, masiaq amen.*
manu uaa ma-siaq amen
then well STAT-shame F.we(EXC)
"Well, we're ashamed to;

043 *singidan* *tazua* *nu* *san* *tjautsiketsikel* *tjanuamen,"* *aya* *ti*
si-ngida-an ta-zua nu sane tsike=tjautsikel tjanu-amen aya ti
IF-when-NOM OBL-that you(P) make RED=story OBL-we(EXC) say F.H

Pułałułałuyan.
Pułałułałuyan
(name)
when was it that (*or* it's not long since) you insulted(?) us?" said Pułałułałuyan.
[*san tjautsiketsikel*: 'make us the subject of talk/gossip'.]

044 *sa* *vaik* *anga* *azua* *kina;* *mangtjez* *i* *Pakuvadavaday.*
sa vaik anga a-zua kina m-pangetjez i Pakuvadavaday
and leave indeed C-that mother AF-come LOC (place)
So mother left, and arrived at the Pakuvadavaday house.

045 *"inika* *ui.*
ini-ka ui
not-after yes
"They don't agree.

046 *'masiaq* *amen.*
ma-siaq amen
STAT-shame F.we(EXC)
They say: 'We're ashamed;

047 *ika* *magału* *a* *nu* *san* *tjautsiketsikel,'* *aya,* *ła* *ku* *ałak."*
ika ma-gału a nu sane tsike=tjautsikel aya ła ku ałak
not STAT-slow C you(P) make RED=story say oh my child
"It wasn't kind the way you insulted us,' my child."

048 *"ki* *maya* *avan* *anga* *azua* *qalitsi* *makełang,"* *aya* *małavar* *azua*
ki ma-aya avan anga a-zua qalitsi ma-kełang aya ma-łavar a-zua
do STAT-be.thus exact indeed C-that penis STAT-know say STAT-speak C-that

mareałaałak.
mare-ała-ałak
pair-RED-child
"I suppose it must be that penis," said the mother and children to one another.

049 *"sa-u,* *łiłi-u,* *Lavułivułian,* *uła* *ken* *a* *puvavulungan."*
sa-u łiłi-u Lavułivułian uła aken a pu-vavulung-an
go-IMP visit-IMP (name) so.that F.I C have-?-NOM
"Go and pay a visit, Lavułivułian (*or* go-between OA), so that I can marry without a betrothal present (*or* so that I can get into the Vavulungan household?)."

050 *vaik* *ti* *sa* *Lavułian;* *mangtjez* *i* *Vavuluvulungan.*
vaik ti sa Lavułian m-pangetjez i Vavuluvulungan
leave F.H H (name) AF-come LOC (name)
Lavułian went and reached the Vavuluvulungan house.

051 *"aku a mangtjez sun, vuvu?" aya ti Pułałułałuyan.*
aku a m-pangetjez sun vuvu aya ti Pułałułałuyan
why C AF-come F.you(S) grandparent say F.H (name)
"Why have you come, granny?" said Pułałułałuyan.

052 *"'sa-u, łiłi-u,' aya ti Tjukutjuku, 'uła ken a puvavulungan,' aya;*
sa-u łiłi-u aya ti Tjukutjuku uła aken a pu-vavulung-an aya
go-IMP visit-IMP say F.H (name) so.that F.I C have-?-NOM say

avanu ku sisamaza."
avan nu ku si-sa-maza
exact of I IF-go-here
"Tjukutjuku said: 'Go and pay a visit, so that I can marry without a betrothal present.'
That's why I've come."

053 *"ala iru ka ken a pukaui.*
ala iru ka aken a pu-ka-ui
but will.not after F.I C have-become-yes
"But I certainly won't agree.

054 *ika magału a nu tjautsiketsikel," aya ti Pułałułałuyan.*
ika ma-gału a nu tsike=tjautsikel aya ti Pułałułałuyan
not STAT-slow C you(P) RED=story say F.H (name)
Your insults were not kind," said Pułałułałuyan.

055 *sa vaik (ti) sa Lavułian.*
sa vaik ti sa Lavułian
and leave F.H H (name)
So Lavułian left,

056 *mangtjez i Pakuvadavaday.*
m-pangetjez i Pakuvadavaday
AF-come LOC (place)
and reached the Pakuvadavaday house.

057 *"ua, inika pukaui, łałak."*
ua ini-ka pu-ka-ui łałak
hey not-after have-become-yes child
"Well, they don't agree, child."

058 *"sa-u sakamaya, vuvu.*
sa-u sakamaya vuvu
go-IMP only grandparent
"Go anyway, granny.

059 *ku tjukuyavaw anga tua levut a ḍiḍi tu lima."*
ku tju-kuya-aw anga tua levut a ḍiḍi tu lima
I apart-bad-LF indeed OBL white.pig C pig OBL five
I'll give five white pigs in compensation."
[*tjukuyavaw*: epenthetic *v*.]

060 *vaik ti sa Lavułian a sema Vavuluvulungan.*
vaik ti sa Lavułian a em=sa Vavuluvulungan
leave F.H H (name) C AF=go (name)
Lavułian went to the Vavuluvulungan house.

061 *"'ku tjukuyavaw anga tua levut a ḍiḍi tu lima,' aya, łałak."*
ku tju-kuya-aw anga tua levut a ḍiḍi tu lima aya łałak
I apart-bad-LF indeed OBL white.pig C pig OBL five say child
"'I'll give five white pigs as compensation,' she says, child."

062 *"iru ka ken a pukaui angata," aya ti Pułałułałuyan.*
iru ka aken a pu-ka-ui anga-ta aya ti Pułałułałuyan
will.not after F.I C have-become-yes indeed-? say F.H (name)
"I most certainly won't agree," said Pułałułałuyan.

063 *vaik ti sa Lavułian a sema Pakuvadavaday.*
vaik ti sa Lavułian a em=sa Pakuvadavaday
leave F.H H (name) C AF=go (place)
Lavułian went back to the Pakuvadavaday house.

064 *"inika pukaui a paraketj."*
ini-ka pu-ka-ui a pa-raketj
not-after have-become-yes C cause-always
"He continues not to agree."

065 *"tjuari, ku sazuaw anga sakamaya," aya ti Tjukutjuku.*
tjuari ku sa-zua-aw anga sakamaya aya ti Tjukutjuku
? I go-that-LF indeed only say F.H (name)
"It can't be helped(?); I'll just go there myself," said Tjukutjuku.

066 *kematsu tu qata tjanuita i kavatjes; saka avan a*
em=katsu tu qata tjanu-ita i kavatjes sa-ka avan a
AF=carry OBL bead full-one LOC rattan.basket and-after exact C

nanemanemanga sinu tjałavuluvulungan; sa vaik anga sema
na-nema-nema-anga in=su tjała-vulu-vulung-an sa vaik anga em=sa
PAST-RED-what-indeed PERF=remove most-RED-old-NOM and leave indeed AF=go

Vavuluvulungan ti Tjukutjuku.
Vavuluvulungan ti Tjukutjuku
(name) F.H (name)
She took a storage basket full of beads, and chose out all the oldest (most valuable) things.
And so Tjukutjuku went to the Vavuluvulungan house.

067 *qau sa pareputsekeł anga sakamaya.*
qau sa pare-pu-tsekeł anga sakamaya
so and pair-have-spouse indeed only
And in the end they were married.

068 *saka izua, saka amin.*
sa-ka i-zua sa-ka amin
and-after LOC-that and-after no.more
And that's the end.

There were Kułełułełu and just a penis. They had been left orphans by their parents. Kułełułełu went courting to Pakuvadavaday, and took along the penis in a container to go courting. When they sang, the penis sang along too. Next day the boy- and girl-friends went to the spring – Kułełułełu and Muakakai and Tjukutjuku. Muakakai was first, then Tjukutjuku, then Penis, and Kułełułełu last. They got to the spring, and all dipped out water. When they washed themselves, the penis copied the others and made a dripping noise(?) into the water. Tjukutjuku was angry and hit it with a piece of wood, and threw it out of sight downhill. "Ow ow ow," said Penis.

"Come on, let's go home," they said. Muakakai was first, then Tjukutjuku, then Penis, then Kułełułełu as they got home. They went round by their homes, the girls and Kułełułełu and Penis. Kułełułełu and Penis got home. "You're bad. It was embarrassing for us. You were getting close to our girl-friends. Although I said to you, 'Stay in the container,' you didn't listen to me."

"Oh well, come on; let's go to the plains," said Penis to Kułełułełu. "All right, let's go," he replied. So they reached the plains. "If we go to the shop, what do you fancy?"

"I fancy a fish and a cat." So that's all they bought. They left and got back home.

"Put me in the inner part of the house on the shelf, and put the cat and the fish there too." The cat kept frisking about(?), and the penis was tossed between the fins of the fish. And it burst open and turned into a person, whose name was Pułałułałuyan. "Come on, brother, give me some clothes." Kułełułełu was startled. "Why have I now got this companion?" he said. Well the penis had burst open, and Kułełułełu was very pleased. And he put on him a robe and a necklace. "Come on, let's go outside to the seats in the courtyard and sit there side by side; so that Muakakai and Tjukutjuku can see us."

So Tjukutjuku saw them. "Go outside, mother," she said. Mother went out. "Mother, go and see who the visitor is at the Vavuluvulungan house." So mother went there, and she came back to the Pakuvadavaday house. "I don't know who it is. I don't know him."

"Go and tell him to come here, mother." Mother went, and reached the Vavuluvulungan house. "Come on, you two, come for a visit to our house," she said to them. "Well, we're ashamed to; when was it that (*or* it's not long since) you insulted(?) us?" said Pułałułałuyan. So mother left, and arrived at the Pakuvadavaday house. "They don't agree. They say: 'We're ashamed; it wasn't kind the way you insulted us,' my child."

"I suppose it must be that penis," said the mother and children to one another. "Go and pay a visit, Lavułivułian, so that I can marry without a betrothal present (*or* so that I can get into the Vavulungan household, OA). Lavułian went and reached the Vavuluvulungan house. "Why have you come, granny?" said Pułałułałuyan.

"Tjukutjuku said: 'Go and pay a visit, so that I can marry without a betrothal present.' That's why I've come."

"But I certainly won't agree. Your insults were not kind," said Pułałułałuyan. So Lavułian left, and reached the Pakuvadavaday house. "Well, they don't agree, child."

"Go anyway, granny. I'll give five white pigs in compensation." Lavułian went to the Vavuluvulungan house. "'I'll give five white pigs as compensation,' she says, child."

"I most certainly won't agree," said Pułałułałuyan. Lavułian went back to the Pakuvadavaday house. "He continues not to agree."

"It can't be helped(?); I'll just go there myself," said Tjukutjuku. She took a storage basket full of beads, and chose out all the oldest (most valuable) things. And so Tjukutjuku went to the Vavuluvulungan house. And in the end they were married. And that's the end.

051 IDJUIDJUNG

ti sa Idjuidjung (Kułałau village, p. 242)

001 *izua ti sa Idjuidjung.*
i-zua ti sa Idjuidjung
LOC-that F.H H (name)
There was a person called Idjuidjung.

002 *manu "ari tja paqinatsapaw," aya a se Łinasalas.*
manu ari tja pa-in=qatsap-aw aya a se Łinasalas
then go.on we(INC) cause-PERF=head.hunt-LF say C person.of (place)
The people of Linasalas said: "Let's go and hunt their heads."

003 *patadałan ni sa Idjuidjung.*
pa-tadał-an ni sa Idjuidjung
cause-see-LF by H (name)
Idjuidjung saw them.

004 *"'ai anga tsa vuluq sa kuang, a matu kałałudjełudjen,*
ai anga tsa vuluq tsa kuang a ma-tu ka-ła-łudjełudje-an
oh indeed this spear this firearm C STAT-alike main-class-thorn.plant-NOM

a matu ngudjungudjułan.
a ma-tu ngudju-ngudjuł-an
C STAT-alike RED-stump-NOM
"Oh dear! Their spears and guns are like thorn-grass and high tree stumps.
[*sa*: not a conjunction between nouns, regarded here as variation of *tsa*.]

005 *gału anan; ku sikesan anan tua puk, sa ku qałidjeladjelavi."*
gału anan ku si-kesa-an anan tua puk sa ku djela=qałidjelaw-i
slow still I IF-food-LF still OBL bean.sp and I RED=undercooked-PF
Wait a bit. I'll cook some tree-beans for them, and leave them undercooked."

006 *makakesa ti sa Idjuidjung.*
maka-kesa ti sa Idjuidjung
finished-food F.H H (name)
Idjuidjung finished his cooking.

007 *"idu anga, ła qała.*
id-u anga ła qała
come-IMP indeed class outsider
"Come on, enemies;

008 *tjupałingu a mamazangiłan, tjuvangavu kiłupetju a*
tju-pałing-u a ma-ma-zangił-an tju-vangaw-u ki-łupetj-u a
there-doorway-IMP C STAT-STAT-chief-NOM there-sky.light-IMP do-plug-IMP C

vavuluvulungan."
va-vulu-vulung-an
?-RED-old-NOM
chiefs come to the doorway and old men to the skylight to block off our (*or* their) retreat!"

009 *paqetjetj* *ti* *sa* *Idjuidjung* *tua* *puk,* *sa* *kadjameq* *a* *qała;*
pa-qetjutj ti sa Idjuidjung tua puk sa ka-djameq a qała
cause-break.wind F.H H (name) OBL bean.sp and STAT-catch C outsider

matsay *a* *mapułat.*
m-patsay a ma-pułat
AF-die C NUM-all
Then Idjuidjung broke wind with the tree-beans, and blasted the enemy, and they all died.

010 *matsidił* *anga* *vałut* *a* *ti* *sa* *Vungavan,* *djinameq* *a* *pitsungal;* *vaik* *a*
ma-tsidił anga vałut a ti sa Vungavan in=djameq a pi-tsungal vaik a
STAT-alone indeed alive C F.H H (name) PERF=catch C put-knee leave C

sema *umaq.*
em=sa umaq
AF=go house
There was just one survivor, Vungavan, who was hit in the knee. He went off home.

011 *ka* *pakaqiaw* *mangtjez* *i* *umaq.*
ka pa-ka-qiyaw m-pangetjez i umaq
after cause-?-assist AF-come LOC house
He arrived home shouting for help.

012 *"nakuya* *tsu.*
na-kuya tsu
STAT-bad this
(The people said:) "This is bad.

013 *ika* *tjen* *a* *nasa* *venala.*
ika tjen a nasa en=vala
not F.we(INC) C perhaps AF=able
We can't win.

014 *tja* *paputsekeław* *tia* *Idjuidjung* *kati* *Tjukutjuku;* *sa*
tja pa-pu-tsekeł-aw ti-a Idjuidjung ka-ti Tjukutjuku sa
we(INC) cause-have-spouse-LF F.H-PL (name) and-F.H (name) and

'papuvałutu *a* *su* *qintsi* *a* *zua* *małe* *taiday,'* *tja*
pa-pu-vałut-u a su in=qetsi a zua małe ta-iday tja
cause-have-alive-IMP C you(S) PERF=fight C that NUM one-hundred we(INC)

ayavaw *ti* *sa* *Idjuidjung."*
aya-aw ti sa Idjuidjung
say-LF F.H H (name)
Let's arrange a marriage between Idjuidjung and Tjukutjuku. And let's say to Idjuidjung:
'Bring back to life the hundred people you killed'."
[*zua*: *ua* in OA.]
[*tja ayavaw*: *tjayavaw* in OA.]

015 *sa* *vaik* *a* *masan* *kai* *ti* *sa* *Vungavan.*
sa vaik a ma-sane kai ti sa Vungavan
and leave C STAT-make speech F.H H (name)
Vungavan went as their mouthpiece;

016 *mangtjez i tjai sa Idjuidjung.*
m-pangetjez i tjai sa Idjuidjung
AF-come LOC OBL.H H (name)
and he reached Idjuidjung's place.

017 *"papuvałutu a su qintsi; saka taiday a ḍiḍi a gung*
pa-pu-vałut-u a su in=qetsi sa-ka ta-iday a ḍiḍi a gung
cause-have-alive-IMP C you(S) PERF=fight and-after one-hundred C pig C cow

tu su silisi tjai Tjukutjuku."
tu su si-lisi tjai Tjukutjuku
OBL your(S) IF-bride.price OBL.H (name)
"Bring back to life the people you killed; and with a bride-price of a hundred pigs and cows you can marry Tjukutjuku."

018 *sa papuvałuti a qintsi, sa vaik anga a putsekeł, sa*
sa pa-pu-vałut-i a in=qetsi sa vaik anga a pu-tsekeł sa
and cause-have-alive-PF C PERF=fight and leave indeed C have-spouse and

pangtjez i Łinasalas.
pangetjez i Łinasalas
come LOC (place)
So he brought those killed back to life, and went off to get married, and reached Łinasalas.

019 *sa ka selem sa qereng tia Idjuidjung kati Tjukutjuku; manu*
sa ka selem sa qereng ti-a Idjuidjung ka-ti Tjukutjuku manu
and after dark and lie.down F.H-PL (name) and-F.H (name) then

demadip ti sa Idjuidjung; manu ka djumaken a kutji, "tjuqtjuqan tua
em=dadip ti sa Idjuidjung manu ka djumak-en a kutji tjuqtjuq-an tua
AF=grope F.H H (name) then after find-PF C vagina pound-LF OBL

łamłam, sa putsemeli izua zua piqay."
łamłam sa pu-tsemel-i i-zua zua piqay
ginger and have-treat-PF LOC-that that wound
After dark Idjuidjung and Tjukutjuku lay down. Idjuidjung fondled her, and came across her vagina, and said: "Pound some ginger and put it on that wound there."

020 *"inika piqay azua; avan azua kutji a tja siputseketsekeł."*
ini-ka piqay a-zua avan a-zua kutji a tja si-pu-tseke-tsekeł
not-after wound C-that exact C-that vagina C we(INC) IF-have-RED-spouse
"That's not a wound; that's a vagina for consummating our marriage."

021 *"uaa, inika ken a tjenglay a piqay izua."*
uaa ini-ka aken a tjenglay a piqay i-zua
well not-after F.I C like C wound LOC-that
"Oh! I don't like there being a wound there."

022 *sa vaik a tjumaq.*
sa vaik a tju-umaq
and leave C there-house
And he went off home,

023 *masuḍam* *anga* *sakamaya* *tua* *kutji* *a* *piqapiqay.*
ma-suḍam anga sakamaya tua kutji a piqa-piqay
STAT-disappointed indeed only OBL vagina C RED-wound
disappointed about the vagina 'wound'.

024 *"patsikelu* *anga* *a* *ku* *sinilisi* *a* *gung* *katua* *ḍiḍi."*
pa-tsikel-u anga a ku in=si-lisi a gung ka-tua ḍiḍi
cause-return-IMP indeed C I PERF=IF-bride.price C cow and-OBL pig
"Give me back the bride-price of cows and pigs."

025 *sa* *pavayan,* *saka* *sa* *vaik* *anga* *sakamaya.*
sa pa-vay-an sa-ka sa vaik anga sakamaya
and cause-give-LF and-after and leave indeed only
They gave them back, and he just went off.

026 *saka* *izua* *saka* *amin.*
sa-ka i-zua sa-ka amin
and-after LOC-that and-after no.more
And that's the end.

There was a person called Idjuidjung. The people of Linasalas said: "Let's go and hunt their heads." Idjuidjung saw them. "Oh dear! Their spears and guns are like thorn-grass and high tree stumps. Wait a bit. I'll cook some tree-beans for them, and leave them undercooked." Idjuidjung finished his cooking. "Come on, enemies; chiefs come to the doorway and old men to the skylight to block off our (*or* their) retreat!"

Then Idjuidjung broke wind with the tree-beans, and blasted the enemy, and they all died. There was just one survivor, Vungavan, who was hit in the knee. He went off home. He arrived home shouting for help. (The people said:) "This is bad. We can't win. Let's arrange a marriage between Idjuidjung and Tjukutjuku. And let's say to Idjuidjung: 'Bring back to life the hundred people you killed.'"

Vungavan went as their mouthpiece; and he reached Idjuidjung's place. "Bring back to life the people you killed; and with a bride-price of a hundred pigs and cows you can marry Tjukutjuku." So he brought those killed back to life, and went off to get married, and reached Linasalas. After dark Idjuidjung and Tjukutjuku lay down, Idjuidjung fondled her, and came across her vagina, and said: "Pound some ginger and put it on that wound there."

"That's not a wound; that's a vagina for consummating our marriage."

"Oh! I don't like there being a wound there." And he went off home, disappointed about the vagina 'wound'. "Give me back the bride-price of cows and pigs."

They gave them back, and he just went off. And that's the end.

052 VATJUŁAYAN (MR. IRON)

ti sa Vatjułayan (Patjavał village, p. 244)

001 *tiamen a se Payuan tangidangida a vakela a vuluq a kuang na*
ti-amen a se Payuan ta-ngida-ngida a vakela a vuluq a kuang nua
F-we(EXC) C person.of Paiwan PAST-RED-when C arrow C spear C firearm of

navunavuq a inalang.
navu-navuq a in-alang
RED-bamboo C PERF-make
Long ago we Paiwans had arrows, spears and guns made of bamboo.

002 *qau nu maqinatsap i tuazua, maqaqetsi tuazua*
qau nu ma-in=qatsap i tua-zua ma-qa-qetsi tua-zua
so when STAT-PERF=head.hunt LOC OBL-that STAT-RED-fight OBL-that

inalang na vunavuq.
in-alang nua vunavuq
PERF-make of bamboo.sp
When we went head-hunting at that time, we fought with weapons made of bamboo.

003 *a vatu kiayan a pusaladj.*
a vatu ki-aya-an a pu-saladj
C dog do-be.thus-LF C have-companion
Dogs went along to help.

004 *azua tsautsau a ngadan nu tapaw Paitudjan, ngadan nu tsautsau*
a-zua tsau-tsau a ngadan nu tapaw Paitudjan ngadan nu tsau-tsau
C-that RED-being C name of hut (name) name of RED-being

Vatjułayan, aya tangidangida.
Vatjułayan aya ta-ngida-ngida
(name) say PAST-RED-when
They say that long ago there was a man from the Paitudjan family whose name was Vatjułayan.

005 *namaqaqetsi tua łapiłapi timadju; tapuluq a vatu.*
na-ma-qa-qetsi tua łapiłapi ti-madju ta-puluq a vatu
PAST-STAT-RED-fight OBL nearby F-3RD.PERS one-ten C dog
He fought people of nearby villages, and had ten dogs.

006 *azua łapiłapi lima puluq a tsautsau.*
a-zua łapiłapi lima puluq a tsau-tsau
C-that nearby five ten C RED-being
There were 50 people from the other villages;

007 *tjuruvu a matsay; maḍusanga mevałut, aya a tjautsikel a*
tjuruvu a m-patsay ma-ḍusa-anga me-vałut aya a tjautsikel a
many C AF-die NUM-two-indeed AF-alive say C story C

kemasi *tsuayan.*
em=kasi tsuay-an
AF=from long.time-NOM
many died and only two survived, according to the old story.

008 *azua* *ti* *sa* *Vatjułayan* *anga* *nu* *uḍain* *a* *vatu* *a*
a-zua ti sa Vatjułayan anga nu uḍa-en a vatu a
C-that F.H H (name) indeed when call-PF C dog C

mapaqaqepu; *nu* *migatsał* *timadju,* *isangas* *a* *vatu.*
ma-pa-qa-qepu nu mi-gatsał ti-madju i-sangas a vatu
STAT-cause-RED-associate when AF-stand F-3RD.PERS LOC-first C dog
When Vatjułayan called, his dogs gathered; and when he got up to go, the dogs went first.

009 *nu* *mavilad* *a* *qała,* *avan* *a* *vatu* *a* *lemaing.*
nu ma-vilad a qała avan a vatu a em=laing
when STAT-flee C outsider exact C dog C AF=follow
If the enemy ran away, it was the dogs which pursued them.

010 *qau* *ti* *sa* *Vatjułayan* *vaik* *a* *beniłung* *ta* *lailaingen*
qau ti sa Vatjułayan vaik a en=biłung ta lai-laing-en
so F.H H (name) leave C AF=ambush OBL RED-follow-PF

anga *nua* *vatu* *nimadju.*
anga nua vatu ni-madju
indeed by dog of-3RD.PERS
And Vatjułayan went and ambushed(?) those who were being pursued by his dogs.
[*ta*: was *a*]
[*nimadju*: was *timadju*]

011 *qau* *azua* *qała* *ini* *anga* *ka* *djemalim.*
qau a-zua qała ini anga ka em=djalim
so C-that outsider not indeed after AF=win
So the enemies could not win.

012 *łevavaw* *tua* *kasiw.*
łe-va-vaw tua kasiw
go.to-RED-above OBL tree
They climbed up trees.

013 *qau* *katsen* *a* *zuma* *azua* *qała.*
qau kats-en a zuma a-zua qała
so bite-PF C other C-that outsider
But some of the enemies were bitten.

014 *nu* *łevavaw* *tua* *kasiw,* *katsen* *nua* *vatu* *a* *qapulu* *nua* *kasiw.*
nu łe-va-vaw tua kasiw kats-en nua vatu a qa-pulu nua kasiw
when go.to-RED-above OBL tree bite-PF by dog C RED-trunk of tree
When they climbed trees, the dogs bit the trunks of the trees.

015 *qau inika djemalim a tsautsau.*
qau ini-ka em=djalim a tsau-tsau
so not-after AF=win C RED-being
The men couldn't win.

016 *saka małi ti sa Vatjułayan a penanapanaq.*
sa-ka małi ti sa Vatjułayan a en=pana-panaq
and-after different F.H H (name) C AF=RED-arrow
And Vatjułayan was an expert archer.

017 *avanu sikapadjavay a matsay nuazua qała, maya a*
avan nu sika-pa-djavay a m-patsay nua-zua qała ma-aya a
exact of reason-cause-do.much C AF-die of-that outsider STAT-be.thus C

kai a kemasi tsuayan tangidangida.
kai a em=kasi tsuay-an ta-ngida-ngida
speech C AF=from long.time-NOM PAST-RED-when
That's why so many of the enemies died, according to the story from long ago in the past.

Long ago we Paiwans had arrows, spears and guns made of bamboo. When we went head-hunting at that time, we fought with weapons made of bamboo. Dogs went along to help.

They say that long ago there was a man from the Paitudjan family whose name was Vatjułayan. He fought people of nearby villages, and had ten dogs. There were 50 people from the other villages; many died and only two survived, according to the old story. When Vatjułayan called, his dogs gathered; and when he got up to go, the dogs went first. If the enemy ran away, it was the dogs which pursued them. And Vatjułayan went and ambushed(?) those who were being pursued by his dogs. So the enemies could not win. They climbed up trees. But some of the enemies were bitten. When they climbed trees, the dogs bit the trunks of the trees. The men couldn't win. And Vatjułayan was an expert archer. That's why so many of the enemies died, according to the story from long ago in the past.

053 THE FLOOD

qatsa a załum (Patjavał village, p. 245)

001 *tangidangida a natjautsikel a qatsa a załum.*
ta-ngida-ngida a na-tjautsikel a qatsa a załum
PAST-RED-when C PAST-story C big C water
There is a story of a flood long ago.

002 *matjiłev a kadjunangan a izua tu nazuanga.*
ma-tjiłev a ka-djunang-an a i-zua tu na-zua-anga
STAT-landslide C main-earth-NOM C LOC-that OBL PAST-that-indeed
There were landslides everywhere.

003 *nekanga nu kadjunangan, tsunuq anga sakamaya.*
neka-anga nu ka-djunang-an tsunuq anga sakamaya
no-indeed of main-earth-NOM scree indeed only
There was no solid ground left, only scree.

004 *izua maḍusa marekaka nakidjadjas tua łagagaz.*
i-zua ma-ḍusa mare-kaka na-ki-djadjas tua ła-gagaz
LOC-that NUM-two pair-sibling PAST-do-grab OBL class-grass.sp
There were two siblings who held on to some łagagaz grass.

005 *qau azua maḍusa nekanga nu kadjunangan, nekanga nu tapaw;*
qau a-zua ma-ḍusa neka-anga nu ka-djunang-an neka-anga nu tapaw
so C-that NUM-two no-indeed of main-earth-NOM no-indeed of hut

naqemauqaung anga sakamaya.
na-em=qau-qaung anga sakamaya
PAST-AF=RED-cry indeed only
These two had no land any more and no house; they just cried.

006 *palemek a izua qatjulay a ngeḍungeḍuq.*
pa-lemek a i-zua qatjulay a ngeḍu-ngeḍuq
cause-might C LOC-that worm C RED-sever
It happened that there was half a worm.

007 *qau nu putsaqi a puita, ita vuledan a kadjunangan.*
qau nu pu-tsaqi a pu-ita ita vuled-an a ka-djunang-an
so when have-dung C have-one one mountain-NOM C main-earth-NOM
Each time it defecated it formed a bit of hill land.

008 *qau djemumak tua pariuk a tsevitseviq anga.*
qau em=djumak tua pariuk a tsevi-tseviq anga
so AF=find OBL wok C RED-segment indeed
They also found part of a wok.

009 *qau zangen niamadju.*
qau zang-en ni-a-madju
so guard-PF by-PL.-3RD.PERS
They kept this.

010 *łakua neka nu sapuy.*
łakua neka nu sapuy
but no of fire
But they had no fire.

011 *qai anga tiamadju.*
qai anga ti-a-madju
oh indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS
They were in a bad way.

012 *"anema tja sapuy?" aya.*
a-nema tja sapuy aya
?-what our(INC) fire say
"What are we to do for fire?" they said.

013 *palemek a mangtjez a valalangan, kematsukatsu tua sapui, a*
pa-lemek a m-pangetjez a valalangan em=katsu-katsu tua sapuy a
cause-might C AF-come C lizard AF=RED-carry OBL fire C

kinats a pinadjekets a pitjua djałiq.
in=kats a in=pa-djekets a pi-tjua djałiq
PERF=bite C PERF=cause-alight C put-there torch
It happened that a lizard(?) came along carrying fire on a lighted torch held in its mouth.

014 *qau azua maḍusa a kakeḍian patsunan.*
qau a-zua ma-ḍusa a ka-keḍi-an pa-tsun-an
so C-that NUM-two C RED-small-NOM cause-see-LF
The two children saw it.

015 *"anema zua?" aya.*
a-nema zua aya
?-what that say
"What's that?" they said.

016 *ka djemałun i tjayamadju, izua sapuy.*
ka em=djałun i tjai-a-madju i-zua sapuy
after AF=arrive LOC OBL-PL-3RD.PERS LOC-that fire
When it reached them, it was fire.

017 *qau alapen nua maḍusa a kinatsu nua valalangan.*
qau alap-en nua ma-ḍusa a in=katsu nua valalangan
so take-PF by NUM-two C PERF=carry by lizard
So the two took the torch carried by the lizard.

018 *ka alapen anga nazua maḍusa a sapuy, zazua a valalangan "veng,"*
ka alap-en anga nua-zua ma-ḍusa a sapuy zua-zua a valalangan veng
after take-PF indeed by-that NUM-two C fire RED-that C lizard EXCL

aya tsemikel.
aya em=tsikel
say AF=return
When the two took the fire, the lizard said, "*Veng,*" and went back again.

019 *kemasi izua tuazua ini anga ka maqevutj a sapuy.*
em=kasi i-zua tua-zua ini anga ka ma-qevutj a sapuy
AF=from LOC-that OBL-that not indeed after STAT-extinguish C fire
From then on the fire did not go out.

020 *zazua maḍusa meqatsa tiamadju.*
zua-zua ma-ḍusa me-qatsa ti-a-madju
RED-that NUM-two AF-big F-PL-3RD.PERS
These two grew up.

021 *qau azua qatjulay avan azua palidaw tua qipu.*
qau a-zua qatjulay avan a-zua al=pa-id-aw tua qipu
so C-that worm exact C-that QAL=cause-come-LF OBL soil
It was the worm which excreted soil.

022 *azua maḍusa patsun tua quma.*
a-zua ma-ḍusa pa-tsun tua quma
C-that NUM-two cause-see OBL field
The two looked at the fields.

023 *neka nu vurasi, neka nu vasa, neka nu vaqu.*
neka nu vurasi neka nu vasa neka nu vaqu
no of sweet.potato no of taro no of millet
There was no sweet potato, taro or millet.

024 *vaivaik anga a pikivangavang.*
vai-vaik anga a pi-ki-vangavang
RED-leave indeed C put-self-play
They went off for a stroll.

025 *qau djemumak tu tsuvuq nua vurasi katua vasa katua vaqu.*
qau em=djumak tu tsuvuq nua vurasi ka-tua vasa ka-tua vaqu
so AF=find OBL sprout of sweet.potato and-OBL taro and-OBL millet
They found shoots of sweet potato, taro and millet;
[*nua*: *nu* in OA]

026 *qau avan anga zazua a kiudaɬen.*
qau avan anga zua-zua a ki-udaɬ-en
so exact indeed RED-that C do-increase-PF
and that's how they got things to grow.

027 *zazua maḍusa ka meqatsa tiamadju, "kemuda itjen?" aya*
zua-zua ma-ḍusa ka me-qatsa ti-a-madju em=kuda itjen aya
RED-that NUM-two after AF-big F-PL-3RD.PERS AF=do.what F.we(INC) say

kemim tua salasaladj.
em=kim tua sala-saladj
AF=search OBL RED-companion
When these two grew up, they said "What are we to do?" and looked for mates.

028 *neka nu patsunan a tsautsau.*
neka nu pa-tsun-an a tsau-tsau
no of cause-see-LF C RED-being
They couldn't see any people.

029 *tiamadju anga mapuvaław a marekaka.*
ti-a-madju anga ma-pu-vaław a mare-kaka
F-PL-3RD.PERS indeed STAT-have-spouse C pair-sibling
So those siblings married one another.

030 *sangasan a puałak matseviq, mavutsa, matail.*
sangas-an a pu-ałak ma-tseviq ma-vutsa ma-tail
first-NOM C have-child STAT-segment STAT-blind STAT-one.of.pair
Their first child was disabled, blind and missing limbs and organs.

031 *ka sika masan musał nanguaq anga a pagału nu*
ka sika ma-sane ma-usa-ł na-nguaq anga a pa-gału nu
after number STAT-make NUM-two-times STAT-good indeed C cause-slow when

puałak.
pu-ałak
have-child
The second child was rather better.

032 *ka sika masan tjelul nanguaq anga; a puałak ini anga*
ka sika ma-sane tjelu-ł na-nguaq anga a pu-ałak ini anga
after number STAT-make three-times STAT-good indeed C have-child not indeed

ka mavutsa, ini anga ka matail.
ka ma-vutsa ini anga ka ma-tail
after STAT-blind not indeed after STAT-one.of.pair
The third was all right, not blind and not missing any limbs.

033 *qau avan anga zazua kakełangan tu inika puvaław tua*
qau avan anga zua-zua ka-kełang-an tu ini-ka pu-vaław tua
so exact indeed RED-that RED-know-LF OBL not-after have-spouse OBL

kaka; masa palisi, ayanga a tjautsikel.
kaka ma-sa palisi aya-anga a tjautsikel
sibling STAT-maybe taboo say-indeed C story
So that's how they knew not to marry siblings, perhaps (because) it's taboo, according to the story.

There is a story of a flood long ago. There were landslides everywhere. There was no solid ground left, only scree. There were two siblings who held on to some łagagaz grass. These two had no land any more and no house; they just cried. It happened that there was half a worm. Each time it defecated it formed a bit of hill land. They also found part of a wok. They kept this. But they had no fire. They were in a bad way. "What are we to do for fire?" they said. It happened that a lizard(?) came along carrying fire on a lighted torch held in its mouth. The two children saw it. "What's that?" they said. When it reached them, it was fire. So the two took the torch carried by the lizard. When the two took the fire, the lizard said, "*Veng,*" and went back again. From then on the fire did not go out.

These two grew up. It was the worm which excreted soil. The two looked at the fields. There was no sweet potato, taro or millet. They went off for a stroll. They found shoots of sweet potato, taro and millet; and that's how they got things to grow. When these two grew up, they said "What are we to do?" and looked for mates. They couldn't see any people. So those siblings married one another.

Their first child was disabled, blind and missing limbs and organs. The second child was rather better. The third was all right, not blind and not missing any limbs. So that's how they knew not to marry siblings, perhaps (because) it's taboo, according to the story.

054 THE FIVE–YEAR FESTIVAL

małevuq (Patjavał village, p. 248)

001 *tiamen a se Payuan nu lima tsavił a małevuq.*
ti-amen a se Payuan nu lima tsavił a ma-łeveq
F-we(EXC) C person.of Paiwan when five year C STAT-festival.type
We Paiwans hold a festival every five years.

002 *a patagił malang tua qapuḍung katua vuluq.*
a pa-tagił ma-alang tua qa-puḍung ka-tua vuluq
C cause-originate STAT-make OBL ?-twist.grass and-OBL spear
We begin by making a ball and spears.

003 *qau ita qiłas a kipalak.*
qau ita qiłas a ki-palak
so one moon C do-sorcery
We practise for one month.
[*kipalak*: OA gloss as 'practise', but nothing like this meaning in F192 or F454.]

004 *nu itanga a qiłas, sema tjua mamazangiłan a małevuq.*
nu ita-anga a qiłas em=sa tjua ma-ma-zangił-an a ma-łeveq
when one-indeed C moon AF=go there STAT-STAT-chief-NOM C STAT-festival.type
After the month we go to the chief to hold the festival,

005 *katsuin a vuluq katua qapuḍung.*
katsu-en a vuluq ka-tua qa-puḍung
carry-PF C spear and-OBL ?-twist.grass
taking the spears and the ball.

006 *qau seman tsakar i likuz tua tsatsavał.*
qau em=sane tsakar i likuz tua tsa-tsavał
so AF=make platform LOC back OBL RED-outskirts
We make a ceremonial platform behind the village gate.

007 *pitju a qadaw i likuz tua tsatsavał.*
pitju a qadaw i likuz tua tsa-tsavał
seven C sun LOC back OBL RED-outskirts
It is seven days behind the gate.

008 *qau sema tjai qayaw anga tua tsatsavał, malang tauta tua*
qau em=sa tja-i qayaw anga tua tsa-tsavał ma-alang ta-uta tua
so AF=go more-LOC front indeed OBL RED-outskirts STAT-make one-also OBL

tsakar.
tsakar
platform
Then we come in front of the gate and make another platform.

009 *tuazua qadaw a vavayan seman qavay seman vava.*
tua-zua qadaw a vavayan em=sane qavay em=sane vava
OBL-that sun C female AF=make dumpling AF=make alcohol
That day the women make dumplings and beer.

010 *nu tjelu anga a qadaw zemiazian a ḍusa a qadaw.*
nu tjelu anga a qadaw em=zia-zian a ḍusa a qadaw
when three indeed C sun AF=RED-dance C two C sun
Every three days we dance for two days (*or* After three days we dance for two days).

011 *kenvava, qemapuḍupuḍung anga i tjai qayaw i*
ken-vava em=qa-puḍu-puḍung anga i tja-i qayaw i
consume-alcohol AF=?-RED-twist.grass indeed LOC more-LOC front LOC

tsatsavaɬ.
tsa-tsavaɬ
RED-outskirts
We drink and play the ball game in front of the gate.

012 *avan anga tuazua qemaqivu tua vuvu.*
avan anga tua-zua em=qa-qivu tua vuvu
exact indeed OBL-that AF=RED-speak OBL grandparent
And that's when we summon our grandparents,

013 *qau pakan anga tua qavay tua vava.*
qau pa-kan anga tua qavay tua vava
so cause-eat indeed OBL dumpling OBL alcohol
and give them dumplings and beer.

014 *semenay anga mapuɬat.*
em=senay anga ma-puɬat
AF=chant indeed NUM-all
We all sing.

015 *avan a ɬapiɬapi qinaɬan a mamazangiɬan katua*
avan a ɬapiɬapi in=qaɬa-an a ma-ma-zangiɬ-an ka-tua
exact C nearby PERF=outsider-NOM C STAT-STAT-chief-NOM and-OBL

puqenetj a tsautsau a sipatjanema a ngadan nu semenay.
pu-qenetj a tsau-tsau a si-pa-tja-nema a ngadan nu em=senay
have-see C RED-being C IF-cause-more-what C name when AF=chant
When we sing, it's the chiefs of neighbouring villages and the famous people whose names we mention.
[*sipatjanema*: meaning unclear.]

016 *kemasi tsuay azua a pinatagiɬ.*
em=kasi tsuay a-zua a in=pa-tagiɬ
AF=from long.time C-that C PERF=cause-originate
This began long ago.

017 *nu lima a qadaw qematsuvung; vaik a qemałup.*
nu lima a qadaw em=qa-tsuvung vaik a em=qałup
when five C sun AF=?-complete leave C AF=hunt
We finish after five days, and go and hunt.

018 *nu mangtjez a naqemałup, a tsuru nua vuluq alangen.*
nu m-pangetjez a na-em=qałup a tsuru nua vuluq alang-en
when AF-come C PAST-AF=hunt C tip of spear make-PF
When we come back from hunting, we make tips for our spears.

019 *qau vaik a sema itjua vutu a maqinatsap.*
qau vaik a em=sa i-tjua vutu a ma-in=qatsap
so leave C AF=go LOC-there enemy C STAT-PERF=head.hunt
And we go to enemy areas to hunt heads.

020 *nu qemtsi, katsuin a qulu; qau maleva.*
nu m=qetsi katsu-en a qulu qau ma-leva
when AF=fight carry-PF C head so STAT-pleased
When we kill someone, we bring the head back and celebrate.

021 *nu mangtjez i tjumaq, maqepu; qau seman qała sema*
nu m-pangetjez i tju-umaq ma-qepu qau em=sane qała em=sa
when AF-come LOC there-house STAT-associate so AF=make outsider AF=go

tjua mamazangiłan.
tjua ma-ma-zangił-an
there STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
When we get home, people gather, and we celebrate victory over the enemy at the chief's place.

022 *qau zemian: "nanguaq a tja tsavił."*
qau em=zian na-nguaq a tja tsavił
so AF=dance STAT-good C our(INC) year
We dance to celebrate: "It's a good year for us."

023 *a uqałay vavayan kakeḍian mapułat maqepu sema tjua*
a uqałay vavayan ka-keḍi-an ma-pułat ma-qepu em=sa tjua
C male female RED-small-NOM NUM-all STAT-associate AF=go there

mamazangiłan.
ma-ma-zangił-an
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
Men, women and children all gather at the chief's place.

024 *a naqemtsi a tsautsau kematsu tua ḍiḍi, tu sipakan tua*
a na-m=qetsi a tsau-tsau em=katsu tua ḍiḍi tu si-pa-kan tua
C PAST-AF=fight C RED-being AF=carry OBL pig OBL IF-cause-eat OBL

qintsi.
in=qetsi
PERF=fight
The person who made the kill brings a pig, to feed the person killed.

025 *qau zemiazian, saka qemauqauqaw a malevaleva tua*
qau em=zia-zian sa-ka em=qaw-qawqaw a ma-leva-leva tua
so AF=RED-dance and-after AF=RED-shout C STAT-RED-pleased OBL

qintsian.
in=qetsi-an
And we dance, and shout to celebrate the killing.

026 *a qulu nua qintsi pinivetsekadan tua katsasavan a*
a qulu nua in=qetsi in=pi-ve-tsekad-an tua ka-tsasaw-an a
C head of PERF=fight PERF=put-?-middle-LF OBL main-outside-NOM C

pinivavaw tua valanga.
in=pi-va-vaw tua valanga
PERF=put-RED-above OBL mortar
The head of the person killed is put in the middle of the courtyard on a mortar,

027 *qau uqałay vavayan kakeḍian kipalingulinguł a zemian.*
qau uqałay vavayan ka-keḍi-an ki-pa-lingu-linguł a em=zian
so male female RED-small-NOM do-cause-RED-around C AF=dance
and men, women and children dance round it.

028 *nu lima a qadaw puamin anga; sitjanga qałaqała.*
nu lima a qadaw pu-amin anga sitjanga qała-qała
when five C sun have-no.more indeed ? RED-outsider
We finish after five days. We have treated the dead like a guest (?).
[*sitjanga*: OA's Japanese gloss unclear.]

029 *qau puamin anga.*
qau pu-amin anga
so have-no.more indeed
That's the end.

We Paiwans hold a festival every five years. We begin by making a ball and spears. We practise for one month. After the month we go to the chief to hold the festival, taking the spears and the ball. We make a ceremonial platform behind the village gate. It is seven days behind the gate. Then we come in front of the gate and make another platform. That day the women make dumplings and beer. Every three days we dance for two days (*or* After three days we dance for two days). We drink and play the ball game in front of the gate. And that's when we summon our grandparents, and give them dumplings and beer. We all sing. When we sing, it's the chiefs of neighbouring villages and the famous people whose names we mention. This began long ago.

We finish after five days, and go and hunt. When we come back from hunting, we make tips for our spears. And we go to enemy areas to hunt heads. When we kill someone, we bring the head back and celebrate. When we get home, people gather, and we celebrate victory over the enemy at the chief's place. We dance to celebrate: "It's a good year for us."

Men, women and children all gather at the chief's place. The person who made the kill brings a pig, to feed the person killed. And we dance, and shout to celebrate the killing. The head of the person killed is put in the middle of the courtyard on a mortar, and men, women and children dance round it. We finish after five days. We have treated the dead like a guest (?). That's the end.

055 THE BLACK DRONGO BIRD

tjatjiw (Tjauvaɬi [or Tjavuaɬi] village, p. 250)

001 *izua ɬa maḍusa marekaka.*
i-zua ɬa ma-ḍusa mare-kaka
LOC-that class NUM-two pair-sibling
There were two siblings.

002 *qau vaik a tjavulung a sema tjatjan.*
qau vaik a tja-vulung a em=sa tjatjan
so leave C more-old C AF=go spring
The older one went to the spring,

003 *qau adjuqen i umaq a tjaɬaɬak a uqaɬay.*
qau adjuq-en i umaq a tja-ɬaɬak a uqaɬay
so leave-PF LOC house C more-child C male
and left the younger brother at home.

004 *qau mangtjez a tjavulung kasi tjatjan.*
qau m-pangetjez a tja-vulung kasi tjatjan
so AF-come C more-old from spring
When the older one came back from the spring,

005 *neka kaka; inalap na qaɬa, maulaw.*
neka kaka in-alap nua qaɬa ma-ulaw
no sibling PERF-take by outsider STAT-lost
the brother wasn't there; he had been taken by enemies and was gone.

006 *qau qemaung a tjavulung: "paramur a semainu a kaka?"*
qau em=qaung a tja-vulung paramur a em=sa-inu a kaka
so AF=cry C more-old terrible C AF=go-where C sibling
The older one cried: "This is awful(?). Where has brother gone?"
[*paramur*: *palamuɬ* in OA.]

007 *vaik a kemim sa qauqaung.*
vaik a em=kim sa qau-qaung
leave C AF=search and RED-cry
She cried and went to look for him.

008 *qau tevuta a tjatjiw kidjekets ta kasiw.*
qau te-vuta a tjatjiw ki-djekets ta kasiw
so do-appear C drongo do-land.on OBL tree
Then a black drongo bird appeared and alighted on a tree.

009 *qau "tjatjiw tjatjiw, pagaɬugaɬu a qemaung.*
qau tjatjiw tjatjiw pa-gaɬu-gaɬu a em=qaung
so drongo drongo cause-RED-slow C AF=cry
"*Tjatjiw tjatjiw*, don't cry so much.
[*tjatjiw*: onomatapoeic for cry of bird here.]

010 *pazeliuɬi* *aken* *ta* *kaɬauɬavan.*
pa-zeliuɬ-i aken ta ka-ɬawɬaw-an
cause-work-HORT F.I OBL main-oil-NOM
Pay me some real oil,

011 *ku sikiliɬkauɬaw* *a* *su* *paɬekakain* *i* *tjuruzaquzaquin."*
ku sikiliɬkauɬaw a su aɬ=pe-kaka-in i tjuru-zaqu-zaqu-en
I bring.back C your(S) QAL=emerge-sibling-NOM LOC many-RED-tree.sp-PF
and I'll bring back (?) your brother from the sapindus wood."

012 *qau pavayin* *ta* *qalev.*
qau pa-vay-en ta qalev
so cause-give-PF OBL oil
She gave the bird some oil.

013 *qau ka maka qalev, qau senay: "tjatjiw tjatjiw, imazamaza-u.*
qau ka maka qalev qau senay tjatjiw tjatjiw i-maza-maza-u
so after finished oil so chant drongo drongo LOC-RED-here-IMP
When it had finished oiling itself, it sang: "*Tjatjiw tjatjiw*, stay here.

014 *ku sikiliɬkauɬaw* *a* *su* *paɬekakain* *i* *tjuruzaquzaquin."*
ku sikiliɬkauɬaw a su aɬ=pe-kaka-in i tjuru-zaqu-zaqu-en
I bring.back C your(S) QAL=emerge-sibling-NOM LOC many-RED-tree.sp-PF
I'll bring back your brother from the sapindus wood."

015 *qau vaik a malap ta kaka aza tjatjiw.*
qau vaik a m-alap ta kaka a-zua tjatjiw
so leave C AF-take OBL sibling C-that drongo
So the bird went to get the brother.

016 *tevuta* *a* *kaka* *kinatsukatsu* *na* *tjatjiw.*
te-vuta a kaka in=katsu-katsu nua tjatjiw
do-appear C sibling PERF=RED-carry by drongo
The brother appeared, carried by the bird.

017 *qau avan a nu sikeɬang ta tjatjiw tu mamazangiɬan.*
qau avan a nu si-keɬang ta tjatjiw tu ma-ma-zangiɬ-an
so exact C ?of IF-know OBL drongo COMPL STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
And that's how we know that the black drongo bird is of chiefly rank.
[*avan a nu* OA has *avanan-u*]

018 *qau inika* *qetsiqetsiin* *na* *Payuan* *a* *tjatjiw.*
qau ini-ka qetsi-qetsi-en nua Payuan a tjatjiw
so not-after RED-fight-PF by Paiwan C drongo
And Paiwan people don't kill a black drongo bird.

There were two siblings. The older one went to the spring, and left the younger brother at home. When the older one came back from the spring, the brother wasn't there; he had been taken by enemies and was gone. The older one cried: "This is awful(?). Where has brother gone?" She cried and went to look for him.

Then a black drongo bird appeared and alighted on a tree. "*Tjatjiw tjatjiw*, don't cry so much. Pay me some real oil, and I'll bring back (?) your brother from the sapindus wood." She gave the

bird some oil. When it had finished oiling itself, it sang: "*Tjatjiw tjatjiw*, stay here. I'll bring back your brother from the sapindus wood."

So the bird went to get the brother. The brother appeared, carried by the bird. And that's how we know that the black drongo bird is of chiefly rank. And Paiwan people don't kill a black drongo bird.

056 THE ANT-EATER AND THE MONKEY

qaruqaruman kata ḍail (Tjauvaɬi [or Tjavuaɬi] village, p. 251)

001 *izua qaruqaruman kata ḍail a mareqali.*
i-zua qaruqaruman ka-ta ḍail a mare-qali
LOC-that ant.eater and-OBL monkey C pair-friend
There were two friends, the ant-eater and the monkey.

002 *aza ḍail: "ari kikasivi, qalian," ayain a qaruqaruman.*
a-zua ḍail ari ki-kasiw-i qali-an aya-en a qaruqaruman
C-that monkey go.on do-tree-HORT friend-NOM say-PF C ant.eater
The monkey said to the ant-eater: "Come on, friend, let's go and collect wood."

003 *qau vaik a kikasiw.*
qau vaik a ki-kasiw
so leave C do-tree
They went to collect wood.

004 *qau matsaqu aravats a ḍail a kikasiw.*
qau ma-tsaqu a-ravats a ḍail a ki-kasiw
so STAT-able C-true C monkey C do-tree
The monkey was very good at collecting wood;

005 *aza qaruqaruman inika matsaqu a kikasiw.*
a-zua qaruqaruman ini-ka ma-tsaqu a ki-kasiw
C-that ant.eater not-after STAT-able C do-tree
but the ant-eater wasn't.

006 *"tja kudain nu kikasiw itjen?" aya a qaruqaruman tua ḍail*
tja kuda-en nu ki-kasiw itjen aya a qaruqaruman tua ḍail
we(INC) do.what-PF when do-tree F.we(INC) say C ant.eater OBL monkey

a kivadaq.
a ki-vadaq
C do-ask
"How do we collect wood?" the ant-eater asked the monkey.

007 *"tja kiluḍayan, qau matsaqu itjen a kikasiw," ayain nua ḍail.*
tja ki-luḍay-an qau ma-tsaqu itjen a ki-kasiw aya-en nua ḍail
we(INC) do-roll-LF so STAT-able F.we(INC) C do-tree say-PF by monkey
"We roll around on it(?). Then we are good at collecting wood," said the monkey.

008 *qau kiluḍayan nua qaruqaruman a maka pavavaw a ɬaviavia.*
qau ki-luḍay-an nua qaruqaruman a maka pa-va-vaw a ɬa-via-via
so do-roll-LF by ant.eater C via cause-RED-above C class-RED-grass
So the ant-eater rolled around (on the wood (?)) on the grass.
[*kiluḍayan*: *kiludayan* in OA.]

009 *inika putjaumaɬ.*
ini-ka pu-tja-uma-ɬ
not-after have-more-other-times
He didn't follow instructions.
[*putjaumaɬ*: unclear, translation follows Japanese.]

010 *qau vaik i umaq tiamadju.*
qau vaik i umaq ti-a-madju
so leave LOC house F-PL-3RD.PERS
And they went home.
[or, And they left home; translation follows Japanese.]

011 *ka maɬia, "ari kigang itjen," aya a qaruqaruman tua ḍail.*
ka ma-ɬia ari ki-gang itjen aya a qaruqaruman tua ḍail
after STAT-dawn go.on do-crab F.we(INC) say C ant.eater OBL monkey
Next day, "Come on, we're going to collect crabs," said the ant-eater to the monkey.

012 *qau vaik a kigang.*
qau vaik a ki-gang
so leave C do-crab
So they went to get crabs.

013 *qau inika matsaqu a kigang a ḍail.*
qau ini-ka ma-tsaqu a ki-gang a ḍail
so not-after STAT-able C do-crab C monkey
The monkey wasn't good at collecting crabs.

014 *"tja kudain nu kigang itjen?" aya a ḍail a kivadaq tua*
tja kuda-en nu ki-gang itjen aya a ḍail a ki-vadaq tua
we(INC) do.what-PF when do-crab F.we(INC) say C monkey C do-ask OBL

qaruqaruman.
qaruqaruman
ant.eater
"How do we collect crabs?" the monkey asked the ant-eater.

015 *qau "tja tjuqtjuqen a tja lima," ayain nua qaruqaruman a*
qau tja tjuqtjuq-en a tja lima aya-en nua qaruqaruman a
so we(INC) pound-PF C our(INC) hand say-PF by ant.eater C

tjemumaɬ.
em=tjumaɬ
AF=discuss
"We hit our arms," the ant-eater told the monkey.

016 *qau tjuqtjuqen a lima nua ḍail.*
qau tjuqtjuq-en a lima nua ḍail
so pound-PF C hand by monkey
The monkey hit his arms;

017 *łakua saqetju sakamaya.*
łakua saqetju sakamaya
but painful only
but it only hurt.

018 *inika matsaqu a kigang a ḍail.*
ini-ka ma-tsaqu a ki-gang a ḍail
not-after STAT-able C do-crab C monkey
The monkey wasn't any good at collecting crabs.

019 *qau "temapi itjen tua vasa," aya tiamadju.*
qau em=tapi itjen tua vasa aya ti-a-madju
so AF=bake F.we(INC) OBL taro say F-PL-3RD.PERS
"We'll cook some taro in an earth oven," they said.

020 *qau temapi; penułat a tinapi.*
qau em=tapi en=puɬat a in=tapi
so AF=bake AF=all C PERF=bake
So they made an earth-oven; all their taro was cooked (?).

021 *"ari, mavanaw itjen a sema djanaw," aya.*
ari ma-vanaw itjen a em=sa djanaw aya
go.on STAT-bathe F.we(INC) C AF=go lake say
"Come on, we'll bathe in the pool," they said.

022 *vaik a mavanaw.*
vaik a ma-vanaw
leave C STAT-bathe
They went to bathe.

023 *qau "pare ledeledepi; tima a tsuatsuay?" aya tiamadju.*
qau pare lede-ledep-i ti-ima a tsua-tsuay aya ti-a-madju
so pair RED-descend-HORT F-who C RED-long.time say F-PL-3RD.PERS
"Let's both dive in, and see who can stay under longest," they said.

024 *"nu maitazua, tiakenay anan," aya a ḍail.*
nu ma-aya-ta-zua ti-aken-ay anan aya a ḍail
when STAT-be.thus-?-that F-I-will still say C monkey
"All right; I'll go first," said the monkey.

025 *qau lemdep a ḍail.*
qau m=ledep a ḍail
so AF=descend C monkey
The monkey dived in;

026 *inika tsuatsuay tjekatsauan.*
ini-ka tsua-tsuay tje-ka-tsau-an
not-after RED-long.time do.at-main-being-I.F
and quite soon came out again.

027 *"tiakenay anga," aya qaruqaruman.*
ti-aken-ay anga aya qaruqaruman
F-I-will indeed say ant.eater
"Now me," said the ant-eater.

028 *qau lemdep a qaruqaruman.*
qau m=ledep a qaruqaruman
so AF=descend C ant.eater
The ant-eater dived in;

029 *sa kemali a łetaladj tua qipu; padjałun tua tinapi*
sa em=kali a łe-taladj tua qipu pa-djałun tua in=tapi
and AF=dig C go.to-inside OBL soil cause-arrive OBL PERF=bake

niamadju.
ni-a-madju
of-PL-3RD.PERS
and dug into the ground, and reached the taros they had cooked.

030 *qau kanen a kuḍakuḍalan a tinapi.*
qau kan-en a kuḍa-kuḍal-an a in=tapi
so eat-PF C RED-fat-NOM C PERF=bake
He ate the big taros;

031 *qau tjekatsauan a qaruqaruman.*
qau tje-ka-tsau-an a qaruqaruman
so do.at-main-being-NOM C ant.eater
and then the ant-eater came out of the water.

032 *qau "tja kanaw a tja tinapi," aya.*
qau tja kan-aw a tja in=tapi aya
so we(INC) eat-LF C we(INC) PERF=bake say
"We'll eat what we've cooked," they said;

033 *sutapian; qau nekanga a kuḍakuḍalan.*
su-tapi-an qau neka-anga a kuḍa-kuḍal-an
remove-bake-LF so no-indeed C RED-fat-NOM
and uncovered the earth-oven. There were no big taros.

034 *qau kanen anga azua keḍikeḍian.*
qau kan-en anga a-zua keḍi-keḍi-an
so eat-PF indeed C-that RED-small-NOM
So they just ate the small ones.

035 *ka makakan, "putsaqi itjen, tuki tima kuḍakuḍal a tsaqi.*
ka maka-kan pu-tsaqi itjen tu-ki ti-ima kuḍa-kuḍal a tsaqi
after finished-eat have-dung F.we(INC) COMPL-how F-who RED-fat C dung
When they had finished eating the two of them said: "We'll defecate, and see who has the bigger faeces.

036 *azua tjakuḍal a tsaqi, avan nu nakeman tua tinapi a*
a-zua tja-kuḍal a tsaqi avan nu na-em=kan tua in=tapi a
C-that more-fat C dung exact of PAST-AF=eat OBL PERF=bake C

kuḍakuḍalan," aya tiamadju a maḍusa.
kuḍa-kuḍal-an aya ti-a-madju a ma-ḍusa
RED-fat-NOM say F-PL-3RD.PERS C num-two
The one with the bigger faeces will be the one who has eaten the big cooked taros."

037 *qau putsaqi tiamadju.*
qau pu-tsaqi ti-a-madju
so have-dung F-PL-3RD.PERS
They defecated,

038 *tjakuḍal a tsaqi nua qaruqaruman.*
tja-kuḍal a tsaqi nua qaruqaruman
more-fat C dung of ant.eater
and the ant-eater's faeces was bigger.

039 *qau vetseqelen a qaruqaruman nua ḍail.*
qau vetseqel-en a qaruqaruman nua ḍail
so grasp-PF C ant.eater by monkey
And the monkey strangled the ant-eater.

040 *qau "paɬaɬama-i," aya tiamadju a maɬavar.*
qau pa-ɬa-ɬama-i aya ti-a-madju a ma-ɬavar
so cause-RED-burn-HORT say F-PL-3RD.PERS C STAT-speak
"Let's set fire to one another," they decided.

041 *qau "tiakenay isangas," aya ti qaruqaruman.*
qau ti-aken-ay i-sangas aya ti qaruqaruman
so F-I-will LOC-first say F.H ant.eater
"Me first," said the ant-eater.

042 *qau ɬamain ti qaruqaruman; inika matsay.*
qau ɬama-en ti qaruqaruman ini-ka m-patsay
so burn-PF F.H ant.eater not-after AF-die
The (grass round the (OA)) ant-eater was set on fire; but he didn't die.

043 *"tiaken anga," aya a ḍail.*
ti-aken anga aya a ḍail
F-I indeed say C monkey
"Now me," said the monkey.

044 *qau ɬevavaw ta kasiw.*
qau ɬe-va-vaw ta kasiw
so go.to-RED-above OBL tree
He went up a tree.

045 *ka ɬamain, matsay a ḍail.*
ka ɬama-en m-patsay a ḍail
after burn-PF AF-die C monkey
When he/it was set on fire, the monkey died.

046 *ka matsay a ḍail, kitjen a qalitsi nua ḍail; saka mevałut*
ka m-patsay a ḍail kitj-en a qalitsi nua ḍail sa-ka me-vałut
after AF-die C monkey slice-PF C penis of monkey and-after AF-alive

a ḍail.
a ḍail
C monkey
When the monkey had died, [the ant-eater] cut off the monkey's penis. And the monkey came back to life.

047 *sipakan ni qaruqaruman tua ḍail azua qalitsi.*
si-pa-kan ni qaruqaruman tua ḍail a-zua qalitsi
IF-cause-eat by ant.eater OBL monkey C-that penis
The ant-eater fed the penis to the monkey.

048 *qau "kemakan ti ḍail tua qalitsi nimadju," semenasenay ti*
qau em=ka-kan ti ḍail tua qalitsi ni-madju em=sena-senay ti
so AF=RED-eat F.H monkey OBL penis of-3RD.PERS AF=RED-chant F.H

qaruqaruman.
qaruqaruman
ant.eater
And the ant-eater sang: "The monkey is eating his penis."

049 *"anemanema aya sun?" aya a ḍail.*
a-nema-nema aya sun aya a ḍail
?-RED-what say F.you(S) say C monkey
"What are you saying?" said the monkey.
[*anemanema aya*: *anemanemaya* in OA.]

050 *"kidjavadjavay aken tua se Tjavaliłuk tua ku kinipangałan,"*
ki-djava-djavay aken tua se Tjavaliłuk tua ku in=ki-pangał-an
do-RED-do.much F.I OBL person.of (place) OBL my PERF=do-portion-NOM

aya ti qaruqaruman.
aya ti qaruqaruman
say F.H ant.eater
"I'm thanking the Tjaliłuk people for the share (of meat) they have given me," said the ant-eater.
[*kidjavadjavay*: F74 under *djavay* 'work much' has *djava-djavay* as a common greeting.]

051 *sauniuni "qau pai patsuni a nisun," ayain a*
uni=sauni qau pai pa-tsun-i a ni-sun aya-en a
RED-soon so well cause-see-HORT C of-you(S) say-PF C

ḍail nua qaruqaruman.
ḍail nua qaruqaruman
monkey by ant.eater
Later the ant-eater said to the monkey: "Let's look at your private parts."

052	*qau*	*qayamen*	*a*	*nimadju*	*na*	*ḍail;*	*nekanga*	*a*	*qalitsi;*	*kinan*	*anga*
	qau	qayam-en	a	ni-madju	nua	ḍail	neka-anga	a	qalitsi	in=kan	anga
	so	inspect-PF	C	of-3RD.PERS	by	monkey	no-indeed	C	penis	PERF=eat	indeed

a nimadju.
a ni-madju
C of-3RD.PERS
The monkey had a look, and he had no penis; it had been eaten.

There were two friends, the ant-eater and the monkey. The monkey said to the ant-eater: "Come on, friend, let's go and collect wood." They went to collect wood. The monkey was very good at collecting wood; but the ant-eater wasn't. "How do we collect wood?" the ant-eater asked the monkey. "We roll around on it (?). Then we are good at collecting wood," said the monkey. So the ant-eater rolled around (on the wood (?)) on the grass. He didn't follow instructions (?). And they went home (OA, *or* And they left home).

Next day, "Come on, we're going to collect crabs," said the ant-eater to the monkey. So they went to get crabs. The monkey wasn't good at collecting crabs. "How do we collect crabs?" the monkey asked the ant-eater. "We hit our arms," the ant-eater told the monkey. The monkey hit his arms; but it only hurt. The monkey wasn't any good at collecting crabs.

"We'll cook some taro in an earth oven," they said. So they made an earth-oven; all their taro was cooked (?). "Come on, we'll bathe in the pool," they said. They went to bathe. "Let's both dive in, and see who can stay under longest," they said. "All right; I'll go first," said the monkey. The monkey dived in; and quite soon came out again. "Now me," said the ant-eater. The ant-eater dived in; and dug into the ground, and reached the taros they had cooked. He ate the big taros; and then the ant-eater came out of the water. "We'll eat what we've cooked," they said; and uncovered the earth-oven. There were no big taros. So they just ate the small ones. When they had finished eating the two of them said: "We'll defecate, and see who has the bigger faeces. The one with the bigger faeces will be the one who has eaten the big cooked taros." They defecated, and the ant-eater's faeces was bigger. And the monkey strangled the ant-eater.

"Let's set fire to one another," they decided. "Me first," said the ant-eater. The (grass round the (OA)) ant-eater was set on fire; but he didn't die. "Now me," said the monkey. He went up a tree. When he/it was set on fire, the monkey died. When the monkey had died, [the ant-eater] cut off the monkey's penis. And the monkey came back to life. The ant-eater fed the penis to the monkey. And the ant-eater sang: "The monkey is eating his penis."

"What are you saying?" said the monkey. "I'm thanking the Tjavaliɬuk people for the share (of meat) they have given me," said the ant-eater. Later the ant-eater said to the monkey: "Let's look at your private parts." The monkey had a look, and he had no penis; it had been eaten.

057 VALULIAW

ti Valuliaw (Tjauvaɬi ([or Tjavuaɬi] village, p. 254)

001 *izua ti Valuliaw, neka nu kina, neka nu kama, neka nu kaka.*
i-zua ti Valuliaw neka nu kina neka nu kama neka nu kaka
LOC-that F.H (name) no of mother no of father no of sibling
There was a person called Valuliaw, with no mother, father or siblings.

002 *izua za ramaɬeng a vavayan alapen ti Valuliaw tu vuvu.*
i-zua zua ramaɬeng a vavayan alap-en ti Valuliaw tu vuvu
LOC-that that adult C female take-PF F.H (name) COMPL grandchild
An old woman took Valuliaw as her grandchild.

003 *nu vaik i vavua, sikim tua nakuyakuya nua qaliqali.*
nu vaik i va-vua si-kim tua na-kuya-kuya nua qali-qali
when leave LOC RED-field IF-search OBL STAT-RED-bad by RED-friend
When they went to the fields, others chose for them the bad land (*or* others searched out the bad (?unused and therefore fertile) land.

004 *nu sema vavua, itaita qadaw.*
nu em=sa va-vua ita-ita qadaw
when AF=go RED-field RED-one sun
When they went to the fields, they went only for one day at a time.

005 *ɬakua nu patjara kivaqu anga, tjaɬalialiavan a vaqu nuaza marevuvu.*
ɬakua nu pa-tjara ki-vaqu anga tjaɬa-lia-liaw-an a vaqu nua-zua
but when cause-surely do-millet indeed most-RED-many-NOM C millet of-that
mare-vuvu
pair-grandparent
But when it came to millet harvest time, this grandmother and grandchild pair had the most millet.

006 *nu qemaɬup, sikim tua tseva tua qiɬu na karang nua qaliqali.*
nu em=qaɬup si-kim tua tseva tua qiɬu nua karang nua qali-qali
when AF=hunt IF-search OBL ravine OBL trail of lynx by RED-friend
When they went hunting, others chose for him the ravines and lynx trails (*or* others searched the ravines and lynx trails).

007 *ɬakua nu maselem saka uri sema umaq anga, ti Valuliaw a liaw a inalap.*
ɬakua nu ma-selem sa-ka uri em=sa umaq anga ti Valuliaw a
but when STAT-dark and-after will AF=go house indeed F.H (name) C
liaw a in-alap
many C PERF-take
But when it was dark and they were going back home, Valuliaw had caught the most.

008 *aitsu* *a* *ti* *Valuliaw* *avan* *anga* *nu* *kakiɬuanan*
aya-i-tsu a ti Valuliaw avan anga nu ka-ki-ɬuan-an
be.thus-LOC-this C F.H (name) exact indeed of become-self-example-NOM

nua *Payuan* *nu* *temulu* *tua* *ałak.*
nua Payuan nu em=tulu tua ałak
by Paiwan when AF=teach OBL child
When Paiwan people teach their children, it is this Valuliaw who is held out as a model.

There was a person called Valuliaw, with no mother, father or siblings. An old woman took Valuliaw as her grandchild. When they went to the fields, others chose for them the bad land (*or* others searched out the bad (?unused and therefore fertile) land.) When they went to the fields, they went only for one day at a time. But when it came to millet harvest time, this grandmother and grandchild pair had the most millet. When they went hunting, others chose for him the ravines and lynx trails (*or* others searched the ravines and lynx trails.) But when it was dark and they were going back home, Valuliaw had caught the most. When Paiwan people teach their children, it is this Valuliaw who is held out as a model.

058 PUŁAŁUŁAŁUYAN AND TJUKUTJUKU

Pułałułałuyan kati Tjukutjuku (Tjałakavus village, p. 255)

[Much of the meaning of this text is obscure.]

001 *izua i Makazayazaya aza ti Tjukutjuku putsekeł tjai*
i-zua i Makazayazaya a-zua ti Tjukutjuku pu-tsekeł tjai
LOC-that LOC (place) C-that F.H (name) have-spouse OBL.H

Kułełułełu, puałak tjai Pułałułałuyan.
Kułełułełu pu-ałak tjai Pułałułałuyan
(name) have-child OBL.H (name)
In Makazayazaya there was a person called Tjukutjuku who married Kułełułełu, and they had a child called Pułałułałuyan.

002 *i Makalaulauz ti Muakakai putsekeł tjai Pułałułałuyan, puałak*
i Makalaulauz ti Muakakai pu-tsekeł tjai Pułałułałuyan pu-ałak
LOC (place) F.H (name) have-spouse OBL.H (name) have-child

tjai Tjukutjuku.
tjai Tjukutjuku
OBL.H (name)
In Makalaulauz Muakakai married Pułałułałuyan, and their child was Tjukutjuku.

003 *vaik ti Pułałułałuyan a kisudju tjai Tjukutjuku.*
vaik ti Pułałułałuyan a ki-sudju tjai Tjukutjuku
leave F.H (name) C do-sweetheart OBL.H (name)
Pułałułałuyan went to court Tjukutjuku.

004 *sipakatjeluł vaik a tsemikel sema Makazayazaya.*
sipaka-tjelu-ł vaik a em=tsikel em=sa Makazayazaya
num.of.day-three-times leave C AF=return AF=go (place)
On the third day he went back to Makazayazaya.

005 *"sa-u, Vungavan, kivadaqi tu kemudakuda a silisi."*
sa-u Vungavan ki-vadaq-i tu em=kuda-kuda a si-lisi
go-IMP (name) do-ask-HORT COMPL AF=RED-do.what C IF-bride.price
"Vungavan, go and ask about the bride-price."

006 *"aku a izua za putjaumaumał aza lisian tu*
aku a i-zua zua pu-tja-uma-uma-ł a-zua lisi-an tu
why C LOC-that that have-more-RED-other-times C-that bride.price-NOM OBL

mamazangiłan?
ma-ma-zangił-an
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
"Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs?

007 *taiday za taiday anga; pusiłevavaw tu tapuluq."*
ta-iday zua ta-iday anga pu-si-ł-e-va-vaw tu ta-puluq
one-hundred that one-hundred indeed have-IF-go.to-RED-above OBL one-ten
A hundred is a hundred, and add ten."

008 *"anema aya, vuvu i Vungavan?"*
a-nema aya vuvu i Vungavan
?-what say grandparent LOC (name)
"What do they say, Granny Vungavan?"
[*anema aya* was *anemaya*]

009 *"'aku a izua za putjaumaumał aza lisian tu*
aku a i-zua zua pu-tja-uma-uma-ł a-zua lisi-an tu
why C LOC-that that have-more-RED-other-times C-that bride.price-NOM OBL

mamazangiłan?
ma-ma-zangił-an
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
"They just say: 'Why should there be any change in bride-price for chiefs?

010 *taiday za taiday anga; pusiłevavaw tu tapuluq',*
ta-iday zua ta-iday anga pu-si-ł-e-va-vaw tu ta-puluq
one-hundred that one-hundred indeed have-IF-go.to-RED-above OBL one-ten

aya sakamaya."
aya sakamaya
say only
A hundred is a hundred, and add ten.'"

011 *"ki tjen a qemałup nutiaw, ła qalian, a kivełangaw*
ki tjen a em=qałup nu-tiaw ła qali-an a ki-ve-łangaw
will F.we(INC) C AF=hunt when-one.day class friend-NOM C do-?-plant.sp

tja sipaputsekeł.
tja si-pa-pu-tsekeł
we(INC) IF-cause-have-spouse
"We'll go hunting tomorrow, friends, and get head-wreaths for the wedding.

012 *ari qałupi.*
ari qałup-i
go.on hunt-HORT
Come on, let's go hunting.

013 *kivełangałangavu a maqatsuvutsuvung.*
ki-ve-łanga-łangaw-u a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung
do-?-RED-plant.sp-IMP C STAT-?-RED-complete
Young people, collect the head-wreaths;
[*tsuvung* has sense 'adult' here, so whole word means 'young adults'.]

014 *vetsiku a ramałemałeng.*
vetsik-u a małe=ramałeng
mark-IMP C RED=adult
old people carve the meat.
[*vetsiku* = *vutsiqu* 'cut'?]

015 *tja su tjatjainu anan a łavalian?"*
tja su tjatjainu anan a ła-vali-an
we(INC) remove ? still C class-grass.sp-NOM
How should the grass decorations be?"

016 *"tja su tjakakeḍi anan."*
tja su tja-ka-keḍi anan
more remove more-?-small still
"The smaller the better."

017 *"ari saumaqi anga."*
ari sa-umaq-i anga
go.on go-house-HORT indeed
"Come on, let's go home."

018 *"tjumaqu anan a kaiv."*
tju-umaq-u anan a kaiv
there-house-IMP still C meal
"Go home and have supper."

019 *tsikeł anga a maqatsuvutsuvung a ramałemałeng, sa seman*
tsikeł anga a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung a małe=ramałeng sa em=sane
return indeed C STAT-?-RED-complete C RED=adult and AF=make

vełangałangaw a maqatsuvutsuvung, seman vutjuvutjuł a ramałemałeng.
ve-łanga-łangaw a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung em=sane vutju-vutjuł a małe=ramałeng
?-RED-plant.sp C STAT-?-RED-complete AF=make RED-meat C RED=adult
The young and old go back, and the young make head-wreaths, and the old deal with the meat.
[*tsikeł*: should be *em=tsikeł*?]

020 *"ari anga a paputsekeł a sema Makalaulauz."*
ari anga a pa-pu-tsekeł a em=sa Makalaulauz
go.on indeed C cause-have-spouse C AF=go (place)
"Let's go to Makalaulauz for the wedding."

021 *sa vaik a tamaqałan tjału sasukuzan.*
sa vaik a ta-ma-qała-an tjału sa-sukuz-an
and leave C ?-STAT-outsider-NOM reach RED-stop-NOM
So the whole village went to the resting place.

022 *matu matateztez sinikuang.*
ma-tu ma-ta-teztez in=si-kuang
STAT-alike STAT-?-noise.of.gun PERF=IF-firearm
Shots echoed round. (?)

023 *"tsasavu, ła Tjukutjuku.*
tsasaw-u ła Tjukutjuku
outside-IMP class (name)
"Come out, Tjukutjuku clan.

024 *uzay anga a se Makazayazaya."*
uzay anga a se Makazayazaya
there indeed C person.of (place)
Makazayazaya people are here."

025 *"uzay anga nia apu.*
uzay anga nia apu
there indeed our(EXC) betel
"Here's our betel-nut.

026 *ki mun a namaqusaw anga, ki mun a namavali*
ki mun a na-ma-qusaw anga ki mun a na-ma-vali
will F.you(P) C PAST-STAT-thirst indeed will F.you(P) C PAST-STAT-wind

anga, nu sika i djalan anga."
anga nu sika i djalan anga
indeed of reason LOC road indeed
You will be thirsty and wind-blown from the journey."

027 *"ui anga.*
ui anga
"Yes indeed,

028 *namaqusaw anga men, namavali anga men, nia*
na-ma-qusaw anga amen na-ma-vali anga amen nia
PAST-STAT-thirst indeed F.we(EXC) PAST-STAT-wind indeed F.we(EXC) our(EXC)

sika i djalan anga."
sika i djalan anga
reason LOC road indeed
we are thirsty and wind-blown from our journey.

029 *sipakatjeluł "ari anga.*
sipaka-tjelu-ł ari anga
num.of.day-three-times go.on indeed
On the third day they said: "Let's go now.

030 *mavurvur anga ła tja kakeḍian ła tja ramałemałeng."*
ma-vurvur anga ła tja ka-keḍi-an ła tja małe=ramałeng
STAT-worry indeed class our(INC) RED-small-NOM class our(INC) RED=adult
Our children and old people will be anxious."
[*mavurvur*: F355 has *vuruvur*]

031 *ta tsavił anga ti Pułałułałuyan i Makalaulauz; qau sa ika*
ta tsavił anga ti Pułałułałuyan i Makalaulauz qau sa ika
one year indeed F.H (name) LOC (place) so and not

pualak.
pu-ałak
have-child
Pułałułałuyan was a year in Makalaulauz; but no child was born.

032 *"sa-u, Vungavan.*
sa-u Vungavan
go-IMP (name)
"Go, Vungavan,

033 *'idu alapan amen ta vaqu i salang,' aya-u ti*
id-u alap-an amen ta vaqu i salang aya-u ti
come-IMP take-LF F.we(EXC) OBL millet LOC grain.store say-IMP F.H
Pułałułałuyan."
Pułałułałuyan
(name)
tell Pułałułałuyan: 'Get us some millet from the granary.'"

034 *"aku a mangtjez sun, vuvu i Vungavan?"*
aku a m-pangetjez sun vuvu i Vungavan
why C AF-come F.you(S) grandparent LOC (name)
"Why have you come, Granny Vungavan?"

035 *"singelit aken tjanumun."*
singelit aken tjanu-mun
miss F.I OBL-you(P)
"I missed you."

036 *"anema aya ti Pułałułałuyan?"*
a-nema aya ti Pułałułałuyan
?-what say F.H (name)
"What does Pułałułałuyan say?"
[*anema aya* was *anemaya*]

037 *"marekutj aken a patjanema.*
ma-rekutj aken a pa-tja-nema
STAT-fear F.I C cause-more-what
"I was afraid to say anything

038 *nu ku patsunan a namare kikavetsengel."*
nu ku pa-tsun-an a namare ki-ka-vetsengel
when I cause-see-LF C ? do-main-crop
when I saw all the crops." (?)

039 *"sa-u, Vurivuri.*
sa-u Vurivuri
go-IMP (name)
"Go, Vurivuri,

040 *qaqivu ti Pułałułałuyan."*
qa-qivu ti Pułałułałuyan
RED-speak F.H (name)
speak to Pułałułałuyan."

041 *"aku a mangtjeztjez sun, vuvu i Vurivuri."*
aku a m-tjez=pangetjez sun vuvu i Vurivuri
why C AF-RED=come F.you(S) grandparent LOC (name)
"Why have you come, Granny Vurivuri?"

042 *"'idu,' aya tia tjaina, 'alapan amen ta vaqu a sema salang'."*
id-u aya ti-a tjaina alap-an amen ta vaqu a em=sa
come-IMP say F.H-PL mother.H take-I.F F.we(EXC) OBL millet C AF=go
salang
grain.store
"Your mother's family say: 'Get some millet for us from the granary.'"

043 *"aku a sikałałava tjanuaken?"*
aku a si-ka-ła-ława tjanu-aken
why C IF-main-RED-wait OBL-I
"Why are you waiting for me?"

044 *"ui, ari, anema aya?*
ui ari a-nema aya
yes go.on ?-what say
"Yes, come on. What does he say?
[*anema aya* was *anemaya*]

045 *nakuya tsu ika mun a puałak.*
na-kuya tsu ika mun a pu-ałak
STAT-bad this not F.you(P) C have-child
It's bad that you have no child.

046 *kitjuvadayu sakamaya."*
ki-tju-vaday-u sakamaya
do-apart-separate-IMP only
Get on and separate."

047 *"iya, manu anema nu siaya?*
iya manu a-nema nu si-aya
ah then ?-what you(P) IF-say
"Oh, so what are you saying?

048 *iru aken a pukaui a kitjuvaday."*
iru aken a pu-ka-ui a ki-tju-vaday
will.not F.I C have-become-yes C do-apart-separate
I won't agree to separate."

049 *"anema aya tia kama tia kina tjanusun?"*
a-nema aya ti-a kama ti-a kina tjanu-sun
?-what say F.H-PL father F.H-PL mother OBL-you(S)
"What do your father and mother say to you?"
[*anema aya* was *anemaya*]

050 *"inika anema aya."*
ini-ka a-nema aya
not-after ?-what say
"Nothing."
[*anema aya* was *anemaya*]

051 *sa qemauqaung tia Tjukutjuku kati Pułałułałuyan.*
sa em=qau-qaung ti-a Tjukutjuku ka-ti Pułałułałuyan
and AF=RED-cry F.H-PL (name) and-F.H (name)
And Tjukutjuku and Pułałułałuyan cried.

052 *lemigu a se Kanavanavał tu mavurvurvur tia Tjukutjuku.*
em=ligu a se Kanavanavał tu ma-vur-vurvur ti-a Tjukutjuku
AF=reputed C person.of (place) COMPL STAT-RED-worry F.H-PL (name)
The Kanavanavał people heard that the Tjukutjuku family were anxious.

053 *"ari, kisudju-i a sema Makalaulauz," aya.*
ari ki-sudju-i a em=sa Makalaulauz aya
go.on do-sweetheart-HORT C AF=go (place) say
"Come on, let's go courting to Makalaulauz," they said.

054 *saka izuanan ti Pułałułałuyan.*
sa-ka i-zua-anan ti Pułałułałuyan
and-after LOC-that-still F.H (name)
Now Pułałułałuyan was still there.

055 *"uzay anga a se Kanavanavał a muri kisudju*
uzay anga a se Kanavanavał a ma-uri ki-sudju
there indeed C person.of (place) C STAT-will do-sweetheart

tjanusun.
tjanu-sun
OBL-you(S)
"There are Kanavanavał people here who want to court you.

056 *łakua iru a sika sụdam uta.*
łakua iru a sika sụdam uta
but will.not C reason disappointed also
But it's not to be resented.

057 *imazamazaanan aken*
i-maza-maza-anan aken
LOC-RED-here-still F.I
I'm still here.

058 *qau a marekakakaka itjen a puraketj.*
qau a mare-kaka-kaka itjen a pu-raketj
so C pair-RED-sibling F.we(INC) C have-always
We are siblings for ever.

059 *tsasavu, ła Tjukutjuku," aya ti Pułałułałuyan.*
tsasaw-u ła Tjukutjuku aya ti Pułałułałuyan
outside-IMP class (name) say F.H (name)
Come out, Tjukutjuku clan," said Pułałułałuyan.

060 *"iru aken a pukaui."*
iru aken a pu-ka-ui
will.not F.I C have-become-yes
"I won't agree."

061 *"kana ika sun a pukaui, ki navaik aken a sema*
ka-na ika sun a pu-ka-ui ki na-vaik aken a em=sa
after-then not F.you(S) C have-become-yes will PAST-leave F.I C AF=go

Makazayazaya."
Makazayazaya
(place)
"If you don't agree, I'll go off to Makazayazaya."
[*navaik*: function of *na-* 'PAST' unclear.]

062 *sa vaik anga ti Tjukutjuku a sema tsasaw.*
sa vaik anga ti Tjukutjuku a em=sa tsasaw
and leave indeed F.H (name) C AF=go outside
So Tjukutjuku went outside.

063 *"uzay anga nia apu kinarasingan.*
uzay anga nia apu kinarasingan
there indeed our(EXC) betel ?
"Here's our betel-nut and beer.

064 *tekelu anga.*
tekel-u anga
drink-IMP indeed
Have a drink.

065 *ki mun a namaqusaw anga; ki mun a namavali*
ki mun a na-ma-qusaw anga ki mun a na-ma-vali
will F.you(P) C PAST-STAT-thirst indeed will F.you(P) C PAST-STAT-wind

anga; nu sika i djalan anga, nu sika i sasukuzan anga."
anga nu sika i djalan anga nu sika i sa-sukuz-an anga
indeed of reason LOC road indeed of reason LOC RED-stop-NOM indeed
You'll be thirsty and wind-blown from your journey and from being at the resting place."

066 *"ui, nia gaugavi, sa nia apu-i, sa nia tekeli.*
ui nia gawgaw-i sa nia apu-i sa nia tekel-i
yes we(EXC) accept-HORT and we(EXC) betel-HORT and we(EXC) drink-HORT
"Yes, we accept; we'll chew betel and drink.

067 *namaqusaw anga men, namavali anga men a*
na-ma-qusaw anga amen na-ma-vali anga amen a
PAST-STAT-thirst indeed F.we(EXC) PAST-STAT-wind indeed F.we(EXC) C

paquliqulid."
pa-quli-qulid
cause-RED-real
We certainly are thirsty and wind-blown."

068 *sipakatjelułˈ* *"ari* *anga."*
sipaka-tjelu-î ari anga
num.of.day-three-times go.on indeed
On the third day they said: "Now let's go."

069 *sa* *sema* *Kanavanavałˈ* *anga* *tjału* *sasukuzan.*
sa em=sa Kanavanavaî anga tjaîu sa-sukuz-an
and AF=go (place) indeed reach RED-stop-NOM
And they went to Kanavanavałˈ to the resting place.

070 *"sa-u,* *vuvu* *i* *Vungavan,* *tsikelu* *sa* *kivadaqi* *tu*
sa-u vuvu i Vungavan tsikel-u sa ki-vadaq-i tu
go-IMP grandparent LOC (name) return-IMP and do-ask-HORT COMPL

kemudakuda *a* *silisi."*
em=kuda-kuda a si-lisi
AF=RED-do.what C IF-bride.price
"Go, Granny Vungavan; go back and ask the bride-price."

071 *"aku* *a* *izua* *putjaumaumałˈ* *aza* *lisian* *tu*
aku a i-zua pu-tja-uma-uma-î a-zua lisi-an tu
why C LOC-that have-more-RED-other-times C-that bride.price-NOM OBL

mamazangiłˈan?
ma-ma-zangiî-an
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
"Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs?

072 *taiday* *za* *taiday* *anga;* *pusiłˈevavaw* *tu* *tapuluq."*
ta-iday zua ta-iday anga pu-si-îe-va-vaw tu ta-puluq
one-hundred that one-hundred indeed have-IF-go.to-RED-above OBL one-ten
A hundred is a hundred; and add ten."

073 *"anema* *aya?"*
a-nema aya
?-what say
"What do they say?"
[*anema aya* was *anemaya*]

074 *"'aku* *a* *izua* *za* *putjaumaumałˈ* *aza* *lisian* *tu*
aku a i-zua zua pu-tja-uma-uma-î a-zua lisi-an tu
why C LOC-that that have-more-RED-other-times C-that bride.price-NOM OBL

mamazangiłˈan?
ma-ma-zangiî-an
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
"They just say: 'Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs?

075 *taiday za taiday anga; pusiłevavaw tu tapuluq,'*
ta-iday zua ta-iday anga pu-si-ła-va-vaw tu ta-puluq
one-hundred that one-hundred indeed have-IF-go.to-RED-above OBL one-ten

aya sakamaya."
aya sakamaya
say only
A hundred is a hundred; and add ten.'"

076 *"ari, anema aya?*
ari a-nema aya
go.on ?-what say
"Come on, what do they say?
[*anema aya* was *anemaya*]

077 *qałupi, sa tja kivełangavi."*
qałup-i sa tja ki-ve-łangaw-i
hunt-HORT and we(INC) do-?-plant.sp-HORT
Let's go hunting, and collect head-wreaths."

078 *sipakapusał a qemałuqałup.*
sipaka-pa-usa-ł a em=qału-qałup
num.of.day-cause-two-times C AF=RED-hunt
They hunted for two days.
[*sipakapusał*: *pusał* is irregular form for *ḍusa*]

079 *"kivełangavu a maqatsuvutsuvung, vutsiqu a ramałemałeng.*
ki-ve-łangaw-u a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung vutsiq-u a małe=ramałeng
do-?-plant.sp-IMP C STAT-?-RED-complete cut-IMP C RED=adult
"Young people, collect the head-wreaths; old people carve the meat.
[*vutsiqu* 'cut, carve meat' replaces OA *vetsiku* 'marked, spotted'.]

080 *tja su tjatjainu anan a łavalian?"*
tja su tjatjainu anan a ła-vali-an
we(INC) remove ? still C class-grass.sp-NOM
How should the grass decorations be?"

081 *"tja su tjakakeḍi anan.*
tja su tja-ka-keḍi anan
we(INC) remove more-RED-small still
"The smaller the better."
[*tjakakeḍi*: originally *tja kakeḍi*, but joined here as in 016 above]

082 *tjezua aza.*
tje-zua a-zua
do.at-that C-that
"That's enough.
[*tjezua*: replaces unknown *tsizu*]

083 *ari saumaqi.*
ari sa-umaq-i
go.on go-house-HORT
Come on, let's go home.

084 *maselem a qadaw.*
ma-selema qadaw
STAT-dark C sun
Daylight is going.

085 *surava-i a tja kinivełangaw a tja inalap.*
su-rava-i a tja in=ki-ve-łangaw a tja in-alap
remove-prepare-HORT C we(INC) PERF=do-?-plant.sp C we(INC) PERF-take
Let's unload the head-wreaths we've collected.

086 *sa-u kaivu anan."*
sa-u kaiv-u anan
go-IMP meal-IMP still
Go and get supper."

087 *em=tsikel anga a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung a małe=ramałeng*
em=tsikel anga a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung a małe=ramałeng
AF=return indeed C STAT-?-RED-complete C RED=adult
The young and old come back.

088 *"sanu vełangałangavu a maqatsuvutsuvung, sanu vutjułu a*
sane-u ve-łanga-łangaw-u a ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung sane-u vutjuł-u a
make-IMP ?-RED-plant.sp-IMP C STAT-?-RED-complete make-IMP meat-IMP C

ramałemałeng.
małe=ramałeng
RED=adult
"Young people, make wreaths; old people, deal with the meat.

089 *ki tjen a vaik a nutiaw a sema Makalaulauz a putsekeł.*
ki tjen a vaik a nu-tiaw a em=sa Makalaulauz a pu-tsekeł
will F.we(INC) C leave C when-one.day C AF=go (place) C have-spouse
Tomorrow we'll go to Makalaulauz for the wedding.

090 *ari a tamaqałan."*
ari a ta-ma-qała-an
go.on C ?-STAT-outsider-NOM
Let the whole village go."

091 *uzay anga a se Kanavanavał i sasukuzan anga.*
uzay anga a se Kanavanavał i sa-sukuz-an anga
there indeed C person.of (place) LOC RED-stop-NOM indeed
The Kanavanavał people were there at the resting place.

092 *matu mateztez a sinikuang.*
ma-tu ma-teztez a in=si-kuang
STAT-alike STAT-noise.of.gun C PERF=IF-firearm
Shots echoed round.

093 *namaya i Makalaulauz a uta; sa pangtjez i katsasavan.*
na-ma-aya i Makalaulauz a uta sa pangetjez i ka-tsasaw-an
PAST-STAT-be.thus LOC (place) C also and come LOC main-outside-NOM
The same in Makalaulauz too. So they reached the courtyard.

094 *"tsasavu, ła Tjukutjuku."*
tsasaw-u ła Tjukutjuku
outside-IMP class (name)
"Come out, Tjukutjuku clan."

095 *"iru aken a pukaui."*
iru aken a pu-ka-ui
will.not F.I C have-become-yes
"I won't agree."

096 *qemaung sakamaya ti Tjukutjuku; namaya ti Pułałułałuyan.*
em=qaung sakamaya ti Tjukutjuku na-ma-aya ti Pułałułałuyan
AF=cry only F.H (name) PAST-STAT-be.thus F.H (name)
Tjukutjuku just cries. So does Pułałułałuyan.

097 *"tsasavu sakamaya.*
tsasaw-u sakamaya
outside-IMP only
"Just come out.

098 *kana ika sun a pukaui, ki navaik aken a sema*
ka-na ika sun a pu-ka-ui ki na-vaik aken a em=sa
after-then not F.you(S) C have-become-yes will PAST-leave F.I C AF=go
Makazayazaya."
Makazayazaya
(place)
If you don't agree, I'll go to Makazayazaya."

099 *sa tsasaw anga ti Tjukutjuku sipakatjeluł.*
sa tsasaw anga ti Tjukutjuku sipaka-tjelu-ł
and outside indeed F.H (name) num.of.day-three-times
So Tjukutjuku came out on the third day.

100 *sa vaik ti Pułałułałuyan a sema Makazayazaya.*
sa vaik ti Pułałułałuyan a em=sa Makazayazaya
and leave F.H (name) C AF=go (place)
And Pułałułałuyan went to Makazayazaya.

101 *sipaka-si-muluq matsay ti Pułałułałuyan.*
sipaka-si-puluq m-patsay ti Pułałułałuyan
num.of.day-IF-ten AF-die F.H (name)
On the tenth day Pułałułałuyan died.
[*sipakasimuluq*: *m* varies with *p* in some numerals.]

102 *sipakivadaq tu pasainu a tsemveł.*
si-pa-ki-vadaq tu pa-sa-inu a m=tseveł
IF-cause-do-ask COMPL cause-go-where C AF=bury
They asked where he should be buried.

103 *"pasazua-u aken ta pautez na kadjunangan a pasa*
pa-sa-zua-u aken ta pautez nua ka-djunang-an a pa-sa
cause-go-that-IMP F.I OBL utmost of main-earth-NOM C cause-go

kanavanavał."
ka-nava-navał
main-RED-south
"Put me at the edge of the land towards the south(-east) (*or* Kanavanavał)."
[*kanavanavał*: OA gloss as 'south-east'. May be place name.]

104 *matsay anga makełang ti Pułałułałuyan.*
m-patsay anga ma-kełang ti Pułałułałuyan
AF-die indeed STAT-know F.H (name)
Pułałułałuyan was known to be dead.

105 *"ari kivangavangi a sema Kanavanavał," aya ti Tjukutjuku.*
ari ki-vangavang-i a em=sa Kanavanavał aya ti Tjukutjuku
go.on self-play-HORT C AF=go (place) say F.H (name)
"Let's go to Kanavanavał," said Tjukutjuku.

106 *tjału zua ta tsinevełan tjai Pułałułałuyan.*
tjału zua ta in=tseveł-an tjai Pułałułałuyan
reach that OBL PERF=bury-NOM OBL.H (name)
They went to where Pułałułałuyan was buried.

107 *"tjaula-i aken.*
tja-ula-i aken
more-lack-HORT F.I
"Leave me here.

108 *kitsungal anan aken," aya, sa kisan kaḍiaḍi, sa vaik a minlayap*
ki-tsungal anan aken aya sa ki-sane kaḍiaḍi sa vaik a min-layap
do-knee still F.I say and do-make butterfly.sp and leave C AF-fly

tia Tjukutjuku kati Pułałułałuyan.
ti-a Tjukutjuku ka-ti Pułałułałuyan
F.H-PL (name) and-F.H (name)
I'm going to pay my respects," she said, and turned into a butterfly. So Tjukutjuku and Pułałułałuyan flew away.

109 *sa manu vaik anga kivadaq ta qadaw: "kemuda kana ika*
sa manu vaik anga ki-vadaq ta qadaw em=kuda ka-na ika
and then leave indeed do-ask OBL sun AF=do.what after-then not

men a puałak?"
amen a pu-ałak
F.we(EXC) C have-child
And so they went to ask the sun: "Why can't we have children?"

110 *pavay tu tjara mau ita nia sialangan anga a qadaw, sa*
pa-vay tu tjara mau ita ni-a si-alang-an anga a qadaw sa
cause-give OBL surely NUM one of-PL IF-make-NOM indeed C sun and

puałak tjai Kułełułełu.
pu-ałak tjai Kułełułełu
have-child OBL.H (name)
The sun gave each of them one source of life, and they had a child called Kułełułełu.

111 *sema katsauan aza ti Kułełułełu; vaik a sema Makazayazaya,*
em=sa ka-tsau-an a-zua ti Kułełułełu vaik a em=sa Makazayazaya
AF=go main-being-NOM C-that F.H (name) leave C AF=go (place)

sa penałipałi a sinipapipułuan ta anemaneman anga.
sa en=pałi-pałi a in=si-pa-pi-pułu-an ta a-nema-nema-an anga
and AF=RED-magic C PERF=IF-cause-put-deficit-NOM OBL ?-RED-what-NOM indeed
This Kułełułełu came into the world, and went to Makazayazaya, and (magically) destroyed all the signs of mourning.

112 *"tima tsu?*
ti-ima tsu
F-who this
"Who is this?

113 *kemasinu tsu nu qałan?*
em=kasi-inu tsu nu qała-an
AF=from-where this of outsider-NOM
What village does he come from?

114 *tja djameqaw sakamaya."*
tja djameq-aw sakamaya
we(INC) catch-LF only
We'll just kill him."

115 *"qadjaw nimun.*
qadjaw ni-mun
perhaps of-you(P)
"It's up to you.

116 *ła vuvu i Tjukutjuku, ła vuvu i Kułełułełu.*
ła vuvu i Tjukutjuku ła vuvu i Kułełułełu
oh grandparent LOC (name) oh grandparent LOC (name)
Granny Tjukutjuku, Grandpa Kułełułełu,

117 *timunay a sangasangasan a djemameq tjanuaken.*
ti-mun-ay a sanga-sangas-an a em=djameq tjanu-aken
F-you(P)-will C RED-first-NOM C AF=catch OBL-I
you should be the first to kill me.

118 *ałak aken nia kina i Tjukutjuku, nia kama i Pułałułałuyan."*
ałak aken ni-a kina i Tjukutjuku ni-a kama i Pułałułałuyan
child F.I of-PL mother LOC (name) of-PL father LOC (name)
Tjukutjuku was my mother; Pułałułałuyan was my father."

119	*sa*	*izuanga*	*sakamaya.*
	sa	i-zua-anga	sakamaya
	and	LOC-that-indeed	only
	So he stayed on there.		

In Makazayazaya there was a person called Tjukutjuku who married Kułełułełu, and they had a child called Pułałułałuyan. In Makalaulauz Muakakai married Pułałułałuyan, and their child was Tjukutjuku. Pułałułałuyan went to court Tjukutjuku. On the third day he went back to Makazayazaya. "Vungavan, go and ask about the bride-price."

"Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs? A hundred is a hundred, and add ten." "What do they say, Granny Vungavan?" "They just say: 'Why should there be any change in bride-price for chiefs? A hundred is a hundred, and add ten.'"

"We'll go hunting tomorrow, friends, and get head-wreaths for the wedding. Come on, let's go hunting. Young people, collect the head-wreaths; old people carve the meat.(?) How should the grass decorations be?" "The smaller the better." "Come on, let's go home." "Go home and have supper." The young and old go back, and the young make head-wreaths, and the old deal with the meat. "Let's go to Makalaulauz for the wedding."

So the whole village went to the resting place. Shots echoed round. "Come out, Tjukutjuku clan. Makazayazaya people are here." "Here's our betel-nut. You will be thirsty and wind-blown from the journey." "Yes indeed, we are thirsty and wind-blown from our journey." On the third day they said: "Let's go now. Our children and old people will be anxious."

Pułałułałuyan was a year in Makalaulauz; but no child was born. "Go, Vungavan, tell Pułałułałuyan: 'Get us some millet from the granary.'" "Why have you come, Granny Vungavan?" "I missed you." "What does Pułałułałuyan say?" "I was afraid to say anything when I saw all the crops." "Go, Vurivuri, speak to Pułałułałuyan." "Why have you come, Granny Vurivuri?" "Your mother's family say: 'Get some millet for us from the granary.'" "Why are you waiting for me?" "Yes, come on. What does he say? It's bad that you have no child. Get on and separate."

"Oh, so what are you saying? I won't agree to separate." "What do your father and mother say to you?" "Nothing." And Tjukutjuku and Pułałułałuyan cried. The Kanavanavał people heard that the Tjukutjuku family were anxious. "Come on, let's go courting to Makalaulauz," they said. Now Pułałułałuyan was still there. "There are Kanavanavał people here who want to court you. But it's not to be resented. I'm still here. We are siblings for ever. Come out, Tjukutjuku clan," said Pułałułałuyan. "I won't agree." "If you don't agree, I'll go off to Makazayazaya."

So Tjukutjuku went outside. "Here's our betel-nut and beer. Have a drink. You'll be thirsty and wind-blown from your journey and from being at the resting place." "Yes, we accept; we'll chew betel and drink. We certainly are thirsty and wind-blown." On the third day they said: "Now let's go." And they went to Kanavanavał to the resting place. "Go, Granny Vungavan; go back and ask the bride-price." "Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs? A hundred is a hundred; and add ten." "What do they say?" "They just say: 'Why should there be any change in the bride-price for chiefs? A hundred is a hundred; and add ten."

"Come on, what do they say? Let's go hunting, and collect head-wreaths." They hunted for two days. "Young people, collect the head-wreaths; old people carve the meat. How should the grass decorations be?" "The smaller the better. That's enough. Come on, let's go home. Daylight is going. Let's unload the head-wreaths we've collected. Go and get supper." The young and old come back. "Young people, make wreaths; old people, deal with the meat. Tomorrow we'll go to Makalaulauz for the wedding. Let the whole village go."

The Kanavanavaɬ people were there at the resting place. Shots echoed round. The same in Makalaulauz too. So they reached the courtyard. "Come out, Tjukutjuku clan." "I won't agree." Tjukutjuku just cries. So does Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan. "Just come out. If you don't agree, I'll go to Makazayazaya." So Tjukutjuku came out on the third day. And Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan went to Makazayazaya. On the tenth day Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan died. They asked where he should be buried. "Put me at the edge of the land towards the south(-east) (*or* Kanavanavaɬ)."

Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan was known to be dead. "Let's go to Kanavanavaɬ," said Tjukutjuku. They went to where Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan was buried. "Leave me here. I'm going to pay my respects," she said, and turned into a butterfly. So Tjukutjuku and Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan flew away. And so they went to ask the sun: "Why can't we have children?" The sun gave each of them one source of life, and they had a child called Kuɬeɬuɬeɬu. This Kuɬeɬuɬeɬu came into the world, and went to Makazayazaya, and (magically) destroyed all the signs of mourning. "Who is this? What village does he come from? We'll just kill him." "It's up to you. Granny Tjukutjuku, Grandpa Kuɬeɬuɬeɬu, you should be the first to kill me. Tjukutjuku was my mother; Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan was my father." So he stayed on there.

059 WHITE OWL AND BROWN OWL(?)

ngangay katua tjugeluy (Tjałakavus village, p. 265)

001 *"ari, kivasa-i, ła Ngangay.*
ari ki-vasa-i ła Ngangay
go.on do-taro-HORT oh (name)
"Come on, Ngangay, let's collect some taro.

002 *sevału ti Tjugeluy."*
seval-u ti Tjugeluy
carry.on.back-IMP F.H (name)
Carry Tjugeluy on your back."

003 *"uza, kina, mapiq aken."*
uza kina ma-piq aken
here mother STAT-tired F.I
"Here, mother, I'm tired."

004 *"ku alapaw anga i tja i navanaval."*
ku alap-aw anga i tja i nava-naval
I take-LF indeed LOC more LOC RED-south
"I'll take him down when we get further down south (? *or* to the right–hand end).
[*tja i* was *tjai* in OA]

005 *"uza, kina, mapiq aken."*
uza kina ma-piq aken
here mother STAT-tired F.I
"Here, mother, I'm tired."

006 *"ku alapaw anga i siłevełevetj."*
ku alap-aw anga i si-łeve-łevetj
I take-LF indeed LOC IF-RED-level
"I'll take him when we get to the end of the row." (?)

007 *"uza, kina, mapiq aken."*
uza kina ma-piq aken
here mother STAT-tired I
"Here, mother, I'm tired."

008 *"gału anan.*
gału anan
slow still
"Wait a bit.

009 *uri kivasanan aken.*
uri ki-vasa-anan aken
will do-taro-still F.I
I'm going to get some more taro.

010 *ku patutuaw anga nusauni, nuka djemaqudjaqut aken."*
ku pa-tutu-aw anga nu-sauni nuka em=djaqu-djaqut aken
I cause-breast-LF indeed when-soon even AF=RED-cut.off F.I
I'll suckle him later, while I cut the taro ends off."

011 *"uza, kina, sadjelung ti Tjugeluy."*
uza kina sadjelung ti Tjugeluy
here mother heavy F.H (name)
"Here, mother, Tjugeluy is heavy."

012 *"gału anan.*
gału anan
slow still
"Wait a bit.

013 *kemsanan aken."*
m=kesa-anan aken
AF=food-still F.I
I'll cook first."

014 *"ui, łakua mapiq aken."*
ui łakua ma-piq aken
yes but STAT-tired F.I
"Yes, but I'm tired."

015 *"gału anan.*
gału anan
slow still
"Wait a bit.

016 *ku vutsilaw anan a tja kinsa a pasa qelutseqets."*
ku vutsil-aw anan a tja in=kesa a pa-sa qelutseqets
I set.down-LF still C our(INC) PERF=food C cause-go tree.sp
I'll set our food down on a tree." (?)

017 *"pai uzanga, kina, pakani ti Tjugeluy."*
pai uza-anga kina pa-kan-i ti Tjugeluy
well here-indeed mother cause-eat-PF F.H (name)
"Well, come on, mother, feed Tjugeluy."

018 *vułuqan ta ngitsu.*
vułuq-an ta ngitsu
throw-LF OBL skin
She threw over some taro peel.

019 *sikilunung ni Ngangay, sa patumu-i.*
si-ki-lunung ni Ngangay sa patumu-i
IF-do-crumb by (name) and hand.over-PF
Ngangay crumbled it up and handed it over to him.

020 *"pai vułuqi tu ita a ku kaka."*
pai vułuq-i tu ita a ku kaka
well throw-HORT OBL one C my sibling
"Throw one over for my brother."

021 *ngitsu sakamaya sivułuq, sa łułu-i tu sikilunung ni Ngangay.*
ngitsu sakamaya si-vułuq sa łułu-i tu si-ki-lunung ni Ngangay
skin only IF-throw and gather-PF OBL IF-do-crumb by (name)
It was just peel she threw over; and Ngangay picked it up and crumbled it up.

022 *makakan anga; łeteku ti kina.*
maka-kan anga łe-teku ti kina
finished-eat indeed go.to-down F.H mother
Her mother finished eating and got down (from the tree (OA)).

023 *"uza, kina, mapiq anga ken."*
uza kina ma-piq anga aken
here mother STAT-tired indeed F.I
"Here, mother, I'm tired."

024 *"gału anan.*
gału anan
slow still
"Wait a bit.

025 *djemaqut anan aken tu ku kinatsu a sema umaq."*
em=djaqut anan aken tu ku in=katsu a em=sa umaq
AF=cut.off still F.I OBL I PERF=carry C AF=go house
I'll first take the taro home and cut the ends off."

026 *"pai tutu anga, kina; matsułangata ti Tjugeluy."*
pai tutu anga kina ma-tsuła-anga-ta ti Tjugeluy
well breast indeed mother STAT-hungry-indeed-? F.H (name)
"Do suckle him, mother; Tjugeluy is really hungry."

027 *"gału anan.*
gału anan
slow still
"Wait a bit.

028 *miravanan aken.*
mi-rava-anan aken
AF-prepare-still F.I
I'll load up.

029 *tjumazamaza-u.*
tju-maza-maza-u
there-RED-here-IMP
Stay here.

030 *ku tsikelaw anga.*
ku tsikel-aw anga
I return-LF indeed
I'll be back.

031 *ku palautaw anan tutsu a tsevatseva."*
ku pa-laut-aw anan tu-tsu a tseva-tseva
I cause-able-LF still OBL-this C RED-ravine
I'll just get them across this ravine."

032 *"ainu anga i kina?" aya ti Ngangay.*
a-inu anga i kina aya ti Ngangay
?-where indeed which mother say F.H (name)
"Where has mother got to?" said Ngangay.

033 *nu patsun ta qutsivauvaw, "uzay anga ti kina a malap*
nu pa-tsun ta qutsivauvaw uzay anga ti kina a m-alap
when cause-see OBL firefly there indeed F.H mother C AF-take
tjanuitjen."
tjanu-itjen
OBL-F.we(INC)
When she saw a fire-fly, she thought: "Now mother has come to collect us."

034 *nu djemałun a qutsivauvaw, "ari kitjaula-u, Tjugeluy.*
nu em=djałun a qutsivauvaw ari ki-tja-ula-u Tjugeluy
when AF=arrive C firefly go.on do-more-lack-IMP (name)
When the fire-fly came, she said: "Come on, Tjugeluy, let's stop this.

035 *kisan anema itjen, qalian?*
ki-sane a-nema itjen qali-an
do-make ?-what F.we(INC) friend-NOM
What shall we become, friend?

036 *kisan qayaqayami."*
ki-sane qaya-qayam-i
do-make RED-bird-HORT
Let's become birds."

037 *penengeḍuq ta siała tu sikipuiku.*
en=pe-ngeḍuq ta si-ała tu si-ki-pu-iku
AF=emerge-sever OBL IF-carry.cloth COMPL IF-do-have-tail
She tore the coverlet to make tails,

038 *putsuḍeqen a vayar tu sikipupalał.*
pu-tsuḍeq-en a vayar tu si-ki-pu-palał
have-split-PF C cape COMPL IF-do-have-wing
and split (?) the cape to make wings.

039 *"ari, łevavavi ta kasiw, sa tja patsuni ti kama."*
ari łe-va-vaw-i ta kasiw sa tja pa-tsun-i ti kama
go.on go.to-RED-above-HORT OBL tree and we(INC) cause-see-HORT F.H father
"Come on, let's go up a tree and watch father."

040 *"ainu anga tja ałak, Tjukutjuku?"*
a-inu anga tja ałak Tjukutjuku
?-where indeed our(INC) child (name)
"Where are our children, Tjukutjuku?"

041 *"uzay anga i vilił.*
uzay anga i vilił
there indeed LOC behind
"They're behind.

042 *ki mangtjez nusauni angata.*
ki m-pangetjez nu-sauni anga-ta
will AF-come when-soon indeed-?
They're sure to come soon.

043 *łakua qadjaw tuki anemanema sengsengan i djalan."*
łakua qadjaw tu-ki a-nema-nema sengseng-an i djalan
but perhaps COMPL-how ?-RED-what work-NOM LOC road
But I don't know what they are doing on the way."

044 *"ku vaikaw anan sa kitsatsevung."*
ku vaik-aw anan sa ki-tsa-tsevung
I leave-LF still and self-RED-meet
"I'll go to meet them."

045 *"ainu anga marka ku ałak?*
a-inu anga marka ku ałak
?-where indeed PL my child
"Where are my children?

046 *aku a ika ken a tsatsevutsevung?"*
aku a ika aken a tsa-tsevu-tsevung
why C not F.I C ?-RED-meet
Why don't I meet up with them?"

047 *"uza tsu amen, kama.*
uza tsu amen kama
here this F.we(EXC) father
"Here we are, father.

048 *łakua rinanaw amen ni kina.*
łakua in=ranaw amen ni kina
but PERF=intend F.we(EXC) by mother
But mother forced us into this

049 *kisan qayaqayam."*
ki-sane qaya-qayam
do-make RED-bird
becoming birds."

050 *"ia manu maya."*
ia manu ma-aya
oh then STAT-be.thus
"So that's it."

051 *"gaɬu, ti Tjukutjuku."*
gaɬu ti Tjukutjuku
slow F.H (name)
"Wait, Tjukutjuku."

052 *"siseqas ta vaɬvaɬ, sa veseqitji ti Tjukutjuku.*
si-seqas ta vaɬvaɬ sa veseqitj-i ti Tjukutjuku
IF-chop OBL palm.sp and flog-PF F.H (name)
He cut a palm, and beat Tjuktjuku (She became a mouse (OA)).
[*veseqitji*: was *vusaqitji*.]

053 *"kii kii kii.*
kii kii kii
ow ow ow
"*Kii kii kii.*

054 *nguḍnguḍay anga a su qaɬutsuv."*
nguḍ-nguḍay anga a su qaɬutsuv
RED-chew indeed C your(S) storage.box
There's a hole in your storage box."

055 *"ari.*
ari
go.on
"Come on,

056 *qalian, inlayapi ta vaday imaza.*
qali-an in-layap-i ta vaday i-maza
friend-NOM PERF-fly-HORT OBL separate LOC-here
friend, let's fly away from here.

057 *tsevungi anga i Kavulungan."*
tsevung-i anga i Kavulungan
meet-HORT indeed LOC (place)
Let's meet on Kavulungan mountain."

"Come on, Ngangay, let's collect some taro. Carry Tjugeluy on your back."

"Here, mother, I'm tired." "I'll take him down when we get further down south (? *or* to the right-hand end). "Here, mother, I'm tired." "I'll take him when we get to the end of the row(?)." "Here, mother, I'm tired." "Wait a bit. I'm going to get some more taro. I'll suckle him later, while I cut the taro ends off." "Here, mother, Tjugeluy is heavy." "Wait a bit. I'll cook first." "Yes, but I'm tired." "Wait a bit. I'll set our food down on a tree (?)." "Well, come on, mother, feed Tjugeluy."

She threw over some taro peel. Ngangay crumbled it up and handed it over to him. (?) "Throw one over for my brother." It was just peel she threw over; and Ngangay picked it up and crumbled it up. Her mother finished eating and got down (from the tree (OA)). "Here, mother, I'm tired."

"Wait a bit. I'll first take the taro home and cut the ends off." "Do suckle him, mother; Tjugeluy is really hungry." "Wait a bit. I'll load up. Stay here. I'll be back. I'll just get them across this ravine."

"Where has mother got to?" said Ngangay. When she saw a fire-fly, she thought: "Now mother has come to collect us." When the fire-fly came, she said: "Come on, Tjugeluy, let's stop this. What shall we become, friend? Let's become birds." She tore the coverlet to make tails, and split (?) the cape to make wings. "Come on, let's go up a tree and watch father."

"Where are our children, Tjukutjuku?" "They're behind. They're sure to come soon. But I don't know what they are doing on the way." "I'll go to meet them." "Where are my children? Why don't I meet up with them?" "Here we are, father. But mother forced us into this, becoming birds." "So that's it." "Wait, Tjukutjuku." He cut a palm, and beat Tjuktjuku (She became a mouse (OA)). "*Kii kii kii.* There's a hole in your storage box." "Come on, friend, let's fly away from here. Let's meet on Kavulungan mountain."

060 SHRIMP AND TREE-LIZARD

Quzang kati Tjingangaḍuy (Kaviangan village, p. 268)

001 *izua aya ti Quzang kati Tjingangaḍuy.*
i-zua aya ti Quzang ka-ti Tji-nga-ngaḍuy
LOC-that say F.H shrimp and-F.H kind-RED-lizard.sp
They say there was Shrimp and Tree-lizard.

002 *"pai karivui," aya ti Tjingangaḍuy.*
pai ka-rivu-i aya ti Tji-nga-ngaḍuy
well main-quarrel-HORT say F.H kind-RED-lizard.sp
"Let's have a fight," said Tree-lizard.

003 *"ui, pumaya," aya ti Quzang.*
ui pu-ma-aya aya ti Quzang
yes have-STAT-be.thus say F.H shrimp
"Yes, all right," said Shrimp.

004 *saka "keɬu sema kuvuɬ," aya ti Tjingangaḍuy.*
sa-ka keɬ-u em=sa kuvuɬ aya ti Tji-nga-ngaḍuy
and-after come-IMP AF=go meadow say F.H kind-RED-lizard.sp
"Come to the meadow," said Tree-lizard.

005 *mangtjez ti Quzang, saka ɬemama ta kuvuɬ ti Tjingangaḍuy;*
m-pangetjez ti Quzang sa-ka em=ɬama ta kuvuɬ ti Tji-nga-ngaḍuy
AF-come F.H shrimp and-after AF=burn OBL meadow F.H kind-RED-lizard.sp

saka matsay a quzang penuɬat.
sa-ka m-patsay a quzang en=puɬat
and-after AF-die C shrimp AF=all
Shrimp came, and Tree-lizard set fire to the meadow; and all the shrimps died.

006 *itanga a tjeza maɬama a quzang.*
ita-anga a tjeza ma-ɬama a quzang
one-indeed C remain STAT-burn C shrimp
There was only one shrimp left that wasn't burnt.

007 *saka limutseng a quzang, sa venɬeng ta pana.*
sa-ka li-mutseng a quzang sa n=veɬeng ta pana
and-after QAL-angry C shrimp and AF=dam OBL river
The shrimp was angry, and dammed the river.

008 *saka "keɬu," aya ti Quzang.*
sa-ka keɬ-u aya ti Quzang
and-after come-IMP say F.H shrimp
"Now come," said Shrimp.

009 *saka mangtjez ti Tjingangaḍuy i pana.*
sa-ka m-pangetjez ti Tji-nga-ngaḍuy i pana
and-after AF-come F.H kind-RED-lizard.sp LOC river
And Tree-lizard came to the river.

010 *saka semuveɬeng anga a quzang ta pana.*
sa-ka em=su-veɬeng anga a quzang ta pana
and-after AF=remove-dam indeed C shrimp OBL river
The shrimp removed the dam from the river;

011 *sa qaɬudjan a tjingangaḍuy na zaɬum penuɬat.*
sa qaɬudj-an a tji-nga-ngaḍuy nua zaɬum en=puɬat
and lose-LF C kind-RED-lizard.sp by water AF=all
and all the tree-lizards were washed away by the water.

012 *itanga a tjeza.*
ita-anga a tjeza
one-indeed C remain
There was only one left.

They say there was Shrimp and Tree-lizard. "Let's have a fight," said Tree-lizard. "Yes, all right," said Shrimp. "Come to the meadow," said Tree-lizard. Shrimp came, and Tree-lizard set fire to the meadow; and all the shrimps died.

There was only one shrimp left that wasn't burnt. The shrimp was angry, and dammed the river. "Now come," said Shrimp. And Tree-lizard came to the river. The shrimp removed the dam from the river; and all the tree-lizards were washed away by the water. There was only one left.

061 MUAKAKAI

Muakakai (Kaviangan village, p. 269)

001 *izua* *aya* *ta* *maretsekeł* *ti* *Tjukutjuku* *kati* *Pułałułałuyan;* *sa*
i-zua aya ta mare-tsekeł ti Tjukutjuku ka-ti Pułałułałuyan sa
LOC-that say OBL pair-spouse F.H (name) and-F.II (name) and

puałak *tjai* *Muakakai* *tu* *nguanguaq* *aravats.*
pu-ałak tjai Muakakai tu ngua-nguaq a-ravats
have-child OBL.H (name) COMPL RED-good C-true
They say there was a married couple called Tjukutjuku and Pułałułałuyan. They had a very beautiful child called Muakakai.

002 *saka* *piligu* *a* *łapiłapi,* *aya.*
sa-ka pi-ligu a łapiłapi aya
and-after put-reputed C nearby say
The young men of the village fell in love with her;

003 *saka* *putsekeł* *tjai* *Kułełułełu,* *aya.*
sa-ka pu-tsekeł tjai Kułełułełu aya
and-after have-spouse OBL.H (name) say
and she married Kułełułełu, they say.

004 *manu* *puałis* *aza* *kutji,* *aya.*
manu pu-ałis a-zua kutji aya
then have-tooth C-that vagina say
But they say her vagina had teeth.

005 *saka* *masalud.*
sa-ka ma-salud
and-after STAT-sleep.with
They slept together,

006 *manu* *katsen* *na* *kutji,* *sa* *patsay* *ti* *Kułełułełu.*
manu kats-en nua kutji sa patsay ti Kułełułełu
then bite-PF by vagina and die F.H (name)
and he was bitten by her vagina, and so Kułełułełu died.

007 *saka* *małianga,* *sa* *"pai,* *gatsału,* *kenamau* *anga,"*
sa-ka ma-ła-anga sa pai gatsał-u kenama-u anga
and-after STAT-dawn-indeed and well stand-IMP breakfast-IMP indeed

aya *ti* *Tjukutjuku.*
aya ti Tjukutjuku
say F.H (name)
In the morning Tjukutjuku said: "Get up and have breakfast."

008 *manu* *namatsay* *anga.*
manu na-m-patsay anga
then PAST-AF-die indeed
But he was dead.

009 *saka* *"aku* *matsay?* *su* *kinuda?"* *aya* *kivadaq* *a* *matjałałak.*
sa-ka aku m-patsay su in=kuda aya ki-vadaq a matja-łałak
and-after why AF-die you(S) PERF=do.what say do-ask C NUM-child
"Why did he die? What did you do?" her parents asked.

010 *saka* *inika* *qivu* *ti* *Muakakai.*
sa-ka ini-ka qivu ti Muakakai
and-after not-after speak F.H (name)
Muakakai didn't reply.

011 *sa* *qaqivuin* *a* *sikataqałan* *ni* *Kułełułełu;* *saka*
sa qa-qivu-en a si-ka-ta-qała-an ni Kułełułełu sa-ka
and RED-speak-PF C IF-main-?-outsider-NOM of (name) and-after

mangtjez *a* *malap.*
m-pangetjez a m-alap
AF-come C AF-take
They told Kułełułełu's people, and they came and took his body.

012 *saka* *"masiaq* *itjen,"* *aya* *ti* *Tjukutjuku* *kati* *Pułałułałuyan.*
sa-ka ma-siaq itjen aya ti Tjukutjuku ka-ti Pułałułałuyan
and-after STAT-shame F.we(INC) say F.H (name) and-F.H (name)
"We're ashamed of her," said Tjukutjuku and Pułałułałuyan.

013 *saka* *"sikudanga* *a* *ałak;* *tja* *łangianaw,"* *aya,* *sa*
sa-ka si-kuda-anga a ałak tja łangi-an-aw aya sa
and-after IF-do.what-indeed C child we(INC) trunk-NOM-LF say and

piłangian; *saka* *paqałudj* *ta* *załum* *pasa* *pana.*
pi-łangi-an sa-ka pa-qałudj ta załum pa-sa pana
put-trunk-NOM and-after cause-lose OBL water cause-go river
"What use is this child? We'll put her in a trunk," they said, and put her in a trunk, and let it float away on the water of the river.
[*łangianaw*: *łangi* is a plant name, and *łangi-an* is '(tree) trunk']

014 *saka* *izua* *se* *tjarivavaw* *ti* *Kułełułełu* *katua*
sa-ka i-zua se tjari-va-vaw ti Kułełułełu ka-tua
and-after LOC-that person.of utmost-RED-above F.H (name) and-OBL

sikataqałan *tjepanapana.*
si-ka-ta-qała-an tje-pana-pana
IF-main-?-outsider-NOM do.at-RED-river
Now a person from heaven called Kułełułełu was fishing in the river with his fellow-villagers.
[*katua*: was *katu*, *tjarivavaw*: was *tjałevavaw*]

015 *sa* *djemumak* *anga* *ta* *łangian* *i* *taladj* *ta* *vatsał.*
sa em=djumak anga ta łangi-an i taladj ta vatsał
and AF=find indeed OBL trunk-NOM LOC inside OBL pool
They found the trunk in a deep pool.

016 *sa alapen saka qaluin a sema umaq; saka mangtjez i*
sa alap-en sa-ka qalu-en a em=sa umaq sa-ka m-pangetjez i
and take-PF and-after carry-PF C AF=go house and-after AF-come LOC

umaq.
umaq
house
They took it and carried it home.

017 *"Kina kama, djemumak anga ta łangian.*
Kina kama em=djumak anga ta łangi-an
mother father AF=find indeed OBL trunk-NOM
When they got home, he said: "Mother, father, we found a trunk.

018 *aki anema i taladj? sadjelung aravats."*
aki a-nema i taladj sadjelung a-ravats
how ?-what LOC inside heavy C-true
What can be inside it? It's very heavy."

019 *qau pai semutsaqev, sa patsuni.*
qau pai em=su-tsaqev sa pa-tsun-i
so well AF=remove-lid and cause-see-HORT
So they lifted the lid and looked inside.
[*qau*: was *ku*]

020 *"manu ti Muakakai avan tsu.*
manu ti Muakakai avan tsu
then F.H (name) exact this
"This must be Muakakai.

021 *makełang aza puałis a kutji; siniverits na matjałałak, a*
ma-kełang a-zua pu-ałis a kutji in=si-verits nua matja-łałak a
STAT-know C-that have-tooth C vagina PERF=IF-discard by NUM-child C

siayaya."
si-ay-aya
IF-RED-say
She is said to be well-known for her vagina with teeth, and for being thrown away by her parents."

022 *saka "sa-u qemałup," ayain ti Kułełułełu.*
sa-ka sa-u em=qałup aya-en ti Kułełułełu
and-after go-IMP AF=hunt say-PF F.H (name)
"Go off and hunt," they said to Kułełułełu.

023 *saka taqed ti Muakakai.*
sa-ka taqed ti Muakakai
and-after sleep F.H (name)
Muakakai went to sleep.

024 *saka qetsapen aza ałis na kutji.*
sa-ka qetsap-en a-zua ałis nua kutji
and-after grip-PF C-that tooth of vagina
And they pulled out the teeth from her vagina.

025 *saka mangtjez ti Kułełułełu a naqemałup.*
sa-ka m-pangetjez ti Kułełułełu a na-em=qałup
and-after AF-come F.H (name) C PAST-AF=hunt
Kułełułełu came back from hunting.

026 *saka masalud; saka inikanga matsay ti Kułełułełu.*
sa-ka ma-salud sa-ka ini-ka-anga m-patsay ti Kułełułełu
and-after STAT-sleep.with and-after not-after-indeed AF-die F.H (name)
They slept together, and Kułełułełu didn't die.

027 *sa mavunglay sa puałak anga.*
sa ma-vungelay sa pu-ałak anga
and STAT-pregnant and have-child indeed
So Muakakai became pregnant, and they had a child.

028 *ngadan na ałis tatalaven ḍaḍamelamen.*
ngadan nua ałis tatalaven ḍaḍamelamen
name of tooth (name) (name)
The teeth were called *tatalaven ḍaḍamelamen.*
[*tatalaven* is 'RED-drip-PF'?]

029 *qetsev na kadjunangan.*
qetsev nua ka-djunang-an
counterpart of main-earth-NOM
They were valuable enough to be exchanged for land.

030 *sepatj a ałis na kutji a qata.*
sepatj a ałis nua kutji a qata
four C tooth of vagina C bead
There are four vagina teeth beads;

031 *izua i Payuan a ita.*
i-zua i Payuan a ita
LOC-that LOC Paiwan C one
one at Payuan,

032 *izua i Pełeti a ḍusa.*
i-zua i Pełeti a ḍusa
LOC-that LOC (place) C two
two at Pełeti,

033 *izua i Kaviangan a ita.*
i-zua i Kaviangan a ita
LOC-that LOC (place) C one
and one at Kaviangan.

034 *amin.*
amin
no.more
The end.

They say there was a married couple called Tjukutjuku and Pułałułałuyan. They had a very beautiful child called Muakakai. The young men of the village fell in love with her; and she married Kułełułełu, they say. But they say her vagina had teeth. They slept together, and he was bitten by her vagina, and so Kułełułełu died. In the morning Tjukutjuku said: "Get up and have breakfast." But he was dead. "Why did he die? What did you do?" her parents asked. Muakakai didn't reply. They told Kułełułełu's people, and they came and took his body. "We're ashamed of her," said Tjukutjuku and Pułałułałuyan. "What use is this child? We'll put her in a trunk," they said, and put her in a trunk, and let it float away on the water of the river.

Now a person from heaven called Kułełułełu was fishing in the river with his fellow-villagers. They found the trunk in a deep pool. They took it and carried it home. When they got home, he said: "Mother, father, we found a trunk. What can be inside it? It's very heavy." So they lifted the lid and looked inside. "This must be Muakakai. She is said to be well-known for her vagina with teeth, and for being thrown away by her parents."

"Go off and hunt," they said to Kułełułełu. Muakakai went to sleep. And they pulled out the teeth from her vagina. Kułełułełu came back from hunting. They slept together, and Kułełułełu didn't die. So Muakakai became pregnant, and they had a child. The teeth were called *tatalaven ḍaḍamelamen.* They were valuable enough to be exchanged for land. There are four vagina teeth beads; one at Payuan, two at Pełeti, and one at Kaviangan. The end.

062 THE EVIL-EYE MAN

pałi (Kaviangan village, p. 271)

001 *izua* *sitsuayan* *a* *tsautsau* *se* *Pełeti* *ła* *Dakudakuts*
i-zua si-tsuay-an a tsau-tsau se Pełeti ła Dakudakuts
LOC-that IF-long.time-NOM C RED-being person.of (place) class (name)

namepałi.
na-me-pałi
PAST-AF-magic
Once upon a time there was a person from Pełeti of the Dakudakuts clan who became an evil-eye man.

002 *nu* *patsun* *ta* *lalangaw,* *ta* *qatsang,* *ta* *kuka,* *ta* *tsautsau,*
nu pa-tsun ta la-langaw ta qatsang ta kuka ta tsau-tsau
when cause-see OBL RED-fly OBL pig OBL chicken OBL RED-being

matsay *sakamaya* *penułat,* *aya.*
m-patsay sakamaya en=pułat aya
AF-die only AF=all say
If he looked at flies, pigs, chicken or people, they all just died, they say.

003 *marekutj* *a* *sikataqałan,* *sa* *kemim* *ta* *umaq*
ma-rekutj a si-ka-ta-qała-an sa em=kim ta umaq
STAT-fear C IF-main-?-outsider-NOM and AF=search OBL house
The villagers were afraid, and looked for somewhere for him to live.

004 *djemumak* *anga* *i* *sadip* *ta* *tjaguł;* *saka* *seman* *umaq;* *sa*
em=djumak anga i sadip ta tjaguł sa-ka em=sane umaq sa
AF=find indeed LOC foothill OBL crag and-after AF=make house and

sematjez *anga* *pasa* *zua* *a* *sikataqałan.*
em=satjez anga pa-sa zua a si-ka-ta-qała-an
AF=return indeed cause-go that C IF-main-?-outsider-NOM
They found a rock-face in the foothills and made a house there; and the villagers sent him there.

005 *saka* *pavaivai* *anga* *sakamaya* *senemanemanga,* *patje*
sa-ka pa-vay-vay anga sakamaya se-nema-nema-anga pa-tje
and-after cause-RED-give indeed only person.of-RED-what-indeed cause-do.at

se *Tenatseng* *a* *qinałan* *a* *pairang.*
se Tenatseng a in=qała-an a pairang
person.of (place) C PERF=outsider-NOM C plains
People from everywhere gave him food, including the plainspeople in the village of Tenatseng.

006 *saka* *masutan* *aravats* *a* *senemanemanga.*
sa-ka ma-su-tan a-ravats a se-nema-nema-anga
and-after STAT-remove-profit C-true C person.of-RED-what-indeed
So everyone lost heavily,

007 *saka limutseng a pairang, sa "ari, qemtsii," aya małavar*
sa-ka li-mutseng a pairang sa ari m=qetsi-i aya ma-łavar
and-after QAL-angry C plains and go.on AF=fight-HORT say STAT-speak

tia pairang.
ti-a pairang
F.H-PL plains
and the plainspeople got angry, and decided: "Come on, let's kill him."

008 *vaik a sema zua i ta umaq ni pałi, sa djemałun anga.*
vaik a em=sa zua i ta umaq ni pałi sa em=djałun anga
leave C AF=go that LOC OBL house of magic and AF=arrive indeed
They went to the evil-eye man's house. When they got there,

009 *"kiqiłau.*
ki-qiła-u
self-hide-IMP
they said: "Hide yourself.

010 *mangtjez amen a pavay ta lami."*
m-pangetjez amen a pa-vay ta lami
AF-come F.we(EXC) C cause-give OBL staple.food
We've come to give you food."

011 *sa kembung timadju a pałi; sa qetsin na pairang azua timadju*
sa m=kebung ti-madju a pałi sa qetsi-en nua pairang a-zua ti-madju
and AF=lie.flat F-3RD.PERS C magic and fight-PF by plains C-that F-3RD.PERS

a pałi.
a pałi
C magic
So the evil-eye man bent down, and the plainspeople killed him.

012 *manu mitsetsikal ti pałi; pavalet a patsun.*
manu mi-tse-tsikal ti pałi pa-valet a pa-tsun
then AF-RED-angry F.H magic cause-oppose C cause-see
But the evil-eye man became violent and looked at them in revenge;
[*mitsetsikal* = *mitsatsikal* in F.]

013 *saka matsay anga sakamaya a pairang.*
sa-ka m-patsay anga sakamaya a pairang
and-after AF-die indeed only C plains
and the plainspeople just died.

014 *mapułu anga a tjeza a matsay.*
ma-pułu anga a tjeza a m-patsay
STAT-deficit indeed C remain C AF-die
Only a few survived and didn't die.

015 *saka matsay ti paɬi, sa kiquluan, sa tsavuin ta*
sa-ka m-patsay ti paɬi sa ki-qulu-an sa tsavu-en ta
and-after AF-die F.H magic and do-head-LF and wrapping-PF OBL

sitsavuan, sa kematsu sema umaq.
si-tsavu-an sa em=katsu em=sa umaq
IF-wrapping-NOM and AF=carry AF=go house
So the evil-eye man died, and they cut off his head, and wrapped it in a blanket; and brought it home.
[*sitsauvan* 'blanket' was *sitsaqevan* 'lid'.]

016 *sa mangtjez i umaq, saka semutsavu.*
sa m-pangetjez i umaq sa-ka em=su-tsavu
and AF-come LOC house and-after AF=remove-wrapping
When they got home, they unwrapped it.

017 *tjuruvu a ɬemizaw a qaqunuan vavayavayan.*
tjuruvu a em=ɬizaw a qa-qunu-an vaya=vavayan
many C AF=look C RED-child-NOM RED=female
There were many children and women watching.

018 *manu patsun ta matsa, kimatsay anga a mapuɬat.*
manu pa-tsun ta matsa ki-m-patsay anga a ma-puɬat
then cause-see OBL eye self-AF-die indeed C NUM-all
And by looking at the evil-eye man's eyes they all killed themselves.

019 *sa "nakuya," aya azua tjeza a matsay; sa sematjez pasa pana*
sa na-kuya aya a-zua tjeza a m-patsay sa em=satjez pa-sa pana
and STAT-bad say C-that remain C AF-die and AF=return cause-go river

i taladj ta vatsaɬ.
i taladj ta vatsaɬ
LOC inside OBL pool
"That's bad," said those who survived and didn't die. So they took the head to the river to a deep pool.

020 *saka palisi anga palalaut.*
sa-ka palisi anga pa-la-laut
and-after taboo indeed cause-RED-able
Ever since it is taboo to go there.

021 *nu sema zua, kisaqetju anga sakamaya, aya.*
nu em=sa zua ki-saqetju anga sakamaya aya
when AF=go that self-painful indeed only say
They say that those who go there bring illness on themselves.

022 *amin.*
amin
no.more
The end.

Once upon a time there was a person from Pełeti of the Dakudakuts clan who became an evil-eye man. If he looked at flies, pigs, chicken or people, they all just died, they say. The villagers were afraid, and looked for somewhere for him to live. They found a rock-face in the foothills and made a house there; and the villagers sent him there. People from everywhere gave him food, including the plainspeople in the village of Tenatseng. So everyone lost heavily, and the plainspeople got angry, and decided: "Come on, let's kill him." They went to the evil-eye man's house. When they got there, they said: "Hide yourself. We've come to give you food." So the evil-eye man bent down, and the plainspeople killed him. But the evil-eye man became violent and looked at them in revenge; and the plainspeople just died. Only a few survived and didn't die. So the evil-eye man died, and they cut off his head, and wrapped it in a blanket; and brought it home. When they got home, they unwrapped it. There were many children and women watching. And by looking at the evil-eye man's eyes they all killed themselves. "That's bad," said those who survived and didn't die. So they took the head to the river to a deep pool. Ever since it is taboo to go there. They say that those who go there bring illness on themselves. The end.

063 THE PEOPLE OF PADAIN AND KAPAYUANAN

se Padain kata se Kapayuanan (Kapayuanan village, p. 273)

001 *se* *Padain* *kata* *se* *Kapayuanan* *a* *namałałaqedi*
se Padain ka-ta se Kapayuanan a na-ma-ła-ła-qedi
person.of (place) and-OBL person.of (place) C PAST-STAT-RED-class-boundary

a qinałan.
a in=qała-an
C PERF=outsider-NOM
The people of Padain and Kapayuanan live in villages close to one another.

002 *nu* *maqaqetsi* *nu* *maqadadaw,* *tjamakaya* *a* *se*
nu ma-qa-qetsi nu ma-da=qadaw tja-ma-kaya a se
when STAT-RED-fight when STAT-RED=sun more-STAT-able C person.of

Kapayuanan.
Kapayuanan
(place)
When they fight in the daytime, the Kapayuanan people win.

003 *nu* *qezemezemetj* *nu* *maqaqetsi,* *tjamakaya* *a* *se* *Padain.*
nu zeme=qezemetj nu ma-qa-qetsi tja-ma-kaya a se Padain
when RED=night when STAT-RED-fight more-STAT-able C person.of (place)
When they fight at night, the Padain people win.

004 *aza* *sika* *tjamakaya,* *pumatsa* *pi* *tsungal* *a* *se* *Padain;*
a-zua sika tja-ma-kaya pu-matsa pi tsungal a se Padain
C-that reason more-STAT-able have-eye put knee C person.of (place)

avanu *sivala* *djemavats* *nu* *qezemezemetj* *a* *kiqetsi.*
avan nu si-vala em=djavats nu zeme=qezemetj a ki-qetsi
exact of IF-able AF=walk when RED=night C do-fight
The reason they win is that the Padain people have eyes in their knees, and so they can march out to fight at night.

005 *aza* *sika* *tjamakaya* *a* *se* *Kapayuanan* *nu* *maqadadaw,*
a-zua sika tja-ma-kaya a se Kapayuanan nu ma-da=qadaw
C-that reason more-STAT-able C person.of (place) when STAT-RED=sun

pumatsa *pi* *mudingan* *a* *se* *Kapayuanan.*
pu-matsa pi mudingan a se Kapayuanan
have-eye put face C person.of (place)
The reason why the Kapayuanan people win in daytime is that they have eyes in their faces.

The people of Padain and Kapayuanan live in villages close to one another. When they fight in the daytime, the Kapayuanan people win. When they fight at night, the Padain people win. The reason they win is that the Padain people have eyes in their knees, and so they can march out to fight at night. The reason why the Kapayuanan people win in daytime is that they have eyes in their faces.

064 TWO SUNS

ḍusa a qadaw (Kapayuanan village, p. 274)

001 *ka sitsuayan aitsu a kalevelevan i teku, saka*
ka si-tsuay-an aya-i-tsu a ka-levelev-an i teku sa-ka
after IF-long.time-NOM be.thus-LOC-this C main-dazzle-NOM LOC down and-after

ḍusa a qadaw.
ḍusa a qadaw
two C sun
Once upon a time the sky was low, and there were two suns.

002 *malevelev itjen, aya.*
ma-levelev itjen aya
STAT-dazzle F.we(INC) say
We were in a bad way, they say.

003 *masengseng sakamaya; inika tjen a taqed.*
ma-sengseng sakamaya ini-ka tjen a taqed
STAT-work only not-after F.we(INC) C sleep
We worked all the time, and never slept.

004 *"aki tja kudai tsu?"*
aki tja kuda-i tsu
how we(INC) do.what-PF this
"What are we going to do about this?"

005 *maisu ti Tukanivun ta vaqu.*
m-paisu ti Tukanivun ta vaqu
AF-pound F.H (name) OBL millet
Tukanivun (someone from the Tukanivun family (OA)) was pounding millet.

006 *matsutsuk ta qaselu a kalevelevan; makelu a ita a qadaw,*
ma-tsu-tsuk ta qaselu a ka-levelev-an ma-kelu a ita a qadaw
STAT-RED-bump OBL pestle C main-dazzle-NOM STAT-fall C one C sun

sa ɬevavaw a kalevelevan.
sa ɬe-va-vaw a ka-levelev-an
and go.to-RED-above C main-dazzle-NOM
The pestle bumped the sky; one sun fell down, and the sky went up.

007 *avan anga sika izua qezemezemetj; taqed anga itjen.*
avan anga sika i-zua zeme=qezemetj taqed anga itjen
exact indeed reason LOC-that RED=night sleep indeed F.we(INC)
That's why there is night; and now we can sleep.

Once upon a time the sky was low, and there were two suns. We were in a bad way, they say. We worked all the time, and never slept. "What are we going to do about this?" Tukanivun (someone from the Tukanivun family (OA)) was pounding millet. The pestle bumped the sky; one sun fell down, and the sky went up. That's why there is night; and now we can sleep.

065 DRIQUQU

Ḍiququ (Kapayuanan village, p. 274)

001 *izua aza sitsuayan ti sa Ḍiququ a se Kapayuanan.*
i-zua a-zua si-tsuay-an ti sa Ḍiququ a se Kapayuanan
LOC-that C-that IF-long.time-NOM F.H H (name) C person.of (place)
Once upon a time there was a man of Kapayuanan called Ḍiququ.

002 *muri livuin na se Qalu.*
ma-uri livu-en nua se Qalu
STAT-will invade-PF by person.of (place)
East Paiwans were going to invade the area.

003 *kidaringungu, sa daringunguin a djelapaɬ izua i Dinukapan.*
ki-daringungu sa daringungu-en a djelapaɬ i-zua i Dinukapan
do-tree.sp and tree.sp-PF C rock.bed LOC-that LOC (place)
He got some (gum?) tree wood, and put it on the rock slab at Dinukapan.
[*djelapaɬ*: was *djelapal*]

004 *mangtjez a se Qalu.*
m-pangetjez a se Qalu
AF-come C person.of (place)
The East Paiwans came.

005 *nu kidjulat tazua dinaringungu, sekulasu sa patsay.*
nu ki-djulat ta-zua in=daringungu se-kulasu sa patsay
when do-step.on OBL-that PERF=tree.sp INVOL-fall and die
When they stepped on the place with the slippery wood, they fell off and died.

006 *matsidiɬ anga a tjeza ta matsay.*
ma-tsidiɬ anga a tjeza ta m-patsay
STAT-alone indeed C remain OBL AF-die
Only one survived ('excluded from the dead').

007 *"sau vaiku," aya ti sa Ḍiququ tazua, se Qalu.*
sa-u vaik-u aya ti sa Ḍiququ ta-zua se Qalu
go-IMP leave-IMP say F.H H (name) OBL-that person.of (place)
"Be off with you," said Ḍiququ to this East Paiwan.

008 *"ɬakua nu mangtjez sun izua i qinaɬan, tisun*
ɬakua nu m-pangetjez sun i-zua i in=qaɬa-an ti-sun
but when AF-come F.you(S) LOC-that LOC PERF=outsider-NOM F-you(S)
a matsay."
a m-patsay
C AF-die
"But when you get back to your village, you will die."

009 *izua ti sa Ḍiququ anga kidjulat a pizua i Dinukapan; azua*
i-zua ti sa Ḍiququ anga ki-djulat a pi-zua i Dinukapan a-zua
LOC-that F.H H (name) indeed do-step.on C put-that LOC (place) C-that

tail a kula i Padain.
tail a kula i Padain
one.of.pair C foot LOC (place)
Ḍiququ himself (was so big that) when he had one foot at Dinukapan, his other foot was at Padain (across the valley, and he had a very long penis (OA)).
[*tail*: F has *ta-il* where *-il* is from *-l* 'in sequence']

010 *izua za ti Muakai a se Padain tjemenutjenun.*
i-zua zua ti Muakai a se Padain em=tjenu-tjenun
LOC-that that F.H (name) C person.of (place) AF=RED-weave
Muakai of Padain was weaving.
[*tjemenutjenun*: was *temenutenun*, *t* and *tj* are hard to distinguish in this area]

011 *tevuta aza kulits i tju djeɬep.*
te-vuta a-zua kulits i tju djeɬep
do-appear C-that penis LOC there wall
A penis appeared along the wall.
[*tevuta*: cf. *tje-* F.]

012 *"aki anema tsu?" aya mikeduts.*
aki a-nema tsu aya mi-keduts
how ?-what this say AF-startle
"Whatever is this?" she said, startled.

013 *veɬatjen ta vaida.*
veɬatj-en ta vaida
hit-PF OBL weaver's.sword
She hit it with her weaver's sword,

014 *mangeḍuq aza kulits ni Ḍiququ.*
ma-ngeḍuq a-zua kulits ni Ḍiququ
STAT-sever C-that penis of (name)
and Ḍiququ's penis was cut off.

015 *viɬviɬen nimadju aza kulits; namadjui anga*
viɬviɬ-en ni-madju a-zua kulits na-ma-djui anga
pull-PF by-3RD.PERS C-that penis PAST-STAT-thorn indeed

namaɬavangas anga tua kinaḷaḍuq.
na-ma-ɬa-vangas anga tua in=ka-laḍuq
PAST-STAT-class-thistle indeed OBL PERF=main-long
He dragged it along, and it got thorns and burrs on it because it was so long.

016 *semudjui semuɬavangas ti Ḍiququ, tjanu ita i tjakaz.*
em=su-djui em=su-ɬa-vangas ti Ḍiququ tjanu ita i tjakaz
AF=remove-thorn AF=remove-class-thistle F.H (name) full one which basket.type
When he pulled all the thorns and burrs out, they filled a winnowing basket.
[*tjanu*: no meaning 'fill' in F, but there is *tjaɬu-* 'until, as far as']

Once upon a time there was a man of Kapayuanan called Ḍiququ. East Paiwans were going to invade the area. He got some (gum?) tree wood, and put it on the rock slab at Dinukapan. The East Paiwans came. When they stepped on the place with the slippery wood, they fell off and died. Only one survived. "Be off with you," said Ḍiququ to this East Paiwan. "But when you get back to your village, you will die."

Ḍiququ himself (was so big that) when he had one foot at Dinukapan, his other foot was at Padain (across the valley, and he had a very long penis (OA)). Muakai of Padain was weaving. A penis appeared along the wall. "Whatever is this?" she said, startled. She hit it with her weaver's sword, and Ḍiququ's penis was cut off. He dragged it along, and it got thorns and burrs on it because it was so long. When he pulled all the thorns and burrs out, they filled a winnowing basket.

066 COOKING MILLET

kemsa ta vaqu (Kapayuanan village, p. 276)

001 *izua za se Kapayuanan a ła Kadaladalavan.*
i-zua zua se Kapayuanan a ła Kadaladalavan
LOC-that that person.of (place) C class (name)
There was a person of the Kadaladalavan family at Kapayuanan.
[The actor could be singular or plural, male or female, but take as singular female here.]

002 *inika sema vavua masengseng ta quma.*
ini-ka em=sa va-vua ma-sengseng ta quma
not-after AF=go RED-field STAT-work OBL field
She didn't go away from the village to work in the fields.

003 *tjału tjumaq sakamaya kikutsu sakamaya.*
tjału tju-umaq sakamaya ki-kutsu sakamaya
reach there-house only self-louse only
She just stayed at home picking the lice off herself.
[*tjału*: was *taru*]

004 *kemsa itaita a vat na vaqu.*
em=kesa ita-ita a vat nua vaqu
AF=food RED-one C grain of millet
She cooked millet one grain at a time.

005 *nu kesain azua ita vat a vaqu, mapełuq a pariuk.*
nu kesa-en a-zua ita vat a vaqu ma-pełuq a pariuk
when food-PF C-that one grain C millet STAT-full C wok
When she cooked one grain of millet, it filled the whole wok.

006 *nu kesain a ita makuzan, mapełuq a umaq; inika makaya*
nu kesa-en a ita makuzan ma-pełuq a umaq ini-ka ma-kaya
when food-PF C one ear.of.millet STAT-full C house not-after STAT-able

tjumaq a tsautsau.
tju-umaq a tsau-tsau
there-house C RED-being
When she cooked a whole ear of millet, it filled the house and people couldn't get in.

007 *"aitsu inika paḍia," aya ti Kadaladalavan.*
aya-i-tsu ini-ka pa-ḍia aya ti Kadaladalavan
be.thus-LOC-this not-after cause-correct say F.H (name)
"This is no good," said the Kadaladalavan family.

008 *"nanguaq a tja tjaulan aitsu.*
na-nguaq a tja tja-ula-an aya-i-tsu
STAT-good C we(INC) more-lack-LF be.thus-LOC-this
"We must stop this method.
[*tjaulan*: see F36-7.]

009 *ka inika nanguaq a pakaqatsa ta załum," aya pavavala*
ka ini-ka na-nguaq a pa-ka-qatsa ta załum aya pa-va-vala
after not-after STAT-good C cause-become-big OBL water say cause-RED-able

kemsa tu ita vat a vaqu.
em=kesa tu ita vat a vaqu
AF=food OBL one grain C millet
Perhaps it would be good to use a lot of water," they said, and tried cooking one grain of millet.

010 *ini anga ka meliaw.*
ini anga ka me-liaw
not indeed after AF-many
It didn't multiply any longer.

011 *avan anga sika pakaqatsa ta załum, sa pakaliaw a*
avan anga sika pa-ka-qatsa ta załum sa pa-ka-liaw a
exact indeed reason cause-become-big OBL water and cause-become-many C

kemsa ta vaqu.
em=kesa ta vaqu
AF=food OBL millet
So that is why we use a lot of water, and cook a lot of grains of millet.

There was a person of the Kadaladalavan family at Kapayuanan. She didn't go away from the village to work in the fields. She just stayed at home picking the lice off herself. She cooked millet one grain at a time. When she cooked one grain of millet, it filled the whole wok. When she cooked a whole ear of millet, it filled the house and people couldn't get in. "This is no good," said the Kadaladalavan family. "We must stop this method. Perhaps it would be good to use a lot of water," they said, and tried cooking one grain of millet. It didn't multiply any longer. So that is why we use a lot of water, and cook a lot of grains of millet.

067 TUMAPALAPALAI AND KAVULUNGAN MOUNTAINS

Tumapalapalai kata Kavulungan (Kapayuanan village, p. 277)

001 *ka sitsuayan azua i Tumapalapalai kata i Kavulungan*
ka si-tsuay-an a-zua i Tumapalapalai ka-ta i Kavulungan
after IF-long.time-NOM C-that LOC (place) and-OBL LOC (place)

selapay tu vavaw.
se-lapay tu va-vaw
INVOL-severe OBL RED-above
Once upon a time Tumapalapalai mountain and Kavulungan mountain were both extremely high (T. is the mountain behind Kapayuanan village (OA)).

002 *"inika paḍia aitsu," aya tiamadju.*
ini-ka pa-ḍia aya-i-tsu aya ti-a-madju
not-after cause-correct be.thus-LOC-this say F-PL-3RD.PERS
"This is no good," they said.

003 *"ari satekui," aya i Kavulungan tua i Tumapalapalai.*
ari sa-teku-i aya i Kavulungan tua i Tumapalapalai
go.on go-down-HORT say LOC (place) OBL LOC (place)
"Let's go down," said Kavulungan to Tumapalapalai.

004 *"ui, ari ari, katjaisangasu a sema teku," aya i*
ui ari ari ka-tja-i-sangas-u a em=sa teku aya i
yes go.on go.on become-more-LOC-first-IMP C AF=go down say LOC

Tumapalapalai tua i Kavulungan.
Tumapalapalai tua i Kavulungan
(place) OBL LOC (place)
"Yes, all right; you go down first," said Tumapalapalai to Kavulungan.

005 *"ini, tisunay a tjaisangas a sema teku," aya i Kavulungan.*
ini ti-sun-ay a tja-i-sangas a em=sa teku aya i Kavulungan
not F-you(S)-will C more-LOC-first C AF=go down say LOC (place)
"No, you go down first," said Kavulungan.

006 *kilangda tua kai na i Kavulungan; sema teku a i*
ki-langeda tua kai nua i Kavulungan em=sa teku a i
do-hear OBL speech of LOC (place) AF=go down C LOC

Tumapalapalai.
Tumapalapalai
(place)
Tumapalapalai did as Kavulungan said and went down.

007 *qau sema vavaw a i Kavulungan.*
qau em=sa va-vaw a i Kavulungan
so AF=go RED-above C LOC (place)
And Kavulungan went up.

008	*avan*	*anga*	*sika*	*vavaw*	*na*	*i*	*Kavulungan.*
	avan	anga	sika	va-vaw	nua	i	Kavulungan
	exact	indeed	reason	RED-above	of	LOC	(place)

So that is why Kavulungan is so high.

Once upon a time Tumapalapalai mountain and Kavulungan mountain were both extremely high (T. is the mountain behind Kapayuanan village (OA)). "This is no good," they said. "Let's go down," said Kavulungan to Tumapalapalai. "Yes, all right; you go down first," said Tumapalapalai to Kavulungan. "No, you go down first," said Kavulungan. Tumapalapalai did as Kavulungan said and went down. And Kavulungan went up. So that is why Kavulungan is so high.

068 THE FLOOD

qatsa a załum (Kapayuanan village, p. 277)

001 *ka sitsuayan izua za Taruvar i pairang; avan azua*
ka si-tsuay-an i-zua zua Taruvar i pairang avan a-zua
after IF-long.time-NOM LOC-that that (name) LOC plains exact C-that

kakalipatan nua załum.
ka-ka-lipat-an nua załum
main-STAT-disappear-NOM of water
Once upon a time there was a monster Taruvar on the plains, and all the water went in there.

002 *manu małupetj azua angał ni Taruvar.*
manu ma-łupetj a-zua angał ni Taruvar
then STAT-plug C-that mouth of (name)
Well Taruvar's mouth was blocked.

003 *matevuk a załum; meqatsa azua załum.*
ma-tevuk a załum me-qatsa a-zua załum
STAT-gather C water AF-big C-that water
The water accumulated; and the water level rose.

004 *azua kẹdikẹdian a gade malimu tua załum tua kinaqatsa.*
a-zua kẹdi-kẹdi-an a gade ma-limu tua załum tua in=ka-qatsa
C-that RED-small-NOM C mountain STAT-cover OBL water OBL PERF=become-big
The smaller mountains were all covered because of the great volume of water.

005 *amin anga i Tumapalapalai kata i Palasidang kata i*
amin anga i Tumapalapalai ka-ta i Palasidang ka-ta i
no.more indeed LOC (place) and-OBL LOC (place) and-OBL LOC

Kavulungan inika namalimu ta załum.
Kavulungan ini-ka na-ma-limu ta załum
(place) not-after PAST-STAT-cover OBL water
Only Tumapalapalai, Palasidang and Kavulungan mountains were not covered by the water.

006 *azua tsautsau a se Kapayuanan sema zua i Tumapalapalai.*
a-zua tsau-tsau a se Kapayuanan em=sa zua i Tumapalapalai
C-that RED-being C person.of (place) AF=go that LOC (place)
The people of Kapayuanan went to Tumapalapalai.

007 *izua neka nu sapuy.*
i-zua neka nu sapuy
LOC-that no of fire
There was no fire there.

008 *izua za takets; sekauɬan nua tsautsau pasa zua kisapuy tua*
i-zua zua takets sekauɬ-an nua tsau-tsau pa-sa zua ki-sapuy tua
LOC-that that muntjac send-LF by RED-being cause-go that do-fire OBL

Palasidang azua takets, a sema zua i Palasidang a ɬemanguy uta
Palasidang a-zua takets a em=sa zua i Palasidang a em=ɬanguy uta
(place) C-that muntjac C AF=go that LOC (place) C AF=swim also

pasa maza; mangtjez i Tumapalapalai.
pa-sa maza m-pangetjez i Tumapalapalai
cause-go here AF-come LOC (place)
There was a muntjac, and the people sent it to Palasidang to get some fire. The muntjac swam there to Palasidang and came back here to Tumapalapalai.

009 kemsanga azua (i) Tumapalapalai.
m=kesa-anga a-zua i Tumapalapalai
AF=food-indeed C-that LOC (place)
And so they could cook on Tumapalapalai.

010 *ka tsuatsuay anga masuɬupetj azua angaɬ ni Taruvar;*
ka tsua-tsuay anga ma-su-ɬupetj a-zua angaɬ ni Taruvar
after RED-long.time indeed STAT-remove-plug C-that mouth of (name)

masutevuk anga; mekeḍi anga a załum.
ma-su-tevuk anga me-keḍi anga a załum
STAT-remove-gather indeed AF-small indeed C water
After a long time the mouth of Taruvar was unblocked, the water drained away, and the water level went down.

011 *izua za qatjulaɬ masekelay tua kasiw; djumaken nua*
i-zua zua qatjulaɬ ma-se-kelay tua kasiw djumak-en nua
LOC-that that worm STAT-INVOL-hang OBL tree find-PF by

mamazangiɬan.
ma-ma-zangiɬ-an
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
There were worms hanging on the trees. The chiefs found them

012 *paquzipen tua lami nua mamazangiɬan.*
pa-quzip-en tua lami nua ma-ma-zangiɬ-an
cause-keep.animal-PF OBL staple.food by STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
and fed them staple foods.

013 *azua qatjulaɬ nu tjeqatsang, masan qipu.*
a-zua qatjulaɬ nu tje-qatsang ma-sane qipu
C-that worm when do.at-pig STAT-make soil
When the worms defecated, it became soil.
[*tjeqatsang*: may be euphemistic for *pu-tsaqi* 'defecate']

014 *avan anga sika izua nu sa qipu.*
avan anga sika i-zua nu tsa qipu
exact indeed reason LOC-that of this soil
That's the reason there is soil;

015 *saka* *aitsu* *a* *kadjunangan* *azua* *sika* *nu*
sa-ka aya-i-tsu a ka-djunang-an a-zua sika nu
and-after be.thus-LOC-this C main-earth-NOM C-that reason of

mamazangiłan, *ayatua* *tiamadju* *a* *napaquzip*
ma-ma-zangił-an aya-tua ti-a-madju a na-pa-quzip
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM be.thus-COMPL F-PL-3RD.PERS C PAST-cause-keep.animal

ta *qatjułał.*
ta qatjułał
OBL worm
and that's the reason why all the land belongs to the chiefs, because they fed the worms.
[*aya-tua*: 'because']

Once upon a time there was a monster Taruvar on the plains, and all the water went in there. Well Taruvar's mouth was blocked. The water accumulated and the water level rose. The smaller mountains were all covered because of the great volume of water. Only Tumapalapalai, Palasidang and Kavulungan mountains were not covered by the water. The people of Kapayuanan went to Tumapalapalai. There was no fire there. There was a muntjac, and the people sent it to Palasidang to get some fire. The muntjac swam there to Palasidang and came back here to Tumapalapalai. And so they could cook on Tumapalapalai. After a long time the mouth of Taruvar was unblocked, the water drained away, and the water level went down. There were worms hanging on the trees. The chiefs found them and fed them staple foods. When the worms defecated, it became soil. That's the reason there is soil; and that's the reason why all the land belongs to the chiefs, because they fed the worms.

069 SAULIVAN

Saulivan (Kapayuanan village, p. 279)

001 *izua za sitsuayan a ti Saulivan a mamazangiłan,*
i-zua zua si-tsuay-an a ti Saulivan a ma-ma-zangił-an
LOC-that that IF-long.time-NOM C F.H (name) C STAT-STAT-chief-NOM

pakasengseng ta sikataqałan ta quma.
pa-ka-sengseng ta si-ka-ta-qała-an ta quma
cause-main-work OBL IF-main-?-outsider-NOM OBL field
Once upon a time there was a chief called Saulivan. He made his fellow-villagers work in his fields.

002 *"izua vava," aya ventsa; mavan a sika sengseng ta quma*
i-zua vava aya n=vetsa ma-avan a sika sengseng ta quma
LOC-that alcohol say AF=lie STAT-exact C reason work OBL field

nimadju.
ni-madju
of-3RD.PERS
He lied and said: "There's beer for you." That's why they worked in his fields.

003 *"kełu, tekelu," aya.*
keł-u tekel-u aya
come-IMP drink-IMP say
"Come and get a drink," he said.

004 *ka sutsaqevan a djilung, manu neka nu vava, a pangats i taladj.*
ka su-tsaqev-an a djilung manu neka nu vava a pangats i taladj
after remove-lid-NOM C jar then no of alcohol C hornet LOC inside
When the lid was taken off the pot, there was no beer; there were hornets inside.

005 *mavilad a sikataqałan.*
ma-vilad a si-ka-ta-qała-an
STAT-flee C IF-main-?-outsider-NOM
The villagers ran away.

006 *izua qatsiłay a kinelay i pałing.*
i-zua qatsiłay a in=kelay i pałing
LOC-that stone C PERF=hang LOC doorway
There was a slate slab hung in the doorway.

007 *ka mavilad setsugtsug; madudu a sikataqałan.*
ka ma-vilad se-tsugtsug ma-dudu a si-ka-ta-qała-an
after STAT-flee INVOL-bump STAT-angry C IF-main-?-outsider-NOM
When they ran away, they bumped into it. The villagers were angry.

008 *"kełu, kisudjui,"* *aya* *a* *sikataqałan* *tjai* *Saulivan,*
keł-u ki-sudju-i aya a si-ka-ta-qała-an tjai Saulivan
come-IMP do-sweetheart-HORT say C IF-main-?-outsider-NOM OBL.H (name)

"a sema Padain," *aya* *pasukangalu.*
a em=sa Padain aya pasukangalu
C AF=go (place) say deceive
"Come on, let's go to Padain to visit the girls," the villagers lied to Saulivan.

009 *pitaladjen* *timadju* *ta* *tjałev,* *sa* *qalui* *sa* *vaikan* *a* *kemelu*
pi-taladj-en ti-madju ta tjałev sa qalu-i sa vaik-an a em=kelu
put-inside-PF F-3RD.PERS OBL box and carry-PF go leave-LF C AF=fall

pasa *zua* *i* *ta* *tjałitiw;* *matsay* *timadju.*
pa-sa zua i ta tjałitiw m-patsay ti-madju
cause-go that LOC OBL waterfall AF-die F-3RD.PERS
They put him in a box, and went off carrying it, and tipped him down a waterfall. He died

010 *mekasiw* *timadju.*
me-kasiw ti-madju
AF-tree F-3RD.PERS
and became a tree,

011 *venangał* *ta* *kałipa.*
en=vangał ta kałipa
AF=fruit OBL shell
and the tree bore shells.

012 *ka* *maipuq* *a* *kasiw,* *malap* *a* *katsalisian* *ta* *kałipa.*
ka ma-ipuq a kasiw m-alap a ka-tsalisi-an ta kałipa
after STAT-fall C tree AF-take C main-slope-NOM OBL shell
When the tree fell, mountain people collected the shells.

013 *mavan* *a* *sika* *izua* *na* *kałipa* *tutsu.*
ma-avan a sika i-zua nua kałipa tu-tsu
STAT-exact C reason LOC-that of shell OBL-this
That's why there are *kałipa* shells to this day.

Once upon a time there was a chief called Saulivan. He made his fellow-villagers work in his fields. He lied and said: "There's beer for you." That's why they worked in the fields for him. "Come and get a drink," he said. When the lid was taken off the pot, there was no beer; there were hornets inside. The villagers ran away.

There was a slate slab hung in the doorway. When they ran away, they bumped into it. The villagers were angry. "Come on, let's go to Padain to visit the girls," the villagers lied to Saulivan. They put him in a box, and went off carrying it, and tipped him down a waterfall. He died and became a tree, and the tree bore shells. When the tree fell, mountain people collected the shells. That's why there are *kałipa* shells to this day.

070 TAIL AND PIRI

Tail kati Piri (Tjukuvuł village, p. 280)

001 *izua ka tjaisangas tangapuł i Vutsuł, saka keman tua*
i-zua ka tja-i-sangas tangapuł i Vutsuł sa-ka em=kan tua
LOC-that after more-LOC-first lion LOC (place) and-after AF=eat OBL

tsautsau sakamaya palalaut.
tsau-tsau sakamaya pa-la-laut
RED-being only cause-RED-able
Once upon a time there was a lion in the Vutsuł area, and it kept on eating people.
[*tangapuł*: OA make it into a personal name.]

002 *saka "aku tjen a uri maquang?*
sa-ka aku tjen a uri ma-quang
and-after why F.we(INC) C will STAT-exterminate
They said: "We are going to be wiped out, aren't we?

003 *uri tja kudain sa tja sualapen a tangapuł?"*
uri tja kuda-en sa tja su-alap-en a tangapuł
will we(INC) do.what-PF and we(INC) remove-take-PF C lion
What are we going to do to get rid of this lion?"

004 *qau djemauł tjai Tail kati Piri.*
qau em=djauł tjai Tail ka-ti Piri
so AF=call OBL.H (name) and-F.H (name)
So they summoned Tail and Piri.

005 *"keł-u, selapay anga men; uri maquang amen*
keł-u se-lapay anga amen uri ma-quang amen
come-IMP INVOL-severe indeed F.we(EXC) will STAT-exterminate F.we(EXC)

tusa tangapuł."
tu-tsa tangapuł
OBL-this lion
"Come; we're in trouble. We're going to be wiped out by this lion"
[*tusa tangapuł*: was *su tangapuł* 'remove lion' so perhaps means "Get rid of the lion."]

006 *vaik a sema zua tiamadju a maḍusa, kematsu tua vakela.*
vaik a em=sa zua ti-a-madju a ma-ḍusa em=katsu tua vakela
leave C AF=go that F-PL-3RD.PERS C NUM-two AF=carry OBL arrow
So the two went there, carrying (bows and) arrows.

007 *"nu kemudakuda qadaw mangtjez a keman?"*
nu em=kuda-kuda qadaw m-pangetjez a em=kan
when AF=RED-do.what sun AF-come C AF=eat
"At what time of day does it come to eat people?"

008 *"nu i vavaw tsinedasan mangtjez."*
nu i va-vaw in=tsedas-an m-pangetjez
when LOC RED-above PERF=sunrise-NOM AF-come
"It comes when the sun is above its rising place."
[*tsinedasan*: should be preceded by *tua*?]

009 *kemałava tiamadju.*
em=ka-łava ti-a-madju
AF=become-wait F-PL-3RD.PERS
The two waited for it.

010 *ka mangtjez a tangapuł, panaqen sa papatsayin; saka maleva*
ka m-pangetjez a tangapuł panaq-en sa pa-patsay-en sa-ka ma-leva
after AF-come C lion arrow-PF and cause-die-PF and-after STAT-pleased

aravats tiamadju a Vutsuł.
a-ravats ti-a-madju a Vutsuł
C-true F-PL-3RD.PERS C (place)
When the lion came, they shot and killed it. The Vutsuł people were very glad.

011 *"uła timun anga kikazełuzełu tua imaza penułat."*
uła ti-mun anga ki-zełu=kazełu tua i-maza en=pułat
so.that F-you(P) indeed do-RED=tax OBL LOC-here AF=all
"All the tribute from here can go to you."

012 *qau vaik tiamadju a tsemikel a sema Tjuvasavasai.*
qau vaik ti-a-madju a em=tsikel a em=sa Tjuvasavasai
so leave F-PL-3RD.PERS C AF=return C AF=go (place)
They went back to Tjuvasavasai.

013 *qau ti Łautu anga kisan qempuqepu tua kazełu i Vutsuł.*
qau ti Łautu anga ki-sane m=qepu-qepu tua kazełu i Vutsuł
so F.H (name) indeed do-make AF=RED-associate OBL tax LOC (place)
Łautu became the tribute collector among the Vutsuł.

014 *nu patsatsikel tiamadju a pasa Vutsuł, kitsułu a sema*
nu pa-tsa-tsikel ti-a-madju a pa-sa Vutsuł ki-tsułu a em=sa
when cause-RED-return F-PL-3RD.PERS C cause-go (place) do-butcher C AF=go

zua tua qinałan anga tiamadju a maḍusa; mana
zua tua in=qała-an anga ti-a-madju a ma-ḍusa ma-avan-a
that OBL PERF=outsider-NOM indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS C NUM-two STAT-exact-?

palaingan nua naqałangan.
pa-laing-an nua na-qała-anga-an
cause-follow-NOM by PAST-outsider-indeed-NOM
When the two travelled through there, feasts were given for them in every village, and they were the leaders of all the villages.

Once upon a time there was a lion in the Vutsuł area, and it kept on eating people. They said: "We are going to be wiped out, aren't we? What are we going to do to get rid of this lion?" So they summoned Tail and Piri. "Come; we're in trouble. We're going to be wiped out by this lion"

(*or* "Get rid of the lion"). So the two went there, carrying (bows and) arrows. "At what time of day does it come to eat people?" "It comes when the sun is above its rising place." The two waited for it. When the lion came, they shot and killed it. The Vutsuɬ people were very glad. "All the tribute from here can go to you." They went back to Tjuvasavasai. Ɬautu became the tribute collector among the Vutsuɬ. When the two travelled through there, feasts were given for them in every village, and they were the leaders of all the villages.

071 THE ORPHANS AND THE CROW

mapuɬu katua qaqa (Tjukuvuɬ village, p. 281)

001 *izua marekaka a maḍusa, neka nu kina, neka nu kama, mapuɬu*
i-zua mare-kaka a ma-ḍusa neka nu kina neka nu kama ma-puɬu
LOC-that pair-sibling C NUM-two no of mother no of father STAT-deficit

tiamadju.
ti-a-madju
F-PL-3RD.PERS
There were two children with no mother or father, all on their own.

002 *vaik a sema vavua.*
vaik a em=sa va-vua
leave C AF=go RED-field
They went to the fields.

003 *izua a sa Vuluvulung.*
i-zua a sa Vuluvulung
LOC-that C H (name)
There was Granny Vuluvulung.
[Female designation based on women's work of making thread.]

004 *vaik a sema zua marekaka.*
vaik a em=sa zua mare-kaka
leave C AF=go that pair-sibling
The children went over to her.

005 *"pai ku tulu-aw mun tua sika sengsengan."*
pai ku tulu-aw mun tua sika sengseng-an
well I teach-LF F.you(P) OBL reason work-NOM
She said: "Right, I'll teach you how to work the fields."

006 *vaik a sema umaq.*
vaik a em=sa umaq
leave C AF=go house
They went off home.

007 *ka maɬianga, "sa-u, kitatuzunganu, marekaka."*
ka ma-ɬia-anga sa-u ki-ta-tuzung-an-u mare-kaka
after STAT-dawn-indeed go-IMP do-RED-handle-NOM-IMP pair-sibling
Next day she said: "Siblings, go and get some poles."

008 *vaik a kitatuzungan.*
vaik a ki-ta-tuzung-an
leave C do-RED-handle-NOM
They went to find some poles.

009 *i umaq a vuvu a tsemalitsalis.*
i umaq a vuvu a em=tsali-tsalis
LOC house C grandparent C AF=RED-rope
Grandmother stayed in the house making thread.

010 *ka mangtjez a marekaka a nakitatuzungan, "vuvu,*
ka m-pangetjez a mare-kaka a na-ki-ta-tuzung-an vuvu
after AF-come C pair-sibling C PAST-do-RED-handle-NOM grandparent

mavatsuvatsuk anga qaliqali, vuvu."
ma-vatsu-vatsuk anga qali-qali vuvu
STAT-RED-clear.land indeed RED-friend grandparent
When the children came back after finding some poles, they said: "Grandmother, other people are clearing their land for planting."

011 *"malitseng.*
ma-litseng
STAT-quiet
"Be quiet.

012 *nu mavatsuvatsuk anga kemuda?*
nu ma-vatsu-vatsuk anga em=kuda
when STAT-RED-clear.land indeed AF=do.what
What if they are clearing the land?

013 *qadjaw anga.*
qadjaw anga
perhaps indeed
It's up to them.

014 *sa-u, ła qunu, kimu tua tsuqełał."*
sa-u ła qunu kim-u tua tsuqełał
go-IMP oh child search-IMP OBL bone
Go and find some bones, children."

015 *vaik a masi kałaudjul; łemułu tua tsuqełał.*
vaik a masi kałaudjul em=łułu tua tsuqełał
leave C carry basket.type AF=gather OBL bone
They went off with a basket and picked up some bones.
[*kałaudjul*: F325 and 375 have *kała-udjur*]

016 *"kamseng anga, vuvu?"*
ka-meseng anga vuvu
PAST-enough indeed grandparent
"Is that enough, grandmother?"

017 *"ini anan ka kamseng.*
ini anan ka ka-meseng
not still after PAST-enough
"It's not enough yet;

018 *sa-u, alapu anan."*
sa-u alap-u anan
go-IMP take-IMP still
go and get some more."

019 *"su sikuda, vuvu, a su tsalitsalisen?"*
su si-kuda vuvu a su tsali-tsalis-en
you(S) IF-do.what grandparent C you(S) RED-rope-PF
"Grandmother, what are you going to do with the thread you're making?"

020 *"inika sikuda.*
ini-ka si-kuda
not-after IF-do.what
"Nothing.

021 *sa-u, kimu tua vat nua łui."*
sa-u kim-u tua vat nua łui
go-IMP search-IMP OBL grain of gourd
Go and find some gourd seeds."

022 *ka makatsalis anga ti sa Vuluvulung, "ari anga, ła qunu,*
ka maka-tsalis anga ti sa Vuluvulung ari anga ła qunu
after finished-rope indeed F.H H (name) go.on indeed oh child

savavua-i.
sa-va-vua-i
go-RED-field-HORT
When Granny Vuluvulung had finished making thread, she said: "Right, children, let's go to the fields.

023 *katsu a tatuzungan katua tsuqełał katua vat nua łui."*
katsu a ta-tuzung-an ka-tua tsuqełał ka-tua vat nua łui
carry C RED-handle-NOM and-OBL bone and-OBL grain of gourd
Take the poles, bones and gourd seeds."

024 *ka zemuker i vavua, "sa-u, ła qunu, tsektsekan tsa tatuzungan."*
ka em=zuker i va-vua sa-u ła qunu tsektsek-an tsa ta-tuzung-an
after AF=arrive LOC RED-field go-IMP oh child stake-LF this RED-handle-NOM
When they got to the fields, she said: "Children, go and stick the poles in the ground.
[*zemuker*: was *zemker* in OA]

025 *ka sinitsektsek anga, sipaqadjay a tsalis pakipalingułł, sa*
ka in=si-tsektsek anga si-pa-qadjay a tsalis pa-ki-pa-lingułł sa
after PERF=IF-stake indeed IF-cause-tie C rope cause-do-cause-around and

vił-vił-en ni sa Vuluvulung.
vił-vił-en ni sa Vuluvulung
pull-PF by H (name)
When they were stuck in, Granny Vuluvulung tied them with the thread all round and pulled it tight.

026 *"kavala kana kinasengsengan anga," aya.*
ka-vala ka-na in=ka-sengseng-an anga aya
become-able after-then PERF=STAT-work-NOM indeed say
"It would be good if the work were all done," they said.
[*kana kinasengsengan*: was *ka nakinasengsengan*]

027 *qau kinasengsengan anga.*
qau in=ka-sengseng-an anga
so PERF=STAT-work-NOM indeed
So it was all done.

028 *"sa-u, taleman tsa tsuqelaɬ katua vat nua ɬui.*
sa-u talem-an tsa tsuqelaɬ ka-tua vat nua ɬui
go-IMP plant-LF this bone and-OBL grain of gourd
"Go and plant the bones and the gourd seeds.

029 *azua tsuqelaɬ taleman pakateku nu upu; azua ɬui*
a-zua tsuqelaɬ talem-an pa-maka-teku nu upu a-zua ɬui
C-that bone plant-LF cause-via-down of wall C-that gourd

pakavavaw nu upu."
pa-maka-va-vaw nu upu
cause-via-RED-above of wall
Plant the bones below the terrace wall, and the gourds above it."

030 *qau vaik tiamadju a sema umaq.*
qau vaik ti-a-madju a em=sa umaq
so leave F-PL-3RD.PERS C AF=go house
Then they went home.

031 *"sa-u, ɬiɬavu a tja quma, nuki kemudakudanga."*
sa-u ɬiɬaw-u a tja quma nu-ki em=kuda-kuda-anga
go-IMP inspect-IMP C our(INC) field of-how AF=RED-do.what-indeed
"Go and look at our field, to see how it's getting on."

032 *vaik a ɬemiɬaw tiamadju.*
vaik a em=ɬiɬaw ti-a-madju
leave C AF=inspect F-PL-3RD.PERS
They went to have a look.

033 *ka mangtjez i umaq, "kemudakudanga, ɬa qunu?"*
ka m-pangetjez i umaq em=kuda-kuda-anga ɬa qunu
after AF-come LOC house AF=RED-do.what-indeed oh child
When they got home, she asked: "How is it, children?"

034 *"patagiɬ a mintsekas, vuvu.*
pa-tagiɬ a min-tsekas vuvu
cause-originate C AF-split grandparent
"There are beginning to be cracks in the ground, grandmother.

035 *makesanga a vaqu nua qaliqali."*
ma-kesa-anga a vaqu nua qali-qali
STAT-food-indeed C millet of RED-friend
Other people's millet is ripe."
[*nua*: was *nu*]

036 *"kudain, nu makesanga, kemuda?"*
kuda-en nu ma-kesa-anga em=kuda
do.what-PF when STAT-food-indeed AF=do.what
"What? What if it is ripe?"

037 *vaik ti-a-madju a em=sa va-vua*
vaik ti-a-madju a em=sa va-vua
leave F-PL-3RD.PERS C AF=go RED-field
They went to the fields.

038 *katsu tua valanga tua qaselu*
katsu tua valanga tua qaselu
carry OBL mortar OBL pestle
"Take a pestle and mortar."
[*katsu*: should be *katsu-u* 'carry-IMP'?]

039 *ka zemker i vavua, "sa-u patsunu, ła qunu.*
ka em=zuker i va-vua sa-u pa-tsun-u ła qunu
after AF=arrive LOC RED-field go-IMP cause-see-IMP oh child
When they got to the fields, she said: "Children, go and look.

040 *nu ḍemungaḍungal anga, alapu."*
nu em=ḍunga-ḍungal anga alap-u
when AF=RED-groan indeed take-IMP
If there is anything grunting, pick it up."

041 *azua tsuqelał masan nu qatsang.*
a-zua tsuqelał ma-sane nu qatsang
C-that bone STAT-make of pig
The bones had become pigs,

042 *azua łui masan nu vaqu.*
a-zua łui ma-sane nu vaqu
C-that gourd STAT-make of millet
and the gourds had become millet.

043 *tsemułu tiamadju; san qavay i vavua.*
em=tsułu ti-a-madju sane qavay i va-vua
AF=butcher F-PL-3RD.PERS make dumpling LOC RED-field
They butchered the pigs, and made millet dumplings there in the fields.

044 *"sa-u, alapu a penułat a vangał nua łui a pasa tapaw.*
sa-u alap-u a en=pułat a vangał nua łui a pa-sa tapaw
go-IMP take-IMP C AF=all C fruit of gourd C cause-go hut
"Go and put all the produce of the gourds in the shed,

045 *sa nu sutseveɬen a qatsang a penuɬat.*
sa nu su-tseveɬ-en a qatsang a en=puɬat
and you(P) remove-bury-PF C pig C AF=all
and dig out all the pigs."

046 *ari vaiki anga, ɬa qunu, a sema umaq.*
ari vaik-i anga ɬa qunu a em=sa umaq
go.on leave-HORT indeed oh child C AF=go house
(Later she said:) "Come on, children, let's go home.

047 *tjukuḍu tsa ɬui."*
tjukuḍ-u tsa ɬui
headband-IMP this gourd
Carry the gourds on your backs."

048 *sa azua qatsang uaguin a pasa umaq.*
sa a-zua qatsang uagu-en a pa-sa umaq
and C-that pig herd-PF C cause-go house
And they drove the pigs home.

049 *ka zemuker i umaq, "sa-u katsu, ɬa qunu, sa nu kula sa*
ka em=zuker i umaq sa-u katsu ɬa qunu tsa nu kula tsa
after AF=arrive LOC house go-IMP carry oh child this your(P) foot this

nu qavuvung a kivala."
nu qavuvung a ki-vala
your(P) heart C self-able
When they got home, she said: "Off you go, children, take legs and hearts (from the butchered pigs) and go where you like."

050 *ka patsun a qaliqali, "ii, puvuvu tua qaqa," aya qaliqali.*
ka pa-tsun a qali-qali ii pu-vuvu tua qaqa aya qali-qali
after cause-see C RED-friend hey have-grandparent OBL crow say RED-friend
When other people saw them, they said: "Ha ha, they've got a crow for a grandmother."

051 *qau vaik a pasemalaw tua vuvu.*
qau vaik a pa-em=salaw tua vuvu
so leave C cause-AF=tell OBL grandparent
The children went and told the grandmother:

052 *"'ii, puvuvu tua qaqa,' aya qaliqali, vuvu."*
ii pu-vuvu tua qaqa aya qali-qali vuvu
hey have-grandparent OBL crow say RED-friend grandparent
"Grandmother, other people say: 'Ha ha, they've got a crow for a grandmother.'"

053 *"nu aya qaliqali, uri kemuda?"*
nu aya qali-qali uri em=kuda
when say RED-friend will AF=do.what
"What if people say that?"

054 *qau vaik a kivala.*
qau vaik a ki-vala
so leave C self-able
They went out again.

055 *"ii, puvuvu tua qaqa," aya qaliqali.*
ii pu-vuvu tua qaqa aya qali-qali
hey have-grandparent OBL crow say RED-friend
People said: "Ha ha, they've got a crow for a grandmother."

056 *vaik a tjumaq.*
vaik a tju-umaq
leave C there-house
They went home.

057 *"'ii, puvuvu tua qaqa,' aya qaliqali," aya uta.*
ii pu-vuvu tua qaqa aya qali-qali aya uta
hey have-grandparent OBL crow say RED-friend say also
Again they said: "People say: 'Haha, they've got a crow for a grandmother.'"

058 *"ui, uri vaik aken nu maya," sa "qaqa," aya timadju a*
ui uri vaik aken nu ma-aya sa qaqa aya ti-madju a
yes will leave F.I when STAT-be.thus and crow say F-3RD.PERS C
vaik.
vaik
leave
"All right, in that case I'm off." So she said "Caw caw," and went off.

059 *ka vaik anga, djapesen nimadju.*
ka vaik anga djapes-en ni-madju
after leave indeed breathe-PF by-3RD.PERS
When she had gone she whistled:
[*djapesen*: was *djapesi*]

060 *"uła nekanga nu lami nu qatsang."*
uła neka-anga nu lami nu qatsang
so.that no-indeed of staple.food of pig
"May the food and pigs vanish."

061 *qau nekanga nu anemanemanga.*
qau neka-anga nu a-nema-nema-anga
so no-indeed of ?-RED-what-indeed
Then there was nothing left.

062 *a matsułanga tiamadju a tsemikel, saka izuanga a*
a ma-tsuła-anga ti-a-madju a em=tsikel sa-ka i-zua-anga a
C STAT-hungry-indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS C AF=return and-after LOC-that-indeed C
qemauqaung.
em=qau-qaung
AF=RED-cry
They were back to being hungry, and they just cried.

063 *"kavala* *ka* *izuanan* *ti* *vuvu;* *inika* *tjen* *a*
ka-vala ka i-zua-anan ti vuvu ini-ka tjen a
become-able after LOC-that-still F.H grandparent not-after F.we(INC) C

kipaulaula *tua* *tja* *kanen,"* *aya* *tiamadju* *a* *kinemnem,* *ka*
ki-pa-ula-ula tua tja kan-en aya ti-a-madju a kinemnem ka
do-cause-RED-lack OBL our(INC) eat-PF say F-PL-3RD.PERS C think after

vaik *anga* *ti* *sa* *Vuluvulung.*
vaik anga ti sa Vuluvulung
leave indeed F.H H (name)
"If only grandmother was still here. Then we wouldn't be in trouble over our food," they thought, when Granny Vuluvulung had gone.

064 *amin.*
amin
no.more
The end.

There were two children with no mother or father, all on their own. They went to the fields. There was Granny Vuluvulung. The children went over to her. She said: "Right, I'll teach you how to work the fields." They went off home. Next day she said: "Siblings, go and get some poles." They went to find some poles. Grandmother stayed in the house making thread. When the children came back after finding some poles, they said: "Grandmother, other people are clearing their land for planting." "Be quiet. What if they are clearing the land? It's up to them. Go and find some bones, children." They went off with a basket and picked up some bones. "Is that enough, grandmother?" "It's not enough yet; go and get some more." "Grandmother, what are you going to do with the thread you're making?" "Nothing. Go and find some gourd seeds."

When Granny Vuluvulung had finished making thread, she said: "Right, children, let's go to the fields. Take the poles, bones and gourd seeds." When they got to the fields, she said: "Children, go and stick the poles in the ground." When they were stuck in, Granny Vuluvulung tied them with the thread all round and pulled it tight. "It would be good if the work were all done," they said. So it was all done. "Go and plant the bones and the gourd seeds. Plant the bones below the terrace wall, and the gourds above it." Then they went home. "Go and look at our field, to see how it's getting on." They went to have a look. When they got home, she asked: "How is it, children?" "There are beginning to be cracks in the ground, grandmother. Other people's millet is ripe." "What? What if it is ripe?" They went to the fields. "Take a pestle and mortar."

When they got to the fields, she said: "Children, go and look. If there is anything grunting, pick it up." The bones had become pigs, and the gourds had become millet. They butchered the pigs, and made millet dumplings there in the fields. "Go and put all the produce of the gourds in the shed, and dig out all the pigs." (Later she said:) "Come on, children, let's go home. Carry the gourds on your backs." And they drove the pigs home.

When they got home, she said: "Off you go, children, take legs and hearts (from the butchered pigs) and go where you like." When other people saw them, they said: "Ha ha, they've got a crow for a grandmother." The children went and told the grandmother: "Grandmother, other people say: 'Ha ha, they've got a crow for a grandmother.'" "What if people say that?" They went out again. People said: "Ha ha, they've got a crow for a grandmother." They went home. Again they said: "People say: 'Haha, they've got a crow for a grandmother.'"

"All right, in that case I'm off." So she said "Caw caw," and went off. When she had gone she whistled: "May the food and pigs vanish." Then there was nothing left. They were back to being hungry, and they just cried. "If only grandmother was still here. Then we wouldn't be in trouble over our food," they thought, when Granny Vuluvulung had gone. The end.

072 SAPULUNGAN AND MUAKAI

Sapulungan kati Muakai (Tjukuvuł village, p. 285)

001 *izua ti Sapulungan kati Muakai.*
i-zua ti Sapulungan ka-ti Muakai
LOC-that F.H (name) and-F.H (name)
There was a couple called Sapulungan and Muakai.

002 *ti Muakai a nguanguaq aravats matu qadaw.*
ti Muakai a ngua-nguaq a-ravats ma-tu qadaw
F.H (name) C RED-good C-true STAT-alike sun
Muakai was as beautiful as the sun.

003 *manu masulid.*
manu ma-sulid
then STAT-sleep.together
But when they slept together,

004 *neka nu buang nua kutji.*
neka nu buang nua kutji
no of hole of vagina
Muakai had no hole in her private parts.

005 *manu limutseng ti Sapulungan.*
manu li-mutseng ti Sapulungan
then QAL-angry F.H (name)
So Sapulungan was angry.

006 *nu keman tua kinsa, nu temkel tua vava, inika*
nu em=kan tua in=kesa nu m=tekel tua vava ini-ka
when AF=eat OBL PERF=food when AF=drink OBL alcohol not-after

pukaui a kilinguł, limutseng sakamaya.
pu-ka-ui a ki-linguł li-mutseng sakamaya
have-become-yes C do-around QAL-angry only
When they ate or drank, he refused to sit (in a circle) with the others; he just sulked.
[*a*: not in OA]

007 *qau muri vaik a qemałup ti Sapulungan.*
qau ma-uri vaik a em=qałup ti Sapulungan
so STAT-will leave C AF=hunt F.H (name)
Then Sapulungan was going off hunting,

008 *taulain a qungtsuy pitjumaq.*
ta-ula-en a qungtsuy pi-tju-umaq
PAST-lack-PF C pipe put-there-house
and had left his pipe in the house.

009 *"kełu, kina, kełan a ku qungtsuy."*
keł-u kina keł-an a ku qungtsuy
come-IMP mother come-LF C my pipe
"Come here, mother, hand me my pipe."

010 *alapen ni Muakai sa pavayan.*
alap-en ni Muakai sa pa-vay-an
take-PF by (name) and cause-give-LF
Muakai took the pipe and gave it to him.

011 *"ini, patsikelu.*
ini pa-tsikel-u
not cause-return-IMP
"No, put it back.
[*patsikelu* was *patsikel*]

012 *kełan, aya-u ti kina."*
keł-an aya-u ti kina
come-LF say-IMP F.H mother
Tell my mother to give it to me."

013 *alapen nua kina sa pavayan tjai Sapulungan.*
alap-en nua kina sa pa-vay-an tjai Sapulungan
take-PF by mother and cause-give-LF OBL.H (name)
So his mother took it and gave it to Sapulungan.

014 *"anema nu vavayanan a namaitazua a kutji sakamaya, neka*
a-nema nu vavayan-an a na-ma-aya-ta-zua a kutji sakamaya neka
?-what of female-NOM C PAST-STAT-be.thus-?-that C vagina only no

nu buang?"
nu buang
of hole
"What sort of woman is that with no hole in her private parts?"

015 *"djałepan sun a limutsemutseng."*
djałep-an sun a li-mutse-mutseng
fit-LF F.you(S) C QAL-RED-angry
"No wonder you are angry."

016 *"pai pavava-u anga taqałaqałan.*
pai pa-vava-u anga ta-qała-qała-an
well cause-alcohol-IMP indeed ?-RED-outsider-NOM
"Give a drinking party for all the village.

017 *azua tjałasanguaqan a patekelan anga.*
a-zua tjała-sa-nguaq-an a pa-tekel-an anga
C-that most-QAL-good-NOM C cause-drink-LF indeed
Give the best beer (to her);

018 *nu mapulaw anga, pai patsunu anga."*
nu ma-pulaw anga pai pa-tsun-u anga
when STAT-drunk indeed well cause-see-IMP indeed
and when she is drunk, have a look."

019 *qivu tua taqałaqałan a pavava.*
qivu tua ta-qała-qała-an a pa-vava
speak OBL ?-RED-outsider-NOM C cause-alcohol
His mother got the villagers to make beer.

020 *ka makesanga a vava, patsunin a tjałasanguaqan a*
ka ma-kesa-anga a vava pa-tsun-en a tjała-sa-nguaq-an a
after STAT-food-indeed C alcohol cause-see-PF C most-QAL-good-NOM C

vava, sa "tekeli kati Muakai," aya, sa tekelen na maḍusa.
vava sa tekel-i ka-ti Muakai aya sa tekel-en nua ma-ḍusa
alcohol and drink-HORT and-F.H (name) say and drink-PF by NUM-two
When the beer was ready, she found the best beer, and said: "Muakai, let's drink together,"
and the two of them drank it (*or* "Let's drink with Muakai;" and they drank with her).

021 *ka mapulaw anga ti Muakai, seqereng a sema surur.*
ka ma-pulaw anga ti Muakai se-qereng a em=sa surur
after STAT-drunk indeed F.H (name) INVOL-lie.down C AF=go bed
When Muakai was drunk, she lay down on the bed platform.

022 *izua qaliqali a maisuisu i tsasaw.*
i-zua qali-qali a m-isu=paisu i tsasaw
LOC-that RED-friend C AF-RED=pound LOC outside
There was someone pounding grain outside.

023 *"ku qełevaw, ła uti.*
ku qełev-aw ła uti
I block-LF oh friend
"I'll close the window, friend,

024 *mana nu malavu ti su ḍava."*
ma-avan-a nu ma-lavu ti su ḍava
STAT-exact-? when STAT-chaff F.H your(S) female.friend
in case the chaff goes on your friend."

025 *sutsavuen nua kina.*
su-tsavu-en nua kina
remove-wrapping-PF by mother
She undid Muakai's clothes.
[*sutsavuen*: was *sutsaqevin*, or could be *sutsauven* (*tsavu* 'a wrapping'; *tsauv* 'to cover')]
[*nua*: was *nu*]

026 *"djałepan aya a ku ałak.*
djałep-an aya a ku ałak
fit-LF say C my child
"What my son says is quite right.

027 *manu namaitutsu, a neka nu buang."*
manu na-ma-aya-tu-tsu a neka nu buang
then PAST-STAT-be.thus-alike-this C no of hole
So it's like that; there's no hole."

028 *azua buang matu tsalinga nua łigim.*
a-zua buang ma-tu tsalinga nua łigim
C-that hole STAT-alike ear of needle
The hole was like the eye of a needle.

029 *malap ta siqunu a kina, sa tsukisen a seman buang.*
m-alap ta si-qunu a kina sa tsukis-en a em=sane buang
AF-take OBL IF-child C mother and incise-PF C AF=make hole
His mother took a knife and cut a hole.
[*siqunu*: entry in F for 'small knife' is under *qunu* 'child']

030 *ka mapapaulingaw, "alapu tua załum, sa su pavanaw."*
ka ma-pa-pa-u-lingaw alap-u tua załum sa su pa-vanaw
after STAT-cause-cause-?-know take-IMP OBL water and you(S) cause-bathe
When Muakai was sober, his mother said: "Get some water and bathe yourself."

031 *malap tua załum ti Muakai, sa pavanaw.*
m-alap tua załum ti Muakai sa pa-vanaw
AF-take OBL water F.H (name) and cause-bathe
Muakai got some water, and bathed herself.

032 *ka mavanaw anga, samałi anga sakamaya.*
ka ma-vanaw anga sa-ma-ałi anga sakamaya
after STAT-bathe indeed QAL-STAT-different indeed only
When she had bathed, she was very surprised.

033 *"aku maitutsu anga sa niaken?*
aku ma-aya-tu-tsu anga tsa ni-aken
why STAT-be.thus-alike-this indeed this of-I
"Why is it like this?

034 *izuanga buang."*
i-zua-anga buang
LOC-that-indeed hole
There's a hole now in my private parts."

035 *patsun a kina.*
pa-tsun a kina
cause-see C mother
His mother looked.

036 *"makuda sun, Muakai?*
ma-kuda sun Muakai
STAT-do.what F.you(S) (name)
"What's up with you, Muakai?

037 *aku sun a namaitazua?"*
aku sun a na-ma-aya-ta-zua
why F.you(S) C PAST-STAT-be.thus-?-that
Why are you behaving like that?"

038 *"pai patsunu a niaken."*
pai pa-tsun-u a ni-aken
well cause-see-IMP C of-I
"Well, look at my private parts."

039 *"kana vavayan namaitutsu a mapułat; inika amin*
ka-na vavayan na-ma-aya-tu-tsu a ma-pułat ini-ka amin
after-then female PAST-STAT-be.thus-alike-this C NUM-all not-after no.more

sun a namaitazua.
sun a na-ma-aya-ta-zua
F.you(S) C PAST-STAT-be.thus-?-that
"Every woman is like that. It's not only you.

040 *mana sika limutsemutseng ni Sapulungan tjanusun."*
ma-avan-a sika li-mutse-mutseng ni Sapulungan tjanu-sun
STAT-exact-? reason QAL-RED-angry by (name) OBL-you(S)
That's why Sapulungan was angry with you."

041 *"ia, kina, manu kemuda."*
ia kina manu em=kuda
oh mother then AF=do.what
"Oh, mother, so that was it."

042 *ka mangtjengtjez anga ti Sapulungan, vaik a kina a kitsevungan*
ka ma-ngetje-ngetjez anga ti Sapulungan vaik a kina a ki-tsevung-an
after STAT-RED-come indeed F.H (name) leave C mother C do-meet-LF

a mapedjelidjeli.
a ma-pe-djeli-djeli
C STAT-emerge-RED-laugh
When Sapulungan came back, his mother went to meet him laughing.

043 *mintuluq ti Sapulungan, temavikił tjai Muakai, sana ivulungan, sana*
min-tuluq ti Sapulungan em=ta-vikił tjai Muakai sa-na ivulungan sa-na
AF-run F.H (name) AF=?-lap OBL.H (name) and-? intercourse and-?

puałak.
pu-ałak
have-child
Sapulungan ran and embraced Muakai; they had intercourse; and had a child.

044 *saka izuanga tiamadju malevaleva mapułat.*
sa-ka i-zua-anga ti-a-madju ma-leva-leva ma-pułat
and-after LOC-that-indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS STAT-RED-pleased NUM-all
And they all lived happily ever after.

045 *amin.*
amin
no.more
The end.

There was a couple called Sapulungan and Muakai. Muakai was as beautiful as the sun. But when they slept together, Muakai had no hole in her private parts. So Sapulungan was angry. When they ate or drank, he refused to sit (in a circle) with the others; he just sulked. Then Sapulungan was going off hunting, and had left his pipe in the house. "Come here, mother, hand me my pipe." Muakai took the pipe and gave it to him. "No, put it back. Tell my mother to give it to me." So his mother took it and gave it to Sapulungan. "What sort of woman is that with no hole in her private parts?" "No wonder you are angry." "Give a drinking party for all the village. Give the best beer (to her); and when she is drunk, have a look."

His mother got the villagers to make beer. When the beer was ready, she found the best beer, and said: "Muakai, let's drink together," and the two of them drank it (*or* "Let's drink with Muakai;" and they drank with her.) When Muakai was drunk, she lay down on the bed platform. There was someone pounding grain outside. "I'll close the window, friend, in case the chaff goes on your friend." She undid Muakai's clothes. "What my son says is quite right. So it's like that; there's no hole." The hole was like the eye of a needle. His mother took a knife and cut a hole.

When Muakai was sober, his mother said: "Get some water and bathe yourself." Muakai got some water, and bathed herself. When she had bathed, she was very surprised. "Why is it like this? There's a hole now in my private parts." His mother looked. "What's up with you, Muakai? Why are you (behaving) like that?" "Well look at my private parts." "Every woman is like that. It's not only you. That's why Sapulungan was angry with you." "Oh, mother, so that was it."

When Sapulungan came back, his mother went to meet him laughing. Sapulungan ran and embraced Muakai; they had intercourse; and had a child. And they all lived happily ever after. The end.

073 MUAKAI

Muakai (Tjukuvuł village, p. 288)

001 *izua ti Muakai kati Muatjuku, a mare sikatsekeł.*
i-zua ti Muakai ka-ti Muatjuku a mare si-ka-tsekeł
LOC-that F.H (name) and-F.H (name) C pair IF-main-spouse
There were two cousins, Muakai and Muatjuku.

002 *putsekeł ti Makułułu tjai Muakai; puałak tjai Sapulungan.*
pu-tsekeł ti Makułułu tjai Muakai pu-ałak tjai Sapulungan
have-spouse F.H (name) OBL.H (name) have-child OBL.H (name)
Makułułu married Muakai, and their child was Sapulungan.

003 *putsekeł ti Sapulungan tjai Muatjuku; puałak tjai Muakai.*
pu-tsekeł ti Sapulungan tjai Muatjuku pu-ałak tjai Muakai
have-spouse F.H (name) OBL.H (name) have-child OBL.H (name)
(Another) Sapulungan married Muatjuku, and their child was Muakai.

004 *łakua a kutji sakamaya, neka nu kinatsavatsavan; łakua matsaqu a*
łakua a kutji sakamaya neka nu in=ka-tsava-tsavan łakua ma-tsaqu a
but C vagina only no of PERF=main-RED-body but STAT-able C

qivu.
qivu
speak
But she was only a vagina, she had no body; but she could speak.

005 *"uzi puałak ti Muatjuku tua vavayan.*
uzi pu-ałak ti Muatjuku tua vavayan
well have-child F.H (name) OBL female
"Well, Muatjuku has had a girl.

006 *ari tja łiłavaw; uła kisudju ti Sapulungan."*
ari tja łiław-aw uła ki-sudju ti Sapulungan
go.on we(INC) inspect-LF so.that do-sweetheart F.H (name)
Let's go and visit them, so that Sapulungan can court her."

007 *vaik a łemiław.*
vaik a em=łiław
leave C AF=inspect
They went to pay a visit.

008 *"ainu a nu ałak?" aya mangtjez.*
a-inu a nu ałak aya m-pangetjez
?-where C your(P) child say AF-come
"Where is your child?" they said when they arrived.

009 *qiłain.*
qiła-en
hide-PF
She was hidden.

010 *"neka.*
neka
no
"There's none.

011 *inika tsautsau a nia ałak."*
ini-ka tsau-tsau a nia ałak
not-after RED-being C our(EXC) child
Our child didn't live."

012 *vaik a tsemikel a nałemiław.*
vaik a em=tsikel a na-em=łiław
leave C AF=return C PAST-AF=inspect
The visitors went back.

013 *łemtu anga ti Sapulungan.*
m=łetu anga ti Sapulungan
AF=mature indeed F.H (name)
Sapulungan grew up.

014 *vaik a qemałup tua uri sikisudju.*
vaik a em=qałup tua uri si-ki-sudju
leave C AF=hunt OBL will IF-do-sweetheart
He went to hunt something as a courting present.

015 *"uri mangtjez amen a paukez."*
uri m-pangetjez amen a paukez
will AF-come F.we(EXC) C betroth
(His parents sent a message:) "We are coming to arrange a marriage."

016 *saka, "mangtjez; uri tja kudain sa tja ałak a*
sa-ka m-pangetjez uri tja kuda-en sa tja ałak a
and-after AF-come will we(INC) do.what-PF and our(INC) child C

namaitutsu?
na-ma-aya-tu-tsu
PAST-STAT-be.thus-alike-this
So (her parents said:) "They are coming. What are we going to do about our child like this?

017 *tja sisiaq anga.*
tja si-siaq anga
we(INC) IF-shame indeed
We're ashamed of her.

018 *pai tja qiła-u."*
pai tja qiła-u
well we(INC) hide-IMP
Let's hide her."

019 *sialap tua łangian, sa pasazuain.*
si-alap tua łangi-an sa pa-sa-zua-en
IF-take OBL trunk-NOM and cause-go-that-PF
They got a trunk and put her in that.

020 *satjezen a pasa tsemtsemel itua łiv, sa vayvayin a itung anga.*
satjez-en a pa-sa tsem-tsemel i-tua łiv sa vayvay-en a itung anga
return-PF C cause-go RED-plant LOC-OBL cave and hang-PF C cloth indeed
They sent it off to a cave in the woods, and hung clothes round it.

021 *djumaken ni Sapulungan a kinazuan.*
djumak-en ni Sapulungan a in=ka-zua-an
find-PF by (name) C PERF=main-that-NOM
Sapulungan found the place.

022 *"aku namaitutsu a imaza, a liaw a itung anga, qau*
aku na-ma-aya-tu-tsu a i-maza a liaw a itung anga qau
why PAST-STAT-be.thus-alike-this C LOC-here C many C cloth indeed so

neka nu tsautsau?"
neka nu tsau-tsau
no of RED-being
"Why is it like this, with lots of clothes and nobody here?"

023 *patsunan nimadju a sema taladj tua łiv.*
pa-tsun-an ni-madju a em=sa taladj tua łiv
cause-see-LF by-3RD.PERS C AF=go inside OBL cave
He looked inside the cave;

024 *manu izua łangian.*
manu i-zua łangi-an
then LOC-that trunk-NOM
and there was the chest.

025 *sutsaqevin ni Sapulungan.*
su-tsaqev-en ni Sapulungan
remove-lid-PF by (name)
Sapulungan opened the lid.

026 *manu izua i taladj a tsinavu.*
manu i-zua i taladj a in=tsavu
then LOC-that LOC inside C PERF=wrapping
Inside there was something wrapped up.

027 *"maya ken a semutsavu, masiaq aken."*
maya aken a em=su-tsavu ma-siaq aken
don't F.I C AF=remove-wrapping STAT-shame F.I
"Don't unwrap me. I'm ashamed."

028 *"tima sun?"*
ti-ima sun
F-who F.you(S)
"Who are you?"

029 *"tiaken a ałak aken ni Muatjuku."*
ti-aken a ałak aken ni Muatjuku
F-I C child F.I of (name)
"I'm Muatjuku's child."

030 *"aku sun a imaza?"*
aku sun a i-maza
why F.you(S) C LOC-here
"Why are you here?"

031 *"qiniłanga ken ni nia kina.*
in=qiła-anga aken ni nia kina
PERF=hide-indeed F.I by our(EXC) mother
"I was hidden by mother.

032 *'masiaq tua qaliqali,' aya tia kina."*
ma-siaq tua qali-qali aya ti-a kina
STAT-shame OBL RED-friend say F.H-PL mother
Mother and the others said: 'We're ashamed of what others will say.'"

033 *alapen ni Sapulungan, sa sikau-in.*
alap-en ni Sapulungan sa sikau-en
take-PF by (name) and net.bag-PF
Sapulungan took her and put her in his net-bag (rucksack).

034 *"anema, qalian, sa su kinavits a sadjelung?"*
a-nema qali-an tsa su in=kavits a sadjelung
?-what friend-NOM this you(S) PERF=carry.on.back C heavy
"Friend, what's that heavy thing on your back?"

035 *"łakaraw."*
łakaraw
flower.sp
"*łakaraw* flowers (for head decorations)."

036 *vaik timadju a isangas qemalats, sa vaik a sema tjumaq.*
vaik ti-madju a i-sangas em=qalats sa vaik a em=sa tju-umaq
leave F-3RD.PERS C LOC-first AF=shout and leave C AF=go there-house
He went ahead with a hunter's shout of success, and went home.

037 *semukavits, sa alapen a pasa surur, saka taqed.*
em=su-kavits sa alap-en a pa-sa surur sa-ka taqed
AF=remove-carry.on.back and take-PF C cause-go bed and-after sleep
He took off his load, took it to the bed platform and went to sleep.

038 *"tekelu tua vava, kanu tua kinsa," nu aya a kina, "saqetju*
tekel-u tua vava kan-u tua in=kesa nu aya a kina saqetju
drink-IMP OBL alcohol eat-IMP OBL PERF=food when say C mother painful

aken," aya sakamaya timadju.
aken aya sakamaya ti-madju
F.I say only F-3RD.PERS
When his mother said: "Drink some beer, have some food," he just said: "I'm ill".

039 *tapuluq katu lima inika keman tua kinsa.*
ta-puluq ka-tu lima ini-ka em=kan tua in=kesa
one-ten after-? five not-after AF=eat OBL PERF=food
He didn't eat for 15 days.

040 *"Sapulungan, uzai a vavuy," aya qaliqali, "sa-u alapu."*
Sapulungan uzay a vavuy aya qali-qali sa-u alap-u
(name) there C pig say RED-friend go-IMP take-IMP
Some people said: "Sapulungan, there are some wild pigs; go and get them."

041 *vaik ti Sapulungan a qemałup.*
vaik ti Sapulungan a em=qałup
leave F.H (name) C AF=hunt
Sapulungan went hunting.

042 *parimasudj a kina tua qaqerengan nimadju; manu izua*
pa-rimasudj a kina tua qa-qereng-an ni-madju manu i-zua
cause-tidy C mother OBL RED-lie.down-NOM of-3RD.PERS then LOC-that

nuki anema.
nu-ki a-nema
of-how ?-what
His mother tidied his bed; and there was something there.

043 *"manu mavan a saqetjuan nua ku ałak," aya, sa veritsan a*
manu ma-avan a saqetju-an nua ku ałak aya sa verits-an a
then STAT-exact C painful-NOM of my child say and discard-LF C

pasa tekutekuan.
pa-sa teku-teku-an
cause-go RED-down-NOM
"So that was my son's illness," she said, and threw it down below (to the rubbish heap).

044 *mangtjez ti Sapulungan; "ainu a ku..?" aya.*
m-pangetjez ti Sapulungan a-inu a ku aya
AF-come F.H (name) ?-where C my say
Sapulungan came back. "Where is my..?" he said.

045 *"anema su siayaya?*
a-nema su si-ay-aya
?-what you(S) IF-RED-say
"What do you mean?

046 *su palinged?*
su pa-linged
your(S) cause-nose.flute
Your flute?

047 *su łałegean?"*
su łałegean
your(S) mouth.organ
Your mouth-organ?"

048 *"inika mavan a ku siaya."*
ini-ka ma-avan a ku si-aya
not-after STAT-exact C I IF-say
"That's not what I mean."

049 *"mavan ka su maya a ku siniverits."*
ma-avan ka su m-aya a ku in=si-verits
STAT-exact after you(S) AF-say C I PERF=IF-discard
"Perhaps you mean what I threw away."

050 *"su siverits a pasa inu, kina?"*
su si-verits a pa-sa inu kina
you(S) IF-discard C cause-go where mother
"Where did you throw it, mother?"

051 *"ku siverits a pasa tekutekuan."*
ku si-verits a pa-sa teku-teku-an
I IF-discard C cause-go RED-down-NOM
"I threw it down below."

052 *qau vaik ti Sapulungan sema zua.*
qau vaik ti Sapulungan em=sa zua
so leave F.H (name) AF=go that
So Sapulungan went down there.

053 *manu izua ti Muakai, a naqemiladj i tekutekuan.*
manu i-zua ti Muakai a na-em=qiladj i teku-teku-an
then LOC-that F.H (name) C PAST-AF=sit LOC RED-down-NOM
And there was Muakai, sitting there down below (having turned into a human being (OA)).

054 *alapen ni Sapulungan a temavikił, a pasa kałuvułuvung.*
alap-en ni Sapulungan a em=ta-vikił a pa-sa ka-łuvu-łuvung
take-PF by (name) C AF=?-lap C cause-go main-RED-resting.place
Sapulungan took her and embraced her, and took her to the resting platform.

055 *"ku sangutjaw," aya a kina.*
ku sangutj-aw aya a kina
I kiss-LF say C mother
"I'll give her a kiss," said his mother.

056 *manu lemuni.*
manu em=luni
then AF=earthquake
Then there was an earthquake.

057 *malap a kina tua qata, sa pavayan tjai Muakai, sana kisangutj,*
m-alap a kina tua qata sa pa-vay-an tjai Muakai sa-na ki-sangutj
AF-take C mother OBL bead and cause-give-LF OBL.H (name) and-? do-kiss

sana pavay tua anemanemanga siniputsekeł tjaimadju,
sa-na pa-vay tua a-nema-nema-anga in=si-pu-tsekeł tjai-madju
and-? cause-give OBL ?-RED-what-indeed PERF=IF-have-spouse OBL-3RD.PERS

sa pavayan tua matjałałak ni Muakai.
sa pa-vay-an tua matja-łałak ni Muakai
and cause-give-LF OBL NUM-child of (name)
His mother took precious beads and gave them to Muakai, and kissed her, and gave all sorts of wedding gifts for her, and gave them to Muakai's parents.

058 *"ai, manu izainu anga a tja ałak?" aya tiamadju a*
ai manu i-zua-inu anga a tja ałak aya ti-a-madju a
oh then LOC-that-where indeed C our(INC) child say F-PL-3RD.PERS C

maḍusa, sana vaik a sema zua łemiław tjai Muakai.
ma-ḍusa sa-na vaik a em=sa zua em=łiław tjai Muakai
NUM-two and-? leave C AF=go that AF=inspect OBL.H (name)
"Oh, so where has our child got to?" they said, and went there to visit Muakai.

059 *puałak anga ti Muakai kati Sapulungan, saka malevanga*
pu-ałak anga ti Muakai ka-ti Sapulungan sa-ka ma-leva-anga
have-child indeed F.H (name) and-F.H (name) and-after STAT-pleased-indeed

tiamadju.
ti-a-madju
F-PL-3RD.PERS
Muakai and Sapulungan had a child and were very happy.

060 *amin anga.*
amin anga
no.more indeed
The end.

There were two cousins, Muakai and Muatjuku. Makułułu married Muakai, and their child was Sapulungan. (Another) Sapulungan married Muatjuku, and their child was Muakai. But she was only a vagina, she had no body; but she could speak. "Well, Muatjuku has had a girl. Let's go and visit them, so that Sapulungan can court her." They went to pay a visit. "Where is your child?" they said when they arrived. She was hidden. "There's none. Our child didn't live." The visitors went back.

Sapulungan grew up. He went to hunt something as a courting present. (His parents sent a message:) "We are coming to arrange a marriage." So (her parents said:) "They are coming. What are we going to do about our child like this? We're ashamed of her. Let's hide her." They got a trunk and put her in that. They sent it off to a cave in the woods, and hung clothes round it.

Sapulungan found the place. "Why is it like this, with lots of clothes and nobody here?" He looked inside the cave; and there was the chest. Sapulungan opened the lid. Inside there was something wrapped up. "Don't unwrap me. I'm ashamed." "Who are you?" "I'm Muatjuku's child." "Why are you here?" "I was hidden by mother. Mother and the others said: 'We're ashamed of what others will say.'"

Sapulungan took her and put her in his net-bag (rucksack). "Friend, what's that heavy thing on your back?" "*łakaraw* flowers (for head decorations)." He went ahead with a hunter's shout of success, and went home. He took off his load, took it to the bed platform and went to sleep. When his mother said: "Drink some beer, have some food," he just said: "I'm ill". He didn't eat for 15 days. Some people said: "Sapulungan, there are some wild pigs; go and get them." Sapulungan went hunting. His mother tidied his bed; and there was something there. "So that was my son's illness," she said, and threw it down below (to the rubbish heap).

Sapulungan came back. "Where is my..?" he said. "What do you mean? Your flute? Your mouth-organ?" "That's not what I mean." "Perhaps you mean what I threw away." "Where did you throw it, mother?" "I threw it down below."

So Sapulungan went down there. And there was Muakai, sitting there down below (having turned into a human being (OA)). Sapulungan took her and embraced her, and took her to the

resting platform. "I'll give her a kiss," said his mother. Then there was an earthquake. His mother took precious beads and gave them to Muakai, and kissed her, and gave all sorts of wedding gifts for her, and gave them to Muakai's parents. "Oh, so where has our child got to?" they said, and went there to visit Muakai. Muakai and Sapulungan had a child and were very happy. The end.

074 THE WHITE STONE AT VALIVALIW

mui i Valivaliw (Tjukuvuł village, p. 292)

001 *izua ti Sapulungan i tjarivavaw.*
i-zua ti Sapulungan i tjari-va-vaw
LOC-that F.H (name) LOC utmost-RED-above
Sapulungan was up in heaven.
[*tjarivavaw*: was *tjałevavaw*]

002 *qau vaik a kina kama sema vavua.*
qau vaik a kina kama em=sa va-vua
so leave C mother father AF=go RED-field
His mother and father went to the fields.

003 *i umaq timadju.*
i umaq ti-madju
LOC house F-3RD.PERS
He was at home.

004 *qau malap tua tjukutjuku, sa tjukutjukutjuku katua salasaladj.*
qau m-alap tua tjukutjuku sa tjuku-tjukutjuku ka-tua sala-saladj
so AF-take OBL ball and RED-ball and-OBL RED-companion
He took his ball (*or* wheel), and played with it with his companions.

005 *manu maulaw.*
manu ma-ulaw
then STAT-lost
Well it got lost.

006 *"qai ła qalian, aki pasainu a ku tjukutjuku a maulaw?"*
qai ła qali-an aki pa-sa-inu a ku tjukutjuku a ma-ulaw
oh class friend-NOM how cause-go-where C my ball C STAT-lost
"Hi, friends, where has my ball gone that I've lost?"

007 *kemim timadju.*
em=kim ti-madju
AF=search F-3RD.PERS
He looked and looked for it.
[*kemim*: was *kemiim* with vowel lengthened for emphasis]

008 *manu makelu a maka zua itua buabuang a sema teku.*
manu ma-kelu a maka zua i-tua bua-buang a em=sa teku
then STAT-fall C via that LOC-OBL RED-hole C AF=go down
Well it had fallen down below through a little hole.

009 *vaik timadju a kitjavilił maka zua pinakazuan nua*
vaik ti-madju a ki-tja-vilił maka zua in=paka-zua-an nua
leave F-3RD.PERS C do-more-behind via that PERF=via-that-NOM of

tjukutjuku nimadju a sema tjariteku.
tjukutjuku ni-madju a em=sa tjari-teku
ball of-3RD.PERS C AF=go utmost-down
He followed the ball by the way it had gone to the world below.
[*tjariteku*: was *tjaɬeteku*]

010 *qau kivadaq timadju tua taqaɬaqaɬan: "pasainu a ku*
qau ki-vadaq ti-madju tua ta-qaîa-qaîa-an pa-sa-inu a ku
so do-ask F-3RD.PERS OBL ?-RED-outsider-NOM cause-go-where C my

tjukutjuku?
tjukutjuku
ball
He asked the people: "Where has my ball gone?

011 *inika mun a patsun a mapuɬat?"*
ini-ka mun a pa-tsun a ma-puîat
not-after F.you(P) C cause-see C NUM-all
Haven't any of you seen it?"

012 *"inika men a kemɬang.*
ini-ka amen a m=keîang
not-after F.we(EXC) C AF=know
"We don't know.

013 *pai sa-u kivadaqu ti vuvu i Ḍaḍengeraw."*
pai sa-u ki-vadaq-u ti vuvu i ᵃa÷engeraw
well go-IMP do-ask-IMP F.H grandparent which (name)
Go and ask granny Ḍaḍengeraw."
[*vuvu*: female, as working with net-needle]

014 *vaik a kivadaq.*
vaik a ki-vadaq
leave C do-ask
He went to ask her.

015 *"inika ken a kemɬang," aya timadju.*
ini-ka aken a m=keîang aya ti-madju
not-after F.I C AF=know say F-3RD.PERS
She said: "I don't know."

016 *manu patsunan ni Sapulungan izua i tjaiteku i surur.*
manu pa-tsun-an ni Sapulungan i-zua i tjai-teku i surur
then cause-see-LF by (name) LOC-that LOC OBL-down LOC bed
Then Sapulungan saw it there under the bed-platform.
[*patsunan*: was *patsuni*]

017 *alapen ni Sapulungan.*
alap-en ni Sapulungan
take-PF by (name)
Sapulungan picked it up.

018 *"uza imaza, vuvu, sa ku tjukutjuku."*
uza i-maza vuvu tsa ku tjukutjuku
here LOC-here grandparent this my ball
"Here's my ball, granny."

019 *"ini anga ka ken a tsemged a patsun."*
ini anga ka aken a m=tseged a pa-tsun
not indeed after F.I C AF=alert C cause-see
"I can't see clearly any more."

020 *"uri imazanga ken i tjanusun, vuvu."*
uri i-maza-anga aken i tjanu-sun vuvu
will LOC-here-indeed F.I LOC OBL-you(S) grandparent
"I'm going to stay with you, granny."

021 *"uri tjepana qaliqali, vuvu.*
uri tje-pana qali-qali vuvu
will do.at-river RED-friend grandparent
"Others are going fishing, granny.

022 *uri masi anema ken?"*
uri masi a-nema aken
will carry ?-what F.I
What am I to take?"

023 *"katsuu sa sapeł a tjepana."*
katsu-u tsa sapeł a tje-pana
carry-IMP this pot.holder C do.at-river
"Take this pot-holder to fish with."

024 *manu inika malap a qaliqali.*
manu ini-ka m-alap a qali-qali
then not-after AF-take C RED-friend
Well the others didn't catch anything;

025 *qau venatsaq timadju tua tsiqaw.*
qau en=vatsaq ti-madju tua tsiqaw
so AF=carry.pole F-3RD.PERS OBL fish
but he used a pole to carry the fish he caught.

026 *"uri, vuvu, uri qemałup a qaliqali.*
uri vuvu uri em=qałup a qali-qali
will grandparent will AF=hunt C RED-friend
"Granny, others are going hunting.

027 *uri masi anema ken?"*
uri masi a-nema aken
will carry ?-what F.I
What am I to take?"

028 *"katsuu aitsu a ku velayan a qemałup."*
katsu-u aya-i-tsu a ku velay-an a em=qałup
carry-IMP be.thus-LOC-this C my net.needle-NOM C AF=hunt
"Take this net-needle to hunt with."

029 *vaik timadju.*
vaik ti-madju
leave F-3RD.PERS
Off he went.

030 *manu "maya kitevetevełł ti tja qali.*
manu maya ki-teve-tevełł ti tja qali
then don't do-RED-join F.H our(INC) friend
But the others said: "Don't go near this chap.

031 *palisi namasi velayan."*
palisi na-masi velay-an
taboo PAST-carry net.needle-NOM
It's taboo to carry a net-needle when we're hunting."

032 *qemałup tiamadju.*
em=qałup ti-a-madju
AF=hunt F-PL-3RD.PERS
They went hunting;

033 *manu malap ti Sapulungan a semuliaw.*
manu m-alap ti Sapulungan a em=su-liaw
then AF-take F.H (name) C AF=remove-many
and Sapulungan caught lots,

034 *qau inika malap a qaliqali.*
qau ini-ka m-alap a qali-qali
so not-after AF-take C RED-friend
but the others didn't catch anything.

035 *"vuvu, uri maqinatsap a qaliqali.*
vuvu uri ma-in=qatsap a qali-qali
grandparent will STAT-PERF=head.hunt C RED-friend
"Granny, others are going head-hunting.

036 *uri masi anema ken?"*
uri masi a-nema aken
will carry ?-what F.I
What am I to take?"

037 *"katsuu sa ku velayan."*
katsu-u sa ku velay-an
carry-IMP go my net.needle-NOM
"Take my net-needle."

038 *"maya sa kiteveł.*
maya sa ki-teveł
don't go do-join
"Don't come near us.

039 *namasi velayan sun," ayain nua qaliqali.*
na-masi velay-an sun aya-en nua qali-qali
PAST-carry net.needle-NOM F.you(S) say-PF by RED-friend
You're carrying a net-needle," said the others.

040 *manu qemtsi timadju a semuliaw.*
manu m=qetsi ti-madju a em=su-liaw
then AF=fight F-3RD.PERS C AF=remove-many
But he killed a lot,

041 *inika qemtsi a qaliqali.*
ini-ka m=qetsi a qali-qali
not-after AF=fight C RED-friend
while the others didn't kill anybody.

042 *limutseng a mapułat.*
li-mutseng a ma-puł-at
QAL-angry C NUM-all
They were all angry.

043 *"tja kuda-u ti tja qali?*
tja kuda-u ti tja qali
we(INC) do.what-IMP F.H our(INC) friend
"What are we going to do with this chap?

044 *aku inika namakaya tua kemudamudanga?*
aku ini-ka na-ma-kaya tua em=kuda-kuda-anga
why not-after PAST-STAT-able OBL AF=RED-do.what-indeed
Why haven't we been able to do anything?
[*kemudamudanga*: reduplication includes the *m*=]

045 *pai tja qetsiaw."*
pai tja qetsi-aw
well we(INC) fight-LF
Let's kill him."

046 *qau kivala ti Sapulungan; kilangda tua mazepzepzep.*
qau ki-vala ti Sapulungan ki-langeda tua ma-zep-zepzep
so self-able F.H (name) do-hear OBL STAT-RED-converse
Sapulungan was out for a stroll, and heard them discussing.

047 *manu ru qetsin timadju.*
manu ru qetsi-en ti-madju
then will fight-PF F-3RD.PERS
So he was going to be killed.
[*ru*: not in F24 or F248 for 'future']

048 *vaik a tjumaq.*
vaik a tju-umaq
leave C there-house
He went indoors

049 *pasemalaw tua vuvu: "uzau ru qetsin aken nua*
pa-em=salaw tua vuvu uza-u ru qetsi-en aken nua
cause-AF=tell OBL grandparent here-IMP will fight-PF F.I by

taqałaqałan.
ta-qała-qała-an
?-RED-outsider-NOM
and told the granny: "The people are planning to kill me.

050 *uri vaik aken, vuvu, a sema tjarivavaw."*
uri vaik aken vuvu a em=sa tjari-va-vaw
will leave F.I grandparent C AF=go utmost-RED-above
I'm going off to heaven, granny."

051 *"ini, Sapulungan, ka imaza-u anga.*
ini Sapulungan ka i-maza-u anga
not (name) after LOC-here-IMP indeed
"No, Sapulungan, stay on here.
[*ka imazau*: was *kaimazau*]

052 *nu aya qaliqali, uri kemuda?"*
nu aya qali-qali uri em=kuda
when say RED-friend will AF=do.what
What does it matter what others say?"

053 *"ini, vuvu, uri vaik aken a sema tjarivavaw."*
ini vuvu uri vaik aken a em=sa tjari-va-vaw
not grandparent will leave F.I C AF=go utmost-RED-above
"No, granny, I'm going to heaven."

054 *temalem timadju tua tałiw.*
em=talem ti-madju tua tałiw
AF=plant F-3RD.PERS OBL whet.stone
He planted a small whetstone in the ground.

055 *mekuḍal a zemuker i tjarivavaw.*
me-kuḍal a em=zuker i tjari-va-vaw
AF-fat C AF=arrive LOC utmost-RED-above
It grew big enough to reach up to heaven.

056 *malap tua tjukutjuku.*
m-alap tua tjukutjuku
AF-take OBL ball
He took his ball.

057 *"aitsu, vuvu, nu metad sa ku inapuan, sataladju*
aya-i-tsu vuvu nu me-tad tsa ku in-apu-an sa-taladj-u
be.thus-LOC-this grandparent when AF-dry this my PERF-betel-NOM go-inside-IMP

anga tua surur."
anga tua surur
indeed OBL bed
"Now, granny, when my betel-nut quid has dried, put it under the bed-platform."

058 *vaik ti Sapulungan a sema vavaw, a tsemikel a sema*
vaik ti Sapulungan a em=sa va-vaw a em=tsikel a em=sa
leave F.H (name) C AF=go RED-above C AF=return C AF=go

tjarivavaw.
tjari-va-vaw
utmost-RED-above
Sapulungan went up and returned to heaven.

059 *ka zemuker i tjarivavaw, djakadjaken nimadju a ventseluq.*
ka em=zuker i tjari-va-vaw djakadjak-en ni-madju a in=vetseluq
after AF=arrive LOC utmost-RED-above kick-PF by-3RD.PERS C PERF=break
When he reached heaven, he kicked and broke the whetstone pillar (implied);

060 *manu matsay anga mapułat a taqałaqałan i Valivaliw.*
manu m-patsay anga ma-puɬat a ta-qaɬa-qaɬa-an i Valivaliw
then AF-die indeed NUM-all C ?-RED-outsider-NOM LOC (place)
and all the people of Valivaliw were killed.

061 *amin anga ti Ḍaḍengeraw nu vałut.*
amin anga ti Ḍaḍengeraw nu vałut
no.more indeed F.H (name) of alive
Only Ḍaḍengeraw survived.

062 *ka i tjarivavaw anga ti Sapulungan, manu "pasainu*
ka i tjari-va-vaw anga ti Sapulungan manu pa-sa-inu
after LOC utmost-RED-above indeed F.H (name) then cause-go-where

sun?
sun
F.you(S)
When Sapulungan got to heaven, his parents asked: "Where have you been?

063 *ki maya matsay, aya men.*
ki ma-aya m-patsay aya amen
will STAT-be.thus AF-die say F.we(EXC)
We thought you must be dead.

064 *manu izua sun."*
manu i-zua sun
then LOC-that F.you(S)
But here you are."

065 *"kitjavilił aken a sema tjariteku.*
ki-tja-vilił aken a em=sa tjari-teku
self-more-behind F.I C AF=go utmost-down
"I followed (my ball) to the world below.

066 *qau izuanga ken i tjai vuvu i Ḍaḍengeraw.*
qau i-zua-anga aken i tjai vuvu i Ḍaḍengeraw
so LOC-that-indeed F.I LOC OBL.H grandparent which (name)
And I stayed there with granny Ḍaḍengeraw.

067 *qau uri qetsin aken; mana ku sivaik a sema maza i*
qau uri qetsi-en aken ma-avan-a ku si-vaik a em=sa maza i
so will fight-PF F.I STAT-exact-? I IF-leave C AF=go here LOC

tjarivavaw," aya timadju a pasemalaw tua matjałałak.
tjari-va-vaw aya ti-madju a pa-em=salaw tua matja-łałak
utmost-RED-above say F-3RD.PERS C cause-AF=tell OBL NUM-child
But I was going to be killed; that's why I left and came back here to heaven," he told his parents.

068 *qemaung anga a kina kama, saka "kana matsay sun,*
em=qaung anga a kina kama sa-ka ka-na m-patsay sun
AF=cry indeed C mother father and-after after-then AF-die F.you(S)

kana inika men a kemłang," aya tiamadju.
ka-na ini-ka amen a m=kełang aya ti-a-madju
after-then not-after F.we(EXC) C AF=know say F-PL-3RD.PERS
His mother and father cried. They said: "If you had died, we wouldn't have known."

069 *azua i Valivaliw a mui mana natałiw ni Sapulungan.*
a-zua i Valivaliw a mui ma-avan-a na-tałiw ni Sapulungan
C-that LOC (place) C quartz STAT-exact-? PAST-whet.stone of (name)
The white stone at Valivaliw is from Sapulungan's whetstone.

070 *amin.*
amin
no.more
The end.

Sapulungan was up in heaven. His mother and father went to the fields. He was at home. He took his ball (*or* wheel), and played with it with his companions. Well it got lost. "Hi, friends, where has my ball gone that I've lost?" He looked and looked for it. Well it had fallen down below through a little hole. He followed the ball by the way it had gone to the world below. He asked the people: "Where has my ball gone? Haven't any of you seen it?" "We don't know. Go and ask granny Ḍaḍengeraw." He went to ask her. She said: "I don't know." Then Sapulungan saw it there under the bed-platform. Sapulungan picked it up. "Here's my ball, granny." "I can't see clearly any more." "I'm going to stay with you, granny."

"Others are going fishing, granny. What am I to take?" "Take this pot-holder to fish with." Well the others didn't catch anything; but he used a pole to carry the fish he caught.

"Granny, others are going hunting. What am I to take?" "Take this net-needle to hunt with." Off he went. But the others said: "Don't go near this chap. It's taboo to carry a net-needle when

we're hunting." They went hunting, and Sapulungan caught lots, but the others didn't catch anything.

"Granny, others are going head-hunting. What am I to take?" "Take my net-needle." "Don't come near us. You're carrying a net-needle," said the others. But he killed a lot, while the others didn't kill anybody.

They were all angry. "What are we going to do with this chap? Why haven't we been able to do anything? Let's kill him." Sapulungan was out for a stroll, and heard them discussing. So he was going to be killed. He went indoors and told the granny: "The people are planning to kill me. I'm going off to heaven, granny." "No, Sapulungan, stay on here. What does it matter what others say?" "No, granny, I'm going to heaven." He planted a small whetstone in the ground. It grew big enough to reach up to heaven. He took his ball. "Now, granny, when my betel-nut quid has dried, put it under the bed-platform." Sapulungan went up and returned to heaven.

When he reached heaven, he kicked and broke the whetstone pillar; and all the people of Valivaliw were killed. Only Ḍaḍengeraw survived. When Sapulungan got to heaven, his parents asked: "Where have you been? We thought you must be dead. But here you are." "I followed (my ball) to the world below. And I stayed there with granny Ḍaḍengeraw. But I was going to be killed; that's why I left and came back here to heaven," he told his parents. His mother and father cried. They said: "If you had died, we wouldn't have known." The white stone at Valivaliw is from Sapulungan's whetstone. The end.

075 THE ANT-EATER AND THE RABBIT

told by Gił̨gił̨aw of Val̨ulu village

001 *izua za mareqali tia lutjuk kati qam.*
i-zua zua mare-qali ti-a lutjuk ka-ti qam
LOC-that that pair-friend F.H-PL rabbit and-F.H ant.eater
There were two friends, Rabbit and Ant-eater.

002 *"qalian, ari kiqaqił̨i," aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.*
qali-an ari ki-qaqił̨-i aya ti qam tjai lutjuk
friend-NOM go.on do-tuber-HORT say F.H ant.eater OBL.H rabbit
"Friend, let's go and collect tubers," said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

003 *"ari," aya ti lutjuk.*
ari aya ti lutjuk
go.on say F.H rabbit
"Right, let's go," said Rabbit.

004 *pai vaik tia mareqali a kiqaqił̨.*
pai vaik ti-a mare-qali a ki-qaqił̨
well leave F.H-PL pair-friend C do-tuber
So the friends went off to collect tubers.

005 *nu kemali ti lutjuk, savid a namapatsek.*
nu em=kali ti lutjuk savid a na-ma-patsek
when AF=dig F.H rabbit same C PAST-STAT-pierce
When Rabbit dug, all the tubers were damaged (by his digging-stick).

006 *nu kemali ti qam, kakuḍakuḍalan.*
nu em=kali ti qam ka-kuḍa-kuḍal-an
when AF=dig F.H ant.eater main-RED-fat-NOM
When Ant-eater dug, he found big tubers.

007 *"su kudain, qalian, nu kemali sun?*
su kuda-en qali-an nu em=kali sun
you(S) do.what-PF friend-NOM when AF=dig F.you(S)
"Friend, what do you do when you dig?

008 *nu kemali aken, mapatsek sakamaya," aya ti lutjuk.*
nu em=kali aken ma-patsek sakamaya aya ti lutjuk
when AF=dig F.I STAT-pierce only say F.H rabbit
When I dig the tubers are all damaged," said Rabbit.

009 *"tja patsekan a tja lima, qalian," aya ti qam.*
tja patsek-an a tja lima qali-an aya ti qam
we(INC) pierce-LF C our(INC) hand friend-NOM say F.H ant.eater
"We jab our arms, friend," said Ant-eater.

010 *patsekan aza lima nimadju.*
patsek-an a-zua lima ni-madju
pierce-LF C-that hand of-3RD.PERS
Rabbit jabbed his arm.

011 *"anananananananana," aya ti lutjuk; "aku nu ku patsekan sa ku lima,*
anananananananana aya ti lutjuk aku nu ku patsek-an tsa ku lima
ow say F.H rabbit why when I pierce-LF this my hand

qalian, saqetju?" aya ti lutjuk tjai qam.
qali-an saqetju aya ti lutjuk tjai qam
friend-NOM painful say F.H rabbit OBL.H ant.eater
"Oow!" said Rabbit; "why does it hurt when I jab my arm?" said Rabbit to Ant-eater.

012 *"manu, 'patseki a su lima,' nu aya ken, su patsekan a*
manu patsek-i a su lima nu aya aken su patsek-an a
then pierce-HORT C your(S) hand when say F.I you(S) pierce-LF C

su lima?" aya ti qam.
su lima aya ti qam
your(S) hand say F.H ant.eater
"Well did you really jab your arm when I told you to?" said Ant-eater.

013 *"pai ari, tja tapiaw anga, qalian, sa tja qaqiɬ," aya*
pai ari tja tapi-aw anga qali-an tsa tja qaqiɬ aya
well go.on we(INC) bake-LF indeed friend-NOM this our(INC) tuber say

ti lutjuk.
ti lutjuk
F.H rabbit
"Well come on, friend, let's roast our tubers in an earth-oven," said Rabbit.

014 *"ari," aya ti qam.*
ari aya ti qam
go.on say F.H ant.eater
"Right, let's," said Ant-eater.

015 *pai vaik tia mareqali.*
pai vaik ti-a mare-qali
well leave F.H-PL pair-friend
So off the friends went.

016 *"ari kikasivi," aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.*
ari ki-kasiw-i aya ti qam tjai lutjuk
go.on do-tree-HORT say F.H ant.eater OBL.H rabbit
"Let's collect some wood," said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

017 *vaik tia mareqali a kikasiw.*
vaik ti-a mare-qali a ki-kasiw
leave F.H-PL pair-friend C do-tree
The friends went to collect wood.

018 *manu neka nu kasiw ni lutjuk.*
manu neka nu kasiw ni lutjuk
then no of tree by rabbit
But Rabbit couldn't find any wood.

019 *"su kudain, qalian, nu kikasiw sun?" aya ti lutjuk.*
su kuda-en qali-an nu ki-kasiw sun aya ti lutjuk
you(S) do.what-PF friend-NOM when do-tree F.you(S) say F.H rabbit
"What do you do, friend, when you collect wood?" said Rabbit.

020 *"tja seqasen a tja lima," aya ti qam.*
tja seqas-en a tja lima aya ti qam
we(INC) chop-PF C our(INC) hand say F.H ant.eater
"We cut our arms," said Ant-eater.

021 *seqasen a lima nimadju.*
seqas-en a lima ni-madju
chop-PF C hand of-3RD.PERS
Rabbit cut his arm.

022 *"anananananananana," aya ti lutjuk; "aku nu ku seqasen a ku lima,*
anananananananana aya ti lutjuk aku nu ku seqas-en a ku lima
ow say F.H rabbit why when I chop-PF C my hand

qalian, saqetju?" aya ti lutjuk.
qali-an saqetju aya ti lutjuk
friend-NOM painful say F.H rabbit
"Oow!" said Rabbit; "why does it hurt, friend, when I cut my arm?" said Rabbit.

023 *"manu, 'seqasu a su lima,' nu aya ken, su seqasen a su*
manu seqas-u a su lima nu aya aken su seqas-en a su
then chop-IMP C your(S) hand when say F.I you(S) chop-PF C your(S)

lima?" aya ti qam.
lima aya ti qam
hand say F.H ant.eater
"Well did you really cut your arm when I told you to?" said Ant-eater.

024 *"pai ari tapii anga, qalian," aya ti lutjuk.*
pai ari tapi-i anga qali-an aya ti lutjuk
well go.on bake-HORT indeed friend-NOM say F.H rabbit
"Well come on, friend, let's roast the tubers," said Rabbit.

025 *"ari," aya ti qam.*
ari aya ti qam
go.on say F.H ant.eater
"Right, let's," said Ant-eater.

026 *pai vaik tia mareqali a temapi.*
pai vaik ti-a mare-qali a em=tapi
well leave F.H-PL pair-friend C AF=bake
So the friends went to roast the tubers.

027 *ka makatapi, "ari, qalian, vaiki a łemanguy," aya ti qam.*
ka maka-tapi ari qali-an vaik-i a em=łanguy aya ti qam
after finished-bake go.on friend-NOM leave-HORT C AF=swim say F.H ant.eater
When they had finished roasting them, Ant-eater said: "Come on, friend, let's go swimming."
[*łemanguy* was *łemangui*]

028 *"ari," aya ti lutjuk.*
ari aya ti lutjuk
go.on say F.H rabbit
"Right, let's," said Rabbit.

029 *pai vaik tia mareqali a łemanguy.*
pai vaik ti-a mare-qali a em=łanguy
well leave F.H-PL pair-friend C AF=swim
So the friends went off to swim.

030 *"pai katjaisangasu," aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.*
pai ka-tja-i-sangas-u aya ti qam tjai lutjuk
well become-more-LOC-first-IMP say F.H ant.eater OBL.H rabbit
"All right, you go first," said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

031 *"pai," aya ti lutjuk.*
pai aya ti lutjuk
well say F.H rabbit
"All right," said Rabbit.

032 *lemdep ti lutjuk.*
m=ledep ti lutjuk
AF=descend F.H rabbit
Rabbit dived in.

033 *malipat a kula, sevatsavatsaq a qulu.*
ma-lipat a kula se-vatsa-vatsaq a qulu
STAT-disappear C foot INVOL-RED-emerge C head
As soon as his legs went under the water his head came out.

034 *"pai anga, tisunay anga," aya ti lutjuk tjai qam.*
pai anga ti-sun-ay anga aya ti lutjuk tjai qam
well indeed F-you(S)-will indeed say F.H rabbit OBL.H ant.eater
"All right then, it's your turn," said Rabbit to Ant-eater.
[*tisunay* was *tisunai*]

035 *"pai," aya ti qam.*
pai aya ti qam
well say F.H ant.eater
"All right," said Ant-eater.

036 *lemdep ti qam.*
m=ledep ti qam
AF=descend F.H ant.eater
Ant-eater dived in.

037 *neka.*
neka
no
He didn't reappear.
[*neka*: was *neeka* for emphasis]

038 *masukiłałavanga* *ti* *lutjuk.*
ma-su-ki-ła-łava-anga ti lutjuk
STAT-remove-do-RED-wait-indeed F.H rabbit
Rabbit got tired of waiting.

039 *manu* *kemalikali* *a* *kisuteku* *tua* *tinapi* *niamadju.*
manu em=kali-kali a ki-su-teku tua in=tapi ni-a-madju
then AF=RED-dig C do-remove-down OBL PERF=bake of-PL-3RD.PERS
Well Ant-eater dug right underneath the earth-oven with the tubers in it.
[*niamadju* means 'theirs' as in 'their tubers'?]

040 *pai* *kanen* *aza* *kakuḍakuḍalan* *ni* *qam.*
pai kan-en a-zua ka-kuḍa-kuḍal-an ni qam
well eat-PF C-that main-RED-fat-NOM by ant.eater
And Ant-eater ate up all the big ones.
[*kanen*: was *kaanen* for emphasis]

041 *pai* *ka* *makakan* *taza* *kakuḍalan,* *malap* *tu* *ita* *taza* *tsiqaw,*
pai ka maka-kan ta-zua ka-kuḍal-an m-alap tu ita ta-zua tsiqaw
well after finished-eat OBL-that main-fat-NOM AF-take OBL one OBL-that fish

sa *qareangałi* *ni* *qam.*
sa ar=qe-angał-i ni qam
and QAL=?-mouth-PF by ant.eater
When he had finished eating the big ones, he caught a fish and held it in his mouth.

042 *tevuta* *naqemarcangał* *taza* *marutsiqełap.*
te-vuta na-em=ar=qe-angał ta-zua marutsiqełap
do-appear PAST-AF=QAL=?-mouth OBL-that fish.sp
He came out of the water at last with the (mythical) 'sheath-like' fish in his mouth.
[*tevuta*: was *tevuuta* for emphasis]

043 *"inu* *sun,* *qalian,"* *aya* *ti* *lutjuk.*
inu sun qali-an aya ti lutjuk
where F.you(S) friend-NOM say F.H rabbit
"Where have you been?" said Rabbit.
[*inu*: was *iinu* for emphasis]

044 *"qemałuqałup* *aken,* *qalian,* *tusa* *marutsiqełap,"* *aya* *ti* *qam.*
em=qału-qałup aken qali-an tu-tsa marutsiqełap aya ti qam
AF=RED-hunt F.I friend-NOM OBL-this fish.sp say F.H ant.eater
"I've been hunting and hunting for this fish, friend," said Ant-eater.
[*qemałuqałup*: was *qemałuqaałup* for emphasis]

045 *"ari, qalian, tja sutapiaw anga tja tinapi," aya ti*
ari qali-an tja su-tapi-aw anga tja in=tapi aya ti
go.on friend-NOM we(INC) remove-bake-LF indeed our(INC) PERF=bake say F.H

lutjuk.
lutjuk
rabbit
"Come on, friend, let's get the roasted tubers out of the earth-oven," said Rabbit.

046 *"ari," aya ti qam.*
ari aya ti qam
go.on say F.H ant.eater
"Right, let's," said Ant-eater.

047 *pai vaik tia mareqali.*
pai vaik ti-a mare-qali
well leave F.H-PL pair-friend
So off went the friends.

048 *sutapin ni qam.*
su-tapi-en ni qam
remove-bake-PF by ant.eater
Ant-eater uncovered the earth-oven.

049 *"ainu anga, qalian, a tja tinapi?" aya ti qam.*
a-inu anga qali-an a tja in=tapi aya ti qam
?-where indeed friend-NOM C our(INC) PERF=bake say F.H ant.eater
"Where are the tubers we roasted, friend?" said Ant-eater.

050 *"qadjaw," aya ti lutjuk.*
qadjaw aya ti lutjuk
perhaps say F.H rabbit
"I don't know," said Rabbit.

051 *"pai ari, qalian, tjeqatsangi.*
pai ari qali-an tje-qatsang-i
well go.on friend-NOM do.at-pig-HORT
"Well come on, friend, let's defecate.
[*tjeqatsangi*: *tje-qatsang* 'pigpen' may be euphemism]

052 *a patseliliq ki mavan a nakeman.*
a pa-tseliliq ki ma-avan a na-em=kan
C cause-splutter will STAT-exact C PAST-AF=eat
The one who makes a spluttering noise will be the one who has eaten the tubers.

053 *beluuk nu aya, ika uri nakeman," aya ti qam.*
beluuk nu aya ika uri na-em=kan aya ti qam
pass.wind when say not will PAST-AF=eat say F.H ant.eater
The one who breaks wind will be the one who hasn't eaten them," said Ant-eater.

054 *pai tjeqatsang tia mareqali.*
pai tje-qatsang ti-a mare-qali
well do.at-pig F.H-PL pair-friend
So the friends went to defecate.

055 *"pai katjaisangasu," aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.*
pai ka-tja-i-sangas-u aya ti qam tjai lutjuk
well become-more-LOC-first-IMP say F.H ant.eater OBL.H rabbit
"You go first," said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

056 *"tselilililililiq," aya ti lutjuk.*
lililili=tseliliq aya ti lutjuk
RED=splutter say F.H rabbit
Rabbit made a spluttering noise.

057 *"pai tisunay anga," aya tjai qam.*
pai ti-sun-ay anga aya tjai qam
well F-you(S)-will indeed say OBL.H ant.eater
"Now it's your turn," he said to Ant-eater.
[*tisunay* was *tisunai*]

058 *"beluuk," aya ti qam.*
beluuk aya ti qam
pass.wind say F.H ant.eater
Ant-eater broke wind.

059 *"pai ari, qalian.*
pai ari qali-an
well go.on friend-NOM
"Right then, friend;

060 *saka ika tisun a nakeman tua tja tinapi?" aya ti*
sa-ka ika ti-sun a na-em=kan tua tja in=tapi aya ti
and-after not F-you(S) C PAST-AF=eat OBL our(INC) PERF=bake say F.H

qam tjai lutjuk.
qam tjai lutjuk
ant.eater OBL.H rabbit
so it was you who ate the tubers we had roasted, wasn't it?" said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

061 *"pai ari, qalian, pałałama-i," aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.*
pai ari qali-an pa-ła-łama-i aya ti qam tjai lutjuk
well go.on friend-NOM cause-RED-burn-HORT say F.H ant.eater OBL.H rabbit
"Well come on, friend, let's try setting fire to one another," said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

062 *"ari," aya ti lutjuk.*
ari aya ti lutjuk
go.on say F.H rabbit
"Right, let's," said Rabbit.

063 *"mayanan," aya ti qam.*
maya-anan aya ti qam
don't-still say F.H ant.eater
"Wait a minute," said Ant-eater.
[*mayanan* was *maayanan* for emphasis]

064 *pai kemali a kisamuła ti qam tua kalipatan nimadju.*
pai em=kali a ki-samuła ti qam tua ka-lipat-an ni-madju
well AF=dig C do-urgent F.H ant.eater OBL main-disappear-NOM of-3RD.PERS
So Ant-eater dug himself a hiding-place as fast as he could.

065 *ka makakali, "pai anga, qalian, łiatepetepezu.*
ka maka-kali pai anga qali-an łia-tepe-tepez-u
after finished-dig well indeed friend-NOM be.in-RED-jungle-IMP
When he had finished digging, Ant-eater said to Rabbit: "All right now, friend, go in where the grass is thickest (?).

066 *kipapaulingavu, qalian," aya ti qam tjai lutjuk.*
ki-pa-pa-u-lingaw-u qali-an aya ti qam tjai lutjuk
do-cause-cause-?-know-IMP friend-NOM say F.H ant.eater OBL.H rabbit
Look out, friend!"

067 *pai łiatepetepez ti lutjuk.*
pai łia-tepe-tepez ti lutjuk
well be.in-RED-jungle F.H rabbit
So Rabbit went right in.

068 *"pai anga," aya ti lutjuk.*
pai anga aya ti lutjuk
well indeed say F.H rabbit
"Ready," said Rabbit.

069 *łamain ni qam.*
łama-en ni qam
burn-PF by ant.eater
Ant-eater set fire to the grass.

070 *małengis ti lutjuk.*
ma-łengis ti lutjuk
STAT-scorch F.H rabbit
Rabbit got burnt.

071 *patsunan ni qam.*
pa-tsun-an ni qam
cause-see-LF by ant.eater
Ant-eater came to look at him.

072 *nạdungałis anga ti lutjuk.*
nạdungałis anga ti lutjuk
bared.teeth indeed F.H rabbit
Rabbit had his teeth bared (in death).

073 *kitseviqan aza ḍiḍi ni lutjuk, sa paqareangaɬan tjaimadju.*
ki-tseviq-an a-zua ḍiḍi ni lutjuk sa pa-ar=qe-angaɬ-an tjai-madju
do-segment-LF C-that pig by rabbit and cause-QAL=?-mouth-LF OBL-3RD.PERS
Ant-eater sliced off Rabbit's penis, and stuck it in Rabbit's mouth.
[ḍiḍi: euphemism/slang for 'penis'?]

074 *"kakanu a ḍiḍi ni lutjuk," aya.*
ka-kan-u a ḍiḍi ni lutjuk aya
RED-eat-IMP C pig of rabbit say
"Go on, eat Rabbit's penis," he said.
[*kakanu*: was *kaakanu* for emphasis]

075 *amin.*
amin
no.more
The end.
[*amin*: was *aamin* for emphasis]

There were two friends, Rabbit and Ant-eater. "Friend, let's go and collect tubers," said Ant-eater to Rabbit. "Right, let's go," said Rabbit. So the friends went off to collect tubers. When Rabbit dug, all the tubers were damaged (by his digging-stick). When Ant-eater dug, he found big tubers. "Friend, what do you do when you dig? When I dig the tubers are all damaged," said Rabbit. "We jab our arms, friend," said Ant-eater. Rabbit jabbed his arm. "Oow!" said Rabbit; "why does it hurt when I jab my arm?" said Rabbit to Ant-eater. "Well did you really jab your arm when I told you to?" said Ant-eater.

"Well come on, friend, let's roast our tubers in an earth-oven," said Rabbit. "Right, let's," said Ant-eater. So off the friends went. "Let's collect some wood, " said Ant-eater to Rabbit. The friends went to collect wood. But Rabbit couldn't find any wood. "What do you do, friend, when you collect wood?" said Rabbit. "We cut our arms," said Ant-eater. Rabbit cut his arm. "Oow!" said Rabbit; "why does it hurt, friend, when I cut my arm?" said Rabbit. "Well did you really cut your arm when I told you to?" said Ant-eater.

"Well come on, friend, let's roast the tubers," said Rabbit. "Right, let's," said Ant-eater. So the friends went to roast the tubers. When they had finished roasting them, Ant-eater said: "Come on, friend, let's go swimming." "Right, let's," said Rabbit. So the friends went off to swim. "All right, you go first," said Ant-eater to Rabbit. "All right," said Rabbit. Rabbit dived in. As soon as his legs went under the water his head came out. "All right then, it's your turn," said Rabbit to Ant-eater. "All right," said Ant-eater. Ant-eater dived in. He didn't reappear. Rabbit got tired of waiting. Well Ant-eater dug right underneath the earth-oven with the tubers in it. And Ant-eater ate up all the big ones. When he had finished eating the big ones, he caught a fish and held it in his mouth. He came out of the water at last with the (mythical) 'sheath-like' fish in his mouth. "Where have you been?" said Rabbit. "I've been hunting and hunting for this fish, friend," said Ant-eater.

"Come on, friend, let's get the roasted tubers out of the earth-oven," said Rabbit. "Right, let's," said Ant-eater. So off went the friends. Ant-eater uncovered the earth-oven. "Where are the tubers we roasted, friend?" said Ant-eater. "I don't know," said Rabbit. "Well come on, friend, let's defecate. The one who makes a spluttering noise will be the one who has eaten the tubers. The one who breaks wind will be the one who hasn't eaten them," said Ant-eater. So the friends went to defecate. "You go first," said Ant-eater to Rabbit. Rabbit made a spluttering noise. "Now

it's your turn," he said to Ant-eater. Ant-eater broke wind. "Right then, friend; so it was you who ate the tubers we had roasted, wasn't it?" said Ant-eater to Rabbit.

"Well come on, friend, let's try setting fire to one another," said Ant-eater to Rabbit. "Right, let's," said Rabbit. "Wait a minute," said Ant-eater. So Ant-eater dug himself a hiding-place as fast as he could. When he had finished digging, Ant-eater said to Rabbit: "All right now, friend, go in where the grass is thickest (?). Look out, friend!" So Rabbit went right in. "Ready," said Rabbit. Ant-eater set fire to the grass. Rabbit got burnt. Ant-eater came to look at him. Rabbit had his teeth bared (in death). Ant-eater sliced off Rabbit's penis, and stuck it in Rabbit's mouth. "Go on, eat Rabbit's penis," he said. The end.

076 CHILDREN UP A TREE

told by Giłgiław of Vałulu village

001 *izua za mareqali.*
i-zua zua mare-qali
LOC-that that pair-friend
There were two (young) friends.

002 *"ari kikasivi, qalian," aya tiamadju.*
ari ki-kasiw-i qali-an aya ti-a-madju
go.on do-tree-HORT friend-NOM say F-PL-3RD.PERS
They said to one another: "Let's go and collect wood, friend."

003 *ka zemuker i vavua patsun ta za kamaya na qaliqali.*
ka em=zuker i va-vua pa-tsun ta zua kamaya nua qali-qali
after AF=arrive LOC RED-field cause-see OBL that mango of RED-friend
When they got to the fields, they saw some mango trees belonging to other people.

004 *malulum anga.*
ma-lu-lum anga
STAT-RED-ripe indeed
The fruit was ripe,

005 *manu sauram aza mareqali.*
manu sa-uram a-zua mare-qali
then want-need C-that pair-friend
so the friends wanted to eat it.

006 *manu vaik a tsemakaw.*
manu vaik a em=tsakaw
then leave C AF=steal
So they went to steal it,

007 *łevavaw ta za kamaya a mareqali.*
łe-va-vaw ta zua kamaya a mare-qali
go.to-RED-above OBL that mango C pair-friend
and got up in the mango tree,

008 *keman izua i vavaw.*
em=kan i-zua i va-vaw
AF=eat LOC-that LOC RED-above
and ate mangoes up there.

009 *ka masilanga tiamadju, "ari, qalian, vaiki anga.*
ka ma-sila-anga ti-a-madju ari qali-an vaik-i anga
after STAT-satiate-indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS go.on friend-NOM leave-HORT indeed
When they had had enough, they said: "Come on, friend, let's go.

010 *marekutj itjen.*
ma-rekutj itjen
STAT-fear F.we(INC)
We're afraid,

011 *mana nu djumaken itjen," aya tja mareqali.*
ma-avan-a nu djumak-en itjen aya tja mare-qali
STAT-exact-? when find-PF F.we(INC) say our(INC) pair-friend
in case we're found out."

012 *manu inika makaya sema teku a małędusa.*
manu ini-ka ma-kaya em=sa teku a małe-dusa
then not-after STAT-able AF=go down C NUM-two
But the two of them couldn't get down.

013 *"kemuda itjen, qalian?" aya tiamadju.*
em=kuda itjen qali-an aya ti-a-madju
AF=do.what F.we(INC) friend-NOM say F-PL-3RD.PERS
They said: "What shall we do, friend?"

014 *matsingul anga sakamaya i vavaw ta kamaya.*
ma-tsingul anga sakamaya i va-vaw ta kamaya
STAT-stranded indeed only LOC RED-above OBL mango
They were just stranded up the mango tree,

015 *qemaung aza mareqali.*
em=qaung a-zua mare-qali
AF=cry C-that pair-friend
and they cried.

016 *ka inika makayanga sema teku, maselem anga sakamaya.*
ka ini-ka ma-kaya-anga em=sa teku ma-selem anga sakamaya
after not-after STAT-able-indeed AF=go down STAT-dark indeed only
They couldn't get down, and it got dark.

017 *kipakiman anga na matjałałak.*
ki-pa-kim-an anga nua matja-łałak
do-cause-search-LF indeed by NUM-child
Their parents looked for them.

018 *manu patadałan naza mareqali aza kina kata kama a*
manu pa-tadał-an nua-zua mare-qali a-zua kina ka-ta kama a
then cause-see-LF by-that pair-friend C-that mother and-OBL father C

namasisapuy.
na-ma-si-sapuy
PAST-STAT-IF-fire
The friends could see their mothers and fathers holding torches.

019 *"ła qunu ła qunu, inu mun?" aya za kama.*
ła qunu ła qunu inu mun aya zua kama
class child class child where F.you(P) say that father
The father(s) said: "Children children, where are you?"

020 *tjału tjai teku tjayamadju.*
tjału tja-i teku tjai-a-madju
reach more-LOC down OBL-PL-3RD.PERS
They came right below them.

021 *"aki pasainu a mareka tja ałak?*
aki pa-sa-inu a mareka tja ałak
how cause-go-where C many our(INC) child
"Where have our children gone to?

022 *aki matsay?*
aki m-patsay
how AF-die
Are they dead?

023 *aki semainu?" aya za matjałałak na mareqali.*
aki em=sa-inu aya zua matja-łałak nua mare-qali
how AF=go-where say that NUM-child of pair-friend
Where have they gone?" the friends' parents said.

024 *naqełetep aza mareqali taza rekutjan taza matjałałak.*
na-qełetep a-zua mare-qali ta-zua rekutj-an ta-zua matja-łałak
PAST-silence C-that pair-friend OBL-that fear-LF OBL-that NUM-child
The friends kept quiet for fear of their parents.

025 *manu vaik a sema umaq aza matjałałak.*
manu vaik a em=sa umaq a-zua matja-łałak
then leave C AF=go house C-that NUM-child
So the parents went home.

026 *ka zemuker i umaq, pasemalaw taza i umaq: "neka tia*
ka em=zuker i umaq pa-em=salaw ta-zua i umaq neka ti-a
after AF=arrive LOC house cause-AF=tell OBL-that LOC house no F.H-PL

mareqali; matsay kaumaya," aya taza taqałaqałan.
mare-qali m-patsay kaumaya aya ta-zua ta-qała-qała-an
pair-friend AF-die perhaps say OBL-that ?-RED-outsider-NOM
When they got home they told the people there: "There is no sign of the friends; perhaps they are dead," they said to their fellow-villagers.

027 *pai ka małianga vaik anga kemim aza taqałaqałan.*
pai ka ma-łia-anga vaik anga em=kim a-zua ta-qała-qała-an
well after STAT-dawn-indeed leave indeed AF=search C-that ?-RED-outsider-NOM
So next day the villagers went to look for them,

028 *manu patsun aza maḍusa.*
manu pa-tsun a-zua ma-ḍusa
then cause-see C-that NUM-two
and two of them saw the children (*or* and the two (children) saw them coming).

029 *"uzai a łavingan i vavaw ta kamaya," aya za qaliqali.*
uzay a łaving-an i va-vaw ta kamaya aya zua qali-qali
there C side-NOM LOC RED-above OBL mango say that RED-friend
These others said: "There's some monkeys up a mango tree.
[*łavingan*: F137 has *łaving-an* 'monkey' under entry *łaving* 'side, bank of stream']

030 *"ari tja kuangaw," aya tiamadju.*
ari tja kuang-aw aya ti-a-madju
go.on we(INC) firearm-LF say F-PL-3RD.PERS
Let's shoot them."

031 *ka zukeren, mavan aza maḍusa.*
ka zuker-en ma-avan a-zua ma-ḍusa
after arrive-PF STAT-exact C-that NUM-two
When they got there, they saw it was the two children.

032 *"pindjek sa suledjeledji.*
pindjek sa suledjeledji
? ? ?
They said to the two friends: "You silly fools! (??)

033 *aki manu łavingan, aya men tjanumun.*
aki manu łavingan aya amen tjanu-mun
how then monkey say F.we(EXC) OBL-you(P)
We thought you were monkeys.

034 *uzi kemikim amen a taqałaqałan tjanumun.*
uzi em=ki-kim amen a ta-qała-qała-an tjanu-mun
well AF=RED-search F.we(EXC) C ?-RED-outsider-NOM OBL-you(P)
All the village is searching for you;

035 *manu i vavaw mun tusa kamaya.*
manu i va-vaw mun tu-tsa kamaya
then LOC RED-above F.you(P) OBL-this mango
and here you are up a mango tree.

036 *kełu sateku," ayain aza mareqali*
keł-u sa-teku aya-en a-zua mare-qali
come-IMP go-down say-PF C-that pair-friend
Come on down."

037 *"inika men a makaya," aya za mareqali.*
ini-ka amen a ma-kaya aya zua mare-qali
not-after F.we(EXC) C STAT-able say that pair-friend
The friends said: "We can't get down."

038 *sisan tjekezanga, sa sateku anga.*
si-sane tjekeza-anga sa sa-teku anga
IF-make ladder-indeed and go-down indeed
A ladder was made for them, and they got down. (Moral: We mustn't be greedy or steal.)

There were two (young) friends. They said to one another: "Let's go and collect wood, friend." When they got to the fields, they saw some mango trees belonging to other people. The fruit was ripe, so the friends wanted to eat it. So they went to steal it, and got up in the mango tree, and ate mangoes up there. When they had had enough, they said: "Come on, friend, let's go. We're afraid, in case we're found out." But the two of them couldn't get down. They said: "What shall we do, friend?" They were just stranded up the mango tree, and they cried. They couldn't get down, and it got dark. Their parents looked for them. The friends could see their mothers and fathers holding torches. The father(s) said: "Children children, where are you?" They came right below them. "Where have our children gone to? Are they dead? Where have they gone?" the friends' parents said. The friends kept quiet for fear of their parents. So the parents went home. When they got home they told the people there: "There is no sign of the friends; perhaps they are dead," they said to their fellow-villagers.

So next day the villagers went to look for them, and two of them saw the children (*or* and the two (children) saw them coming). These others said: "There's some monkeys up a mango tree. Let's shoot them." When they got there, they saw it was the two children. They said to the two friends: "You silly fools!(??). We thought you were monkeys. All the village is searching for you; and here you are up a mango tree. Come on down." The friends said: "We can't get down." A ladder was made for them, and they got down. (Moral: We mustn't be greedy or steal.)

077 DREAMS

told by Gił̪gił̪aw of Val̪ulu village

001 *nu misepi tjen tua tsemdatsedas tua mał̪ia-ł̪ia, nanguaq*
nu mi-sepi tjen tua em=tseda-tsedas tua ma-ł̪ia-ł̪ia na-nguaq
when AF-dream F.we(INC) OBL AF=RED-sunrise OBL STAT-RED-dawn STAT-good

aravats.
a-ravats
C-true
When we dream of the rising sun or dawn it is very good.

002 *matu tsemdatsedas a tja varung; tja sipuqimaqimang tua*
ma-tu em=tseda-tsedas a tja varung tja si-pu-qima-qimang tua
STAT-alike AF=RED-sunrise C our(INC) chest we(INC) IF-have-RED-luck OBL

nemanemanga.
nema-nema-anga
RED-what-indeed
It is as if our hearts were rising. We will have good luck in everything.

003 *nu ł̪emakał̪akay itjen, uri kisudjuan itjen.*
nu em=ł̪aka-ł̪akay itjen uri ki-sudju-an itjen
when AF=RED-swing F.we(INC) will do-sweetheart-LF F.we(INC)
If women dream they are on a swing, someone is in love with them. (Note: Swinging of the bride is part of the wedding ceremony.)

004 *nu i vavaw itjen tua kavayan, uri putsekeł̪ itjen tua*
nu i va-vaw itjen tua kavayan uri pu-tsekeł̪ itjen tua
when LOC RED-above F.we(INC) OBL bamboo.sp will have-spouse F.we(INC) OBL

mamazangił̪an.
ma-ma-zangił̪-an
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
If we are up a bambusa tree, we will marry a chieftain.

005 *nu misepi tjen tua zangaw, uri pupaisu itjen.*
nu mi-sepi tjen tua zangaw uri pu-paisu itjen
when AF-dream F.we(INC) OBL betel.pepper will have-money F.we(INC)
When we dream of the leaf for wrapping betel nut, we will be rich.

006 *nu patsun itjen tua kamaya a malulum, uri matu*
nu pa-tsun itjen tua kamaya a ma-lu-lum uri ma-tu
when cause-see F.we(INC) OBL mango C STAT-RED-ripe will STAT-alike

lum a kinakesan nua tja vaqu.
lum a in=ka-kesa-an nua tja vaqu
ripe C PERF=STAT-food-LF by our(INC) millet
When we see ripe mangoes, our millet will be fully ripened.

007 *nu misepi tjen tua tsiqaw, namaya uta sipuvaquvaqu.*
nu mi-sepi tjen tua tsiqaw na-ma-aya uta si-pu-vaqu-vaqu
when AF-dream F.we(INC) OBL fish PAST-STAT-be.thus also IF-have-RED-millet
When we dream about fish, this is also about our millet crop.

008 *nu kakeḍikeḍian a tsiqaw, uri kakeḍikeḍian uta a tja*
nu ka-keḍi-keḍi-an a tsiqaw uri ka-keḍi-keḍi-an uta a tja
when STAT-RED-small-NOM C fish will STAT-RED-small-NOM also C our(INC)

vaqu.
vaqu
millet
If the fish are small ones, our millet also will have small grains.

009 *nu itua łimełimek a tsiqaw, uri putsemel aravats a tja*
nu i-tua łime-łimek a tsiqaw uri pu-tsemel a-ravats a tja
when LOC-OBL RED-unclear C fish will have-plant C-true C our(INC)

puvaquan.
pu-vaqu-an
have-millet-NOM
If the fish are in muddy water, there will be a lot of weeds in our millet fields.

010 *nu matsatsay, nanguaq aravats, sika merakarakats.*
nu m-tsa=patsay na-nguaq a-ravats sika me-raka-rakats
when AF-RED=die STAT-good C-true reason AF-RED-brave
If there is death or a funeral it is very good; the person seen will be strong.

011 *nu sevatsavatsaq a załum i tjumaq, sipulamilami aya.*
nu se-vatsa-vatsaq a załum i tju-umaq si-pu-lami-lami aya
when INVOL-RED-emerge C water LOC there-house IF-have-RED-staple.food say
If water is coming out indoors, it means there will be plenty of staple foods.

012 *nu misepi tjen tua qatsang tua qatjuvi tua nemanemanga a*
nu mi-sepi tjen tua qatsang tua qatjuvi tua nema-nema-anga a
when AF-dream F.we(INC) OBL pig OBL snake OBL RED-what-indeed C

kakeḍikeḍian, tja ałak a penułat.
ka-keḍi-keḍi-an tja ałak a en=pułat
STAT-RED-small-NOM our(INC) child C AF=all
If we dream about small pigs or snakes or anything, it's all to do with our children.

013 *łakua nu kakuḍakuḍalan, nakuya tsemas.*
łakua nu ka-kuḍa-kuḍal-an na-kuya tsemas
but when STAT-RED-fat-NOM STAT-bad god
But if they are big ones, it refers to evil spirits.

014 *nu tsemułutsułu itjen tua qatsang tua qemuzimuzip, uri*
nu em=tsułu-tsułu itjen tua qatsang tua em=em=uzi=quzip uri
when AF=RED-butcher F.we(INC) OBL pig OBL AF=AF=RED=animal will

izua *matsay* *tjanuitjen* *a* *tatsekeɬan.*
i-zua m-patsay tjanu-itjen a ta-tsekeî-an
LOC-that AF-die OBL-F.we(INC) C one-spouse-NOM
If we are butchering a pig or other animal, there will be a death in our family.
[*qemuzimuzip*: F370 notes both redup. forms *q/m/uziquzip* and *q/m/uzi/m/uzip*]

015 *nu* *maqevuqevutj* *a* *sapuy* *a* *tja* *djinadjas,* *uri*
nu ma-qevu-qevutj a sapuy a tja in=djadjas uri
when STAT-RED-extinguish C fire C we(INC) PERF=grab will

kemalavut *itjen* *tua* *nasi* *nua* *tsautsau.*
em=ka-lavut itjen tua nasi nua tsau-tsau
AF=?-lose F.we(INC) OBL breath of RED-being
If a flame we are holding is going out, we will be responsible for the death of someone(?).

016 *nu* *patsutsun* *itjen* *sakamaya,* *uri* *seɬavak* *itjen* *tua*
nu pa-tsu-tsun itjen sakamaya uri se-îavak itjen tua
when cause-RED-see F.we(INC) only will INVOL-present.at F.we(INC) OBL

masunasinasi.
ma-su-nasi-nasi
STAT-remove-RED-breath
If we just see this, we will be present at a death.

017 *nu* *qezemezemetj* *nu* *masulesulem,* *uri* *matu* *qezemezemetj* *a*
nu zeme=qezemetj nu ma-sule-sulem uri ma-tu zeme=qezemetj a
when RED=night when STAT-RED-dark will STAT-alike RED=night C

tja *varung* *tua* *tja* *kininemneman.*
tja varung tua tja in=kinemnem-an
our(INC) chest OBL our(INC) PERF=think-NOM
If it is night or getting dark, the thoughts of our hearts will be like night.

018 *nu* *izua* *vaqu* *i* *tjanuitjen,* *izua* *uri* *matsay.*
nu i-zua vaqu i tjanu-itjen i-zua uri m-patsay
when LOC-that millet LOC OBL-F.we(INC) LOC-that will AF-die
If we have millet, there will be a death.

019 *nu* *izua* *qemaluqalu* *tua* *tsinqadjan,* *uri* *izua*
nu i-zua em=qalu-qalu tua in=tseqadj-an uri i-zua
when LOC-that AF=RED-carry OBL PERF=plane.wood-NOM will LOC-that

matsay *i* *djalan.*
m-patsay i djalan
AF-die LOC road
If someone is carrying cut planks of wood, someone will die on a track.

020 *nu* *misepi* *tjen* *tu* *kemakan* *itjen* *tua* *vutjuɬ* *tua*
nu mi-sepi tjen tu em=ka-kan itjen tua vutjuî tua
when AF-dream F.we(INC) COMPL AF=RED-eat F.we(INC) OBL meat OBL

qavay, sika saqetjuqetju aya.
qavay sika qetju=saqetju aya
dumpling reason RED=painful say
If we dream that we are eating meat or millet dumplings, it is said to be a sign of illness.

021 *nu keman itjen tua sutjaw tua łuału tua paday, siqesaqesang.*
nu em=kan itjen tua sutjaw tua îu-aîu tua paday si-qesa-qesang
when AF=eat F.we(INC) OBL peanut OBL RED-sweet OBL rice IF-RED-cold
If we are eating peanuts, sweets or rice, it's a sign of a cough.

022 *nu seman umaumaq itjen, izua uri matsay a sisan luvang*
nu em=sane uma-umaq itjen i-zua uri m-patsay a si-sane luvang
when AF=make RED-house F.we(INC) LOC-that will AF-die C IF-make grave

tjanuitjen.
tjanu-itjen
OBL-we(INC)
If we are repairing a house, someone will die and we will have to dig a grave (*or* a grave will be dug for us).

023 *nu mulaulaw itjen tua tja turivetsan, sipatsatsay nua tja*
nu m-ula-ulaw itjen tua tja turivetsan si-tsa=patsay nua tja
when AF-RED-lost F.we(INC) OBL our(INC) tool IF-RED=die by our(INC)

ałak.
aîak
child
If we have lost our tool, our child will die.

024 *nu vaivaik itjen a sema tjuqała, nakuya; sivaivaik*
nu vai-vaik itjen a em=sa tju-qaîa na-kuya si-vai-vaik
when RED-leave F.we(INC) C AF=go there-outsider STAT-bad IF-RED-leave

nua tja avavak.
nua tja av-avak
by our(INC) RED-soul
If we are going to another village, that is bad; our souls will depart.

025 *nu venliveli tjen tua makaliław, kapułu aya.*
nu n=veli-veli tjen tua maka-liîaw ka-puîu aya
when AF=RED-buy F.we(INC) OBL NUM-cloth ?-deficit say
If we are buying cloth, it is a sign of mourning.
[*makaliław*: could be *ma-ka-* or *maka-*]
[*kapułu*: *pułu* must have sense of 'loss' to give meaning 'mourn' here]

026 *nu namitung itjen tua kaḍaḍi.*
nu na-m-itung itjen tua ka÷a÷i
when PAST-AF-cloth F.we(INC) OBL rag
If we are wearing rags,

027 *uri masan zepzepan itjen.*
uri ma-sane zepzep-an itjen
will STAT-make converse-NOM F.we(INC)
we will become infamous.
[probably one sentence with previous]

028 *nu mavanavanaw itjen, sika saqetjuqetju aya.*
nu ma-vana-vanaw itjen sika qetju=saqetju aya
when STAT-RED-bathe F.we(INC) reason RED=painful say
If we are bathing, it is said to be a sign of illness.

When we dream of the rising sun or dawn it is very good. It is as if our hearts were rising. We will have good luck in everything.

If women dream they are on a swing, someone is in love with them. (Note: swinging of the bride is part of the wedding ceremony.)

If we are up a bambusa tree, we will marry a chieftain.

When we dream of the leaf for wrapping betel nut, we will be rich.

When we see ripe mangoes, our millet will be fully ripened.

When we dream about fish, this is also about our millet crop. If the fish are small ones, our millet also will have small grains. If the fish are in muddy water, there will be a lot of weeds in our millet fields.

If there is death or a funeral it is very good; the person seen will be strong.

If water is coming out indoors, it means there will be plenty of staple foods.

If we dream about small pigs or snakes or anything, it's all to do with our children. But if they are big ones, it refers to evil spirits. If we are butchering a pig or other animal, there will be a death in our family.

If a flame we are holding is going out, we will be responsible for the death of someone(?). If we just see this, we will be present at a death.

If it is night or getting dark, the thoughts of our hearts will be like night.

If we have millet, there will be a death.

If someone is carrying cut planks of wood, someone will die on a track.

If we dream that we are eating meat or millet dumplings, it is said to be a sign of illness.

If we are eating peanuts, sweets or rice, it's a sign of a cough.

If we are repairing a house, someone will die and we will have to dig a grave (*or* a grave will be dug for us).

If we have lost our tool, our child will die.

If we are going to another village, that is bad; our souls will depart.

If we are buying cloth, it is a sign of mourning.

If we are wearing rags, we will become infamous.

If we are bathing, it is said to be a sign of illness.

078 WORK IN THE FIELDS

told by Gił gił aw of Vał ulu village

001 *nu seman puvasan dangdangan anan, sana łama-i, sana*
nu em=sane pu-vasa-an dangdang-an anan sa-na łama-i sa-na
when AF=make have-taro-NOM cut.bush-LF still and-then burn-PF and-then

qusuli.
qusul-i
dig.roots-PF
TARO: When we make a taro field, we clear the ground and burn the vegetation and dig out the roots.

002 *nu qinusul anga, nu sariqsiqsiq a kadjunangan,*
nu in=qusul anga nu ar=siq-siqsiq a ka-djunang-an
when PERF=dig.roots indeed when QAL=RED-dry C main-earth-NOM

qułitsan anga sakamaya.
qułits-an anga sakamaya
clear.cut.bush-LF indeed only
When we have dug out the roots, if the soil is dry we just clear away the burnt vegetation.

003 *łakua nu djukel a kadjunangan.*
łakua nu djukel a ka-djunang-an
but when clay C main-earth-NOM
But if the soil is sticky

004 *tjara djukulen anan a semualap a qipu izua i ta*
tjara djukul-en anan a em=su-alap a qipu i-zua i ta
surely beat-PF still C AF=remove-take C soil LOC-that LOC OBL

tjapungułan, sana qułiqułitsi sa łama-i a qinepuan,
tjapunguł-an sa-na qułi-qułits-i sa łama-i a in=qepu-an
grass.root-NOM and-then RED-clear.cut.bush-PF and burn-PF C PERF=associate-NOM

sana taletalemi tua vasa.
sa-na al=te-talem-i tua vasa
and-then QAL=do-plant OBL taro
we always beat the soil out of the roots, and then clear up and burn the refuse; and then plant the taro.

005 *a siqusulan siumał a upu a pasekaumał.*
a si-qusul-an si-uma-ł a upu a pa-se-ka-uma-ł
C IF-dig.roots-LF IF-other-times C wall C cause-INVOL-become-other-times
When we are digging out the roots we renew the terrace walls in new positions.

006 *nu seman puvaquan namaya tua puvasan a*
nu em=sane pu-vaqu-an na-ma-aya tua pu-vasa-an a
when AF=make have-millet-NOM PAST-STAT-be.thus OBL have-taro-NOM C

dangdangan	*anan*	*sana*	*ɬama-i*	*sana*	*kavatsuki.*
dangdang-an	anan	sa-na	ɬama-i	sa-na	ka-vatsuk-i
cut.bush-LF	still	and-then	burn-PF	and-then	?-clear.land-PF

MILLET: When we make a millet field, it's the same as a taro field; we cut back and burn the vegetation and clear the land.

007	*qau*	*nu*	*mavatsuk*	*itjen,*	*mumaɬ*	*tua*	*upu*	*a*	*zuma*	*nu*
	qau	nu	ma-vatsuk	itjen	ma-uma-ɬ	tua	upu	a	zuma	nu
	so	when	STAT-clear.land	F.we(INC)	STAT-other-times	OBL	wall	C	other	of

qaɬan;	*ɬakua*	*tjatjuruvu*	*a*	*inika*	*mumaumaɬ*	*tua*	*upu*	*nu*
qaɬa-an	ɬakua	tja-tjuruvu	a	ini-ka	ma-uma-uma-ɬ	tua	upu	nu
outsider-NOM	but	more-many	C	not-after	STAT-RED-other-times	OBL	wall	when

mavatsuk.
ma-vatsuk
STAT-clear.land
When we have cleared the land, in some villages they renew the terrace walls; but there are more people who don't renew the walls after clearing the land.

008	*aitsu*	*a*	*puvaquan*	*inika*	*namaya*	*tua*
	aya-i-tsu	a	pu-vaqu-an	ini-ka	na-ma-aya	tua
	be.thus-LOC-this	C	have-millet-NOM	not-after	PAST-STAT-be.thus	OBL

puvasan	*a*	*djukulen.*
pu-vasa-an	a	djukul-en
have-taro-NOM	C	beat-PF

In millet fields we don't beat the soil as in taro fields.

009	*quɬitsan*	*anga*	*sakamaya*	*sa*	*tjuguti.*
	quîits-an	anga	sakamaya	sa	tjugut-i
	clear.cut.bush-LF	indeed	only	and	sow-PF

We just clear away the vegetation and sow the millet.

010	*aitsu*	*a*	*pusutjavan*	*mamaw*	*katua*	*puvasan*	*a*
	aya-i-tsu	a	pu-sutjaw-an	m-amaw	ka-tua	pu-vasa-an	a
	be.thus-LOC-this	C	have-peanut-NOM	STAT-same	and-OBL	have-taro-NOM	C

siqusulan	*a*	*mumaɬ*	*tua*	*upu*	*aitsu*	*a*
si-qusul-an	a	ma-uma-ɬ	tua	upu	aya-i-tsu	a
IF-dig.roots-NOM	C	STAT-other-times	OBL	wall	be.thus-LOC-this	C

pusutjavan.
pu-sutjaw-an
have-peanut-NOM
PEANUTS Peanut fields are like taro fields; the terrace walls are renewed when the roots are dug out.

011	*a*	*puvasan*	*maretimaɬimaɬi*	*a*	*sitaleman.*
	a	pu-vasa-an	mare-ti-maîi-maîi	a	si-talem-an
	C	have-taro-NOM	pair-?-RED-different	C	IF-plant-NOM

There are different times for planting taro fields,

012 *mapalalailaing* *a kinaqałaqałan.*
ma-pa-la-lai-laing a in=ka-qała-qała-an
STAT-cause-RED-RED-follow C PERF=?-RED-outsider-NOM
depending on the village.

013 *a zuma nu qałan* *temalem nu 1, 2 gatsu.*
a zuma nu qała-an em=talem nu 1 2 gatsu
C other of outsider-NOM AF=plant when 1 2 month
Some villages plant in January or February;
[1,2, and etc. below: no vernacular is given. With *gatsu* 'month' one would count in Japanese.]

014 *a zuma nu qałan* *temalem anga nu 3, 4, 5 gatsu.*
a zuma nu qała-an em=talem anga nu 3 4 5 gatsu
C other of outsider-NOM AF=plant indeed when 3 4 5 month
others in March to May.

015 *aitsu* *a sitaleman* *kemasi tua pinutsavił-an* *a*
aya-i-tsu a si-talem-an em=kasi tua in=pu-tsavił-an a
be.thus-LOC-this C IF-plant-NOM AF=from OBL PERF=have-year-NOM C

patje *5 gatsu.*
pa-tje 5 gatsu
cause-do.at 5 month
Planting goes on from New Year to May.

016 *aitsu* *a puvasan* *pataudan tua puk tua djulis.*
aya-i-tsu a pu-vasa-an pa-taud-an tua puk tua djulis
be.thus-LOC-this C have-taro-NOM cause-mix-LF OBL bean.sp OBL plant.sp
We also plant tree-beans and goose-foot in taro fields.

017 *nu nanguaq* *a kadjunangan,* *pataudan tua łapanay tua qarizang*
nu na-nguaq a ka-djunang-an pa-taud-an tua łapanay tua qarizang
when STAT-good C main-earth-NOM cause-mix-LF OBL maize OBL bean.sp

a temalem.
a em=talem
C AF=plant
If the soil is good we also plant maize or green-beans.

018 *nu 11, 12, 1 gatsu* *kivasa.*
nu 11 12 1 gatsu ki-vasa
when 11 12 1 month do-taro
We harvest taro in November to January.

019 *a puvaquan* *nu 2, 3 gatsu, nu mavilił 4 gatsu, nu*
a pu-vaqu-an nu 2 3 gatsu nu ma-vilił 4 gatsu nu
C have-millet-NOM when 2 3 month when STAT-behind 4 month when

matalu *1* *gatsu* *a* *sitjugutan.*
ma-talu 1 gatsu a si-tjugut-an
STAT-plant.early 1 month C IF-sow-NOM
Millet fields are planted in February or March, or April for late planting, or January for early planting.

020 *qau* *pataudan* *tua* *łumay* *tua* *puk* *tua* *qarizang* *tua* *djulis* *tua*
qau pa-taud-an tua îumay tua puk tua qarizang tua djulis tua
so cause-mix-LF OBL millet.sp OBL bean.sp OBL bean.sp OBL plant.sp OBL

łangga *tua* *łapanay.*
îangga tua îapanay
sesame OBL maize
We mix in barnyard millet, tree-beans, green-beans, goose-foot, sesame(?) or maize.

021 *nu* *7, 8* *gatsu* *kivaqu.*
nu 7 8 gatsu ki-vaqu
when 7 8 month do-millet
We harvest millet in July or August.

022 *a* *pusutjavan* *3, 4* *gatsu* *a* *sitaletaleman* *i* *vurasian,*
a pu-sutjaw-an 3 4 gatsu a si-tale-talem-an i vurasi-an
C have-peanut-NOM 3 4 month C IF-RED-plant-NOM LOC sweet.potato-NOM

sa *talemi* *tua* *łapanay* *qarizang* *tua* *puk* *łangga.*
sa talem-i tua îapanay qarizang tua puk îangga
and plant-PF OBL maize bean.sp OBL bean.sp sesame
A peanut field is planted in March or April in a sweet-potato field, and is planted with maize, green-beans, tree-beans or sesame.

023 *nu* *8, 9* *gatsu* *kisutjaven.*
nu 8 9 gatsu ki-sutjaw-en
when 8 9 month do-peanut-PF
We harvest peanuts in August or September.

024 *a* *puvurasian* *a* *pusavidan* *inika* *patautaudan* *a*
a pu-vurasi-an a pu-savid-an ini-ka pa-tau-taud-an a
C have-sweet.potato-NOM C have-same-NOM not-after cause-RED-mix-LF C

temalem.
em=talem
AF=PLANT
Fields for sweet potatoes only don't have other things planted in them.

TARO: When we make a taro field, we clear the ground and burn the vegetation and dig out the roots. When we have dug out the roots, if the soil is dry we just clear away the burnt vegetation. But if the soil is sticky we always beat the soil out of the roots, and then clear up and burn the refuse; and then plant the taro. When we are digging out the roots we renew the terrace walls in new positions.

MILLET: When we make a millet field, it's the same as a taro field; we cut back and burn the vegetation and clear the land. When we have cleared the land, in some villages they renew the

terrace walls; but there are more people who don't renew the walls after clearing the land. In millet fields we don't beat the soil as in taro fields. We just clear away the vegetation and sow the millet.

PEANUTS: Peanut fields are like taro fields; the terrace walls are renewed when the roots are dug out. There are different times for planting taro fields, depending on the village. Some villages plant in January or February; others in March to May. Planting goes on from New Year to May.

We also plant tree-beans and goose-foot in taro fields. If the soil is good we also plant maize or green-beans. We harvest taro in November to January. Millet fields are planted in February or March, or April for late planting, or January for early planting. We mix in barnyard millet, tree-beans, green-beans, goose-foot, sesame(?) or maize. We harvest millet in July or August.

A peanut field is planted in March or April in a sweet-potato field, and is planted with maize, green-beans, tree-beans or sesame. We harvest peanuts in August or September. Fields for sweet potatoes only don't have other things planted in them.

079 MY LIFE

told by Gił̦gił̦aw of Vał̦ulu village

001 *tiaken ti Gił̦gił̦aw aken.*
ti-aken ti Gił̦gił̦aw aken
F-I F.H (name) F.I
I am Gił̦gił̦aw

002 *se Vał̦ulu aken.*
se Vał̦ulu aken
person.of (place) I
of Vał̦ulu village.

003 *sinipuał̦ak aken i Vał̦ulu.*
in=si-pu-ał̦ak aken i Vał̦ulu
PERF=IF-have-child F.I LOC (place)
I was born in Vał̦ulu.

004 *ḍusanga ken a puluq katu sepatj a tsavił̦ tu pinuał̦akan*
ḍusa-anga aken a puluq ka-tu sepatj a tsavił̦ tu in=pu-ał̦ak-an
two-indeed F.I C ten after-? four C year OBL PERF=have-child-NOM

tjanuaken.
tjanu-aken
OBL-I
It is 24 years since I was born.

005 *ka tapuluq aken katu sepatj a tsavił̦ sema gaku aken a ventsik.*
ka ta-puluq aken ka-tu sepatj a tsavił̦ em=sa gaku aken a m=vetsik
after one-ten F.I after-? four C year AF=go school F.I C AF=mark
When I was 14 I went to school to study.

006 *sepatj aken a tsavił̦ i gaku.*
sepatj aken a tsavił̦ i gaku
four F.I C year LOC school
I was 4 years in school.

007 *ka ini anan ka ken a sema gaku napusalasaladj aken*
ka ini anan ka aken a em=sa gaku na-pu-sala-saladj aken
after not still after F.I C AF=go school PAST-have-RED-companion F.I

tjai kama tjai kina tua sengsengan.
tjai kama tjai kina tua sengseng-an
OBL.H father OBL.H mother OBL work-NOM
Before I went to school I helped my father and mother in their (field) work.

008 *ka i gaku anan aken matsay ti kama.*
ka i gaku anan aken m-patsay ti kama
after LOC school still F.I AF-die F.H father
When I was still at school my father died.

009 *qau ti kaka itua kuaping.*
qau ti kaka i-tua kuaping
so F.H sibling LOC-OBL soldier
My elder brother was in the army.

010 *qau ti kina izua ałak a lumamad.*
qau ti kina i-zua ałak a lumamad
so F.H mother LOC-that child C infant
My mother had very young children.

011 *izua ku kaka kakeḍian anan a maḍusa, ini anan ka makaya*
i-zua ku kaka ka-keḍi-an anan a ma-ḍusa ini anan ka ma-kaya
LOC-that my sibling RED-small-NOM still C NUM-two not still after STAT-able

masengseng.
ma-sengseng
STAT-work
My two siblings were still children, not yet able to work.

012 *nasemalimsim tuazua tia kina.*
na-em=al=simsim tua-zua ti-a kina
PAST-AF=QAL=pity OBL-that F.H-PL mother
My mother and the children were very badly off.

013 *mana ku sinikitjaula i gaku.*
ma-avan-a ku in=si-ki-tja-ula i gaku
STAT-exact-? I PERF=IF-do-more-lack LOC school
That is why I left school.

014 *salimsim aken tjaia kina tua mareka ku kaka.*
al=simsim aken tjai-a kina tua mareka ku kaka
QAL=pity F.I OBL.H-PL mother OBL many my sibling
I had pity on my mother and my siblings.
[*tjaia*: was *tjaya*]

015 *neka nu muri paquzip.*
neka nu ma-uri pa-quzip
no of STAT-will cause-keep.animal
There was no one to provide for them.
[*paquzip*: obviously for nurturing humans too]

016 *qau tuazua nasclapay aken tua nia sengsengan.*
qau tua-zua na-se-lapay aken tua nia sengseng-an
so OBL-that PAST-INVOL-severe F.I OBL our(EXC) work-NOM
I had a bad time then working for us.

017 *matsidiɬ aken tua ku kemudanga.*
ma-tsidiɬ aken tua ku em=kuda-anga
STAT-alone F.I OBL my AF=do.what-indeed
I had to do everything on my own.

018 *malułay aken aravats.*
ma-lułay aken a-ravats
STAT-tired F.I C-true
I was very tired.

019 *łakua nu ika ken a masengseng, neka nu kanen nia kina nua*
łakua nu ika aken a ma-sengseng neka nu kan-en ni-a kina nua
but when not F.I C STAT-work no of eat-PF of-PL mother of

mareka ku kaka.
mareka ku kaka
many my sibling
But if I didn't work there would be no food for my mother and my siblings.

020 *qau kipaqadiɬ aken a masengseng ta ku sipaquzip tjaia*
qau ki-pa-qadiɬ aken a ma-sengseng ta ku si-pa-quzip tjai-a
so do-cause-force F.I C STAT-work OBL I IF-cause-keep.animal OBL.H-PL

kina tua mareka ku kaka, patje mangtjez ti kaka a
kina tua mareka ku kaka pa-tje m-pangetjez ti kaka a
mother OBL many my sibling cause-do.at AF-come F.H sibling C

nakisan kuaping.
na-ki-sane kuaping
PAST-do-make soldier
So I put up with working to provide for my mother and my siblings, until my elder brother came back from the army.
[*tjaia*: was *tjaya*]

021 *ka mangtjez anga ti kaka a nakisan kuaping, izuanga*
ka m-pangetjez anga ti kaka a na-ki-sane kuaping i-zua-anga
after AF-come indeed F.H sibling C PAST-do-make soldier LOC-that-indeed

pusaladj tjanuaken tua nia sengsengan.
pu-saladj tjanu-aken tua nia sengseng-an
have-companion OBL-I OBL our(EXC) work-NOM
When my brother had come back from the army there was someone to help me with our work.

022 *lima ken a tsaviɬ a masengseng a matsidiɬ, sa pangtjengtjez ti*
lima aken a tsaviɬ a ma-sengseng a ma-tsidiɬ sa pa-ngetje-ngetjez ti
five F.I C year C STAT-work C STAT-alone and cause-RED-come F.H

kaka, saka izuanga ku saladj a masengseng.
kaka sa-ka i-zua-anga ku saladj a ma-sengseng
sibling and-after LOC-that-indeed my companion C STAT-work
I did the work on my own for 5 years; then my brother came, and I had a companion in the work.

023 *ka mangtjez anga ti kaka, kẹdi anga a ku sengsengan.*
ka m-pangetjez anga ti kaka kẹdi anga a ku sengseng-an
after AF-come indeed F.H sibling small indeed C my work-NOM
When my brother came back, there was less work for me.

024 *ika ken a malułay anga.*
ika aken a ma-łułay anga
not F.I C STAT-tired indeed
I wasn't tired out.

025 *makayanga ken a kivala sema tjuqała, izua i Pałul,*
ma-kaya-anga aken a ki-vala em=sa tju-qała i-zua i Pałul
STAT-able-indeed F.I C self-able AF=go there-outsider LOC-that LOC (place)

i Payuan, i Qutsapungan, sema Takaw.
i Payuan i Qutsapungan em=sa Takaw
LOC Paiwan LOC (place) AF=go (place)
I could go off for fun to other places-to Pałul, Payuan, Qutsapungan, and to Takao (Kaohsiung).

026 *namasengsengseng aken i Takaw a kipaisu.*
na-ma-seng-sengseng aken i Takaw a ki-paisu
PAST-STAT-RED-work F.I LOC (place) C do-money
I worked in Takao to earn money.

027 *ku siveli tua ku itung.*
ku si-veli tua ku itung
I IF-buy OBL my cloth
With it I bought clothes.

028 *ka izuanga ku itung, vaik anga ken a sema umaq; sa ku*
ka i-zua-anga ku itung vaik anga aken a em=sa umaq sa ku
after LOC-that-indeed my cloth leave indeed F.I C AF=go house and I
paitungi anga tia kina a mareka ku kaka.
pa-itung-i anga ti-a kina a mareka ku kaka
cause-cloth-PF indeed F.H-PL mother C many my sibling
When I had got some clothes I went back home; and I gave clothes to my mother and my siblings.

029 *maleva ravats.*
ma-leva ravats
STAT-pleased true
They were very pleased.

030 *tu ku sinaTakavan navenli aken tua ku itung.*
tu ku in=sa-Takaw-an na-n=veli aken tua ku itung
OBL my PERF=go-(place)-NOM PAST-AF=buy F.I OBL my cloth
Every time I went to Takao I bought clothes.

031 *maleva ravats ti kina.*
ma-leva ravats ti kina
STAT-pleased true F.H mother
My mother was very pleased.

032 *łakua tiaken nakuya ken aravats.*
łakua ti-aken na-kuya aken a-ravats
but F-I STAT-bad F.I C-true
But I was very bad.

033 *ku djinukul anga ti kina a ku kaka.*
ku in=djukul anga ti kina a ku kaka
I PERF=beat indeed F.H mother C my sibling
I hit my mother and my siblings.

034 *nakuya ken aravats.*
na-kuya aken a-ravats
STAT-bad F.I C-true
I was very bad.

035 *łakua tutsu tu ku kinasinzian inika ken a*
łakua tu-tsu tu ku in=ka-sinzia-an ini-ka aken a
but OBL-this OBL my PERF=main-believer-NOM not-after F.I C

djemukudjukul anga.
em=djuku-djukul anga
AF=RED-beat indeed
But now since becoming a believer I don't hit people any more.

036 *lemangdanga ken tua tulu nua Tsemas.*
em=langeda-anga aken tua tulu nua Tsemas
AF=hear-indeed F.I OBL teach of God
Now I listen to the teaching of God.

037 *kisamułanga ken a semupu tua siisiu.*
ki-samuła-anga aken a em=supu tua siisiu
do-urgent-indeed F.I C AF=count OBL Bible
I read the Bible frequently.

038 *qau kemłang aken tua kiłivak tua tja kina tua*
qau m=kełang aken tua ki-łivak tua tja kina tua
so AF=know F.I OBL do-care.for OBL our(INC) mother OBL

timaimanga.
ti-ima-ima-anga
?-RED-who-indeed
I know about loving our mothers and everyone.

039 *ka sangasangasan kisan sinzia zua ku kaka maḍusa, sanaka*
ka sanga-sangas-an ki-sane sinzia zua ku kaka ma-ḍusa sa-na-ka
after RED-first-NOM do-make believer that my sibling NUM-two and-then-after

ti kina.
ti kina
F.H mother
At first my two siblings became believers, and then my mother.

040 *"kaka," aya zua ku kaka, "kisan sinzia-u.*
kaka aya zua ku kaka ki-sane sinzia-u
sibling say that my sibling do-make believer-IMP
My siblings said to me: "Brother, become a believer.

041 *nanguaq aravats.*
na-nguaq a-ravats
STAT-good C-true
It's very good.

042 *inika tjen a marivurivu anga.*
ini-ka tjen a ma-rivu-rivu anga
not-after F.we(INC) C STAT-RED-quarrel indeed
We don't quarrel any more.

043 *ika tjen a tsemakatsakaw anga.*
ika tjen a em=tsaka-tsakaw anga
not F.we(INC) C AF=RED-steal indeed
We don't steal.

044 *nu matsay itjen vaik itjen a sema tjarivavaw, aya za*
nu m-patsay itjen vaik itjen a em=sa tjari-va-vaw aya zua
when AF-die F.we(INC) leave F.we(INC) C AF=go utmost-RED-above say that

tulu tjanuamen.
tulu tjanu-amen
teach OBL-we(EXC)
We are taught that when we die we go to heaven.

045 *nekanga nu tja pasalisaliw nu kisan sinzia itjen.*
neka-anga nu tja pa-sali-saliw nu ki-sane sinzia itjen
no-indeed of our(INC) cause-RED-sin when do-make believer F.we(INC)
We have no more sins when we become believers.

046 *qau kisan sinzia-u.*
qau ki-sane sinzia-u
so do-make believer-IMP
Become a believer.

047 *nanguaq aravats.*
na-nguaq a-ravats
STAT-good C-true
It's very good.

048 *uła masualap a su pasalisaliw."*
uła ma-su-alap a su pa-sali-saliw
so.that STAT-remove-take C your(S) cause-RED-sin
And your sins will be taken away."

049 *pasemalavan aken nua ku kaka tua tulu nua Tsemas.*
pa-se-malaw-an aken nua ku kaka tua tulu nua Tsemas
cause-INVOL-tell-LF F.I of my sibling OBL teach of God
My siblings told me the teaching of God.

050 *inika ken a masalu.*
ini-ka aken a ma-salu
not-after F.I C STAT-believe
I didn't believe.

051 *łakua ku patsunan a sikudan nua ku kaka.*
łakua ku pa-tsun-an a si-kuda-an nua ku kaka
but I cause-see-LF C IF-do.what-NOM of my sibling
But I noticed my siblings' behaviour.

052 *inika marivurivu anga.*
ini-ka ma-rivu-rivu anga
not-after STAT-RED-quarrel indeed
They didn't quarrel any more.

053 *nu mangtjez a kasi gaku, vaik a tsałum, vaik a kitsatsevung.*
nu m-pangetjez a kasi gaku vaik a tsałum vaik a ki-tsa-tsevung
when AF-come C from school leave C carry.water leave C self-RED-meet
When they came back from school, they went to get water or went to meet people (coming back laden from the fields).

054 *kilangdanga aravats tua nia tulu.*
ki-langeda-anga a-ravats tua nia tulu
do-hear-indeed C-true OBL our(EXC) teach
They were very obedient to what we told them.

055 *patsun aken tua sikudan.*
pa-tsun aken tua si-kuda-an
cause-see F.I OBL IF-do.what-NOM
I noticed their behaviour.

056 *paquliqulid kaumaya, aya ken.*
pa-quli-qulid kaumaya aya aken
cause-RED-real perhaps say F.I
I thought that perhaps what they said was true.

057 *saqetju a ku varung, ka kinemnem anga ken.*
saqetju a ku varung ka kinemnem anga aken
painful C my chest after think indeed F.I
This disturbed me when I thought about it.

058 *izua zua qinaruqarut a sunat a sinipavay tua zua*
i-zua zua in=qaru-qarut a sunat a in=si-pa-vay tua zua
LOC-that that PERF=RED-distribute C book C PERF=IF-cause-give OBL that

mareka ku kaka.
mareka ku kaka
many my sibling
My siblings had been given some booklets that were distributed.

059 *ka vaik a sema gaku, ku alapen azua sunat, sa ku supu-i.*
ka vaik a em=sa gaku ku alap-en a-zua sunat tsa ku supu-i
after leave C AF=go school I take-PF C-that book this I count-PF
When they had gone to school, I took the booklets and read them.

060 *"kiłivaki tua tja matjałałak.*
ki-łivak-i tua tja matja-łałak
do-care.for-HORT OBL our(INC) NUM-child
What I read was: "We should love our parents.

061 *nakuya qemtsi tua tsautsau.*
na-kuya m=qetsi tua tsau-tsau
STAT-bad AF=fight OBL RED-being
We should not kill people,

062 *nakuya padjumak.*
na-kuya pa-djumak
STAT-bad cause-find
fornicate,

063 *nakuya tsemakaw.*
na-kuya em=tsakaw
STAT-bad AF=steal
steal.

064 *nakuya qauban.*
na-kuya qauban
STAT-bad envy
or envy others.

065 *kiłivaku tua nu łaqediqedi," aya zua ku sinupu.*
ki-łivak-u tua nu ła-qedi-qedi aya zua ku in=supu
do-care.for-IMP OBL your(P) class-RED-boundary say that I PERF=count
Love your neighbours."

066 *izua zua ku sinupu: "timun parekiłivałivaku," aya zua ku*
i-zua zua ku in=supu ti-mun pare-ki-łiva-łivak-u aya zua ku
LOC-that that I PERF=count F-you(P) pair-do-RED-care.for-IMP say that I

sinupu.
in=supu
PERF=count
Another thing I read was: "Love one another."

067 *izua zua masanitał uta: "tiaken namatsay aken sa ke*
i-zua zua ma-sane-ita-ł uta ti-aken na-m-patsay aken sa ke
LOC-that that STAT-make-one-times also F-I PAST-AF-die F.I and I

kamevałut.
ka-me-vałut
become-AF-alive
One more thing I read was: "I was dead and came back to life.

068 *tiaken djalan aken, kaqulidan, nasi aken.*
ti-aken djalan aken ka-qulid-an nasi aken
F-I road F.I main-real-NOM breath F.I
I am the way, the truth and the life.

069 *a kisusu tjanuaken nuka matsay tjara ku papevałuten," aya*
a ki-susu tjanu-aken nuka m-patsay tjara ku pa-pe-vałut-en aya
C do-proceed OBL-I even AF-die surely I cause-emerge-alive-PF say

zua ku sinupu, sa ke kasalu anga.
zua ku in=supu sa ke ka-salu anga
that I PERF=count and I STAT-believe indeed
Anyone who follows me, even if they die I will bring them back to life". That was what I read, and I believed.

070 *łakua masiaq aken a semukub, tua ku qinaqivuivuan tua*
łakua ma-siaq aken a em=sukub tua ku in=qa-ivu=qivu-an tua
but STAT-shame F.I C AF=bow.head OBL I PERF=?-RED=speak-LF OBL

mareka sinzia.
mareka sinzia
many believer
But I was ashamed to attend worship because of what I had said about believers.

071 *łakua ka tsuatsuay anga kidjaladjalan anga ken a semukub*
łakua ka tsua-tsuay anga ki-djala-djalan anga aken a em=sukub
but after RED-long.time indeed do-RED-road indeed F.I C AF=bow.head

tua ku tsemekemekeł.
tua ku em=meke=tsekeł
OBL my AF=RED=spouse
But after a time I did accompany my family to worship.

072 *qau kisamułanga ken a kiqepu tua sinzia, sa ke kełang anga*
qau ki-samuła-anga aken a ki-qepu tua sinzia sa ke kełang anga
so do-urgent-indeed F.I C do-associate OBL believer and I know indeed

tua kakudan nua sinzia.
tua ka-kuda-an nua sinzia
OBL ?-do.what-NOM of believer
Then I frequently attended the believers' meetings, and I understood the believers' ways.

073 *"iya manu kemudanga," aya ken.*
iya manu em=kuda-anga aya aken
ah then AF=do.what-indeed say F.I
"So that's the way it is," I said to myself.
[*iya*: was *ya*]

074 *samałi anga ken.*
sa-ma-ałi anga aken
QAL-STAT-different indeed F.I
I was surprised.

075 *kana liguligu anga ken, sa ke ka kisan sinzia a kirimu,*
ka-na ligu-ligu anga aken sa ke ka ki-sane sinzia a ki-rimu
after-then RED-reputed indeed F.I and I after do-make believer C do-quick

kana ken a matsaqu anga, kana ken a kemłang anga,"
ka-na aken a ma-tsaqu anga ka-na aken a m=kełang anga
after-then F.I C STAT-able indeed after-then F.i C AF=know indeed

ayanga ken a kinemnem.
aya-anga aken a kinemnem
say-indeed F.I C think
"If only I had known and become a believer sooner. Then I would have been good at doing things and would have understood," I thought.

076 *patełip aken aravats tua ika ku kinasinzian a kirimu.*
pa-tełip aken a-ravats tua ika ku in=ka-sinzia-an a ki-rimu
cause-regret F.I C-true OBL not my PERF=main-believer-NOM C do-quick
I greatly regretted that I hadn't become a believer sooner.

077 *łakua ka kisan sinzia aken kisamułanga ken aravats a kisusu.*
łakua ka ki-sane sinzia aken ki-samuła-anga aken a-ravats a ki-susu
but after do-make believer F.I do-urgent-indeed F.I C-true C do-proceed
But when I became a believer I was a very zealous practising believer.

078 *qau pai ka tsuatsuay anga ken tua ku kinasinzian,*
qau pai ka tsua-tsuay anga aken tua ku in=ka-sinzia-an
so well after RED-long.time indeed F.I OBL my PERF=main-believer-NOM

kinemnem anga ken tua ku vaik a tjemautsikel, sa ke vaik
kinemnem anga aken tua ku vaik a em=tja-u-tsikel sa ke vaik
think indeed F.I OBL my leave C AF=more-?-return and I leave

anga sema tjuqała a pasemalamalaw tua kiłivak tua
anga em=sa tju-qała a pa-se-mala-malaw tua ki-łivak tua
indeed AF=go there-outsider C cause-INVOL-RED-tell OBL do-care.for OBL

pitsul nua Tsemas.
pitsul nua Tsemas
strong of God
Some time after I had become a believer I thought of going to tell others, and I went to other villages to tell people about the love and power of God.

079 *ka patagił vaik aken a sema Makazayazaya a pasemalaw tua*
ka pa-tagił vaik aken a em=sa Makazayazaya a pa-em=salaw tua
after cause-originate leave F.I C AF=go (place) C cause-AF=tell OBL

kai nua Tsemas.
kai nua Tsemas
speech of God
First I went to Makazayazaya to tell them about the word of God.

080 *łakua inika kemłang.*
łakua ini-ka m=kełang
but not-after AF=know
But they didn't understand.

081 *ka ku sipakatjelutjeluł kemłang anga tua tulu nua Tsemas.*
ka ku si-paka-tjelu-tjelu-ł m=kełang anga tua tulu nua Tsemas
after my IF-via-RED-three-times AF=know indeed OBL teach of God
After my third visit they understood the teaching of God.
[*sipakatjelutjeluł*: expect *sika-* 'ORD' here, occurrence of *pa* unexplained.]

082 *qau kisan sinzianga azua tatsekełan; saka metjuruvu anga.*
qau ki-sane sinzia-anga a-zua ta-tsekeł-an sa-ka me-tjuruvu anga
so do-make believer-indeed C-that one-spouse-NOM and-after AF-many indeed
One family became believers; and later more people did so.

083 *qau nu makapitjuł vaik aken a sema Makazayazaya.*
qau nu maka-pitju-ł vaik aken a em=sa Makazayazaya
so when NUM-seven-times leave F.I C AF=go (place)
Every week I went to Makazayazaya.

084 *makatjeluł aken makasimatjeł aken i Makazayazaya a*
maka-tjelu-ł aken maka-simatj-ł aken i Makazayazaya a
NUM-three-times F.I NUM-four-times F.I LOC (place) C
pasemalamalaw tua tulu nua Tsemas.
pa-se-mala-malaw tua tulu nua Tsemas
cause-INVOL-RED-tell OBL teach of God
I stayed in Makazayazaya 3 or 4 days telling them the teaching of God.

085 *tatsavił aken katu izua łemules a pasemalamalaw tua tulu*
ta-tsavił aken ka-tu i-zua em=łules a pa-se-mala-malaw tua tulu
one-year F.I after-? LOC-that AF=continue C cause-INVOL-RED-tell OBL teach
nua Tsemas.
nua Tsemas
of God
For over a year I continued telling them the teaching of God.

086 *man alu a puluq aza sinzia.*
man alu a puluq a-zua sinzia
NUM eight C ten C-that believer
There were 80 believers.

087 *łakua ku putideqan a tjelu a qiłas.*
łakua ku pu-tideq-an a tjelu a qiłas
but my have-space-NOM C three C moon
But then I didn't go for 3 months;

088 *kitjaula zua man ḍusa puluq.*
ki-tja-ula zua man ḍusa puluq
do-more-lack that NUM two ten
and 20 of them gave up.

089 *qau mangtjez azua kemasi Karinku a naventsik, vaik anga*
qau m-pangetjez a-zua em=kasi Karinku a na-m=vetsik vaik anga
so AF-come C-that AF=from (place) C PAST-AF=mark leave indeed

sema Makazayazaya a zemang tua zua sinzia.
em=sa Makazayazaya a em=zang tua zua sinzia
AF=go (place) C AF=guard OBL that believer
Then someone came back from studying at Karenko (Hualien), and went to Makazayazaya to look after the believers.

090 *qau vaik anga ken a pasa tjuzuma a tjemautsikel tua*
qau vaik anga aken a pa-sa tju-zuma a em=tja-u-tsikel tua
so leave indeed F.I C cause-go there-other C AF=more-?-return OBL

kai nua Tsemas.
kai nua Tsemas
speech of God
So I went to other places to tell them the word of God.

091 *kasi Masilid anga ken, kasi Djaładjałay anga ken a*
kasi Masilid anga aken kasi Djaładjałay anga aken a
from (place) indeed F.I from (place) indeed F.I C

tjemautsiketsikel tua kai nua Tsemas.
em=tja-u-tsike-tsikel tua kai nua Tsemas
AF=more-?-RED-return OBL speech of God
I went to Masilid and Djaładjałay to tell them the word of God.

092 *nuka mayanga qudjał, nuka mayanga vali, tjara vaik*
nuka ma-aya-anga qudjał nuka ma-aya-anga vali tjara vaik
even STAT-be.thus-indeed rain even STAT-be.thus-indeed wind surely leave

aken a sema Makazayazaya.
aken a em=sa Makazayazaya
F.I C AF=go (place)
However rainy or windy it was I always went to Makazyazaya.

093 *nuka mayanga tsadjan, nu tjału zuanga tua ku*
nuka ma-aya-anga tsadja-an nu tjału zua-anga tua ku
even STAT-be.thus-indeed far-NOM when reach that-indeed OBL my

sisazuan, tjara vaik aken.
si-sa-zua-an tjara vaik aken
PAST-go-that-NOM surely leave F.I
However far it was, when the time came for me to go I always went.

094 *nu zemuker aken i Makazayazaya, puqarut aken a maka*
nu em=zuker aken i Makazayazaya pu-qarut aken a maka
when AF=arrive F.I LOC (place) have-distribute F.I C via

puḍipungan a pasemalaw tua taizin: "sinsi, uri pasemalaw aken
pu-ḍipung-an a pa-em=salaw tua taizin sinsi uri pa-em=salaw aken
have-Japan-NOM C cause-AF=tell OBL officer teacher will cause-AF=tell F.I

tua kai nua Tsemas."
tua kai nua Tsemas
OBL speech of God
When I arrived in Makazayazaya I went straight round to the police station to tell the officer:
"Sir, I'm going to preach the word of God."

095 *"ainu a su vetsik a kemasi Alikang?*
a-inu a su vetsik a em=kasi Alikang
?-where C your(S) mark C AF=from (place)
"Where is your permit from the Alikang police station?

096 *kasi gaku sun?" ayain aken.*
kasi gaku sun aya-en aken
from school F.you(S) say-PF F.I
Are you a (?Bible school) graduate?" said the officer to me.

097 *nuka ika nemanema siqaqivu tjanuaken.*
nuka ika nema-nema si-qa-qivu tjanu-aken
even not RED-what IF-RED-speak OBL-I
That was said to me without any reason.

098 *łakua ika ken a natemvela tua nemanema.*
îakua ika aken a na-em=tevela tua nema-nema
but not F.I C PAST-AF=answer OBL RED-what
But I didn't reply at all.

099 *tuazua masulem anga, qudjaqudjałan.*
tua-zua ma-sulem anga qudja-qudjaî-an
OBL-that STAT-dark indeed RED-rain-NOM
It was getting dark, and it was the rainy season.

100 *masepaqudjał aken i djalan.*
ma-se-pa-qudjaî aken i djalan
STAT-INVOL-cause-rain F.I LOC road
I had got rained on on the way.

101 *nuka mayanga ku łałeqeran, inîka ken a sauin a kirimu.*
nuka ma-aya-anga ku îaîeqer-an ini-ka aken a sau-en a ki-rimu
even STAT-be.thus-indeed my cold-NOM not-after F.I C go-PF C do-quick
Although I was very cold, I wasn't allowed to go quickly.
[*łałeqeran*: F132 has *łałeqel* 'cold']

102 *nuka ika nemanema, siqaqivu tjanuaken a paqeteleng.*
nuka ika nema-nema si-qa-qivu tjanu-aken a pa-qeteleng
even not RED-what IF-RED-speak OBL-F.I C cause-randomly
I was abused without any reason for it.

103 *inîka ken a paqiladjen.*
ini-ka aken a pa-qiladj-en
not-after F.I C cause-sit-PF
I wasn't given a seat.

104 *nu salilim anga sauin anga ken a pasa qinałan.*
nu li=salim anga sau-en anga aken a pa-sa in=qała-an
when RED=late.night indeed go-PF indeed F.I C cause-go PERF=outsider-NOM
It was late at night when I was allowed to go to the village.
[*salilim*: F253 gives *s/al/ilim*, but then root is an unknown *silim*.]

105 *mayanga qudjał, mayanga selemanan.*
ma-aya-anga qudjał ma-aya-anga selem-anan
STAT-be.thus-indeed rain STAT-be.thus-indeed dark-still
In spite of the rain and the darkness,

106 *ika ken a pasedjaman tua łaung, ika ken a sisan sapui.*
ika aken a pa-sedjam-an tua łaung ika aken a si-sane sapuy
not F.I C cause-borrow-LF OBL shade not F.I C IF-make fire
I wasn't lent anything to keep off the rain and I wasn't given a torch.

107 *"sa-u," ayain aken.*
sa-u aya-en aken
go-IMP say-PF F.I
I was just told to go.

108 *ika manu amin.*
ika manu amin
not then no.more
That's not all.

109 *tua ku sisazuan anga, ika manu kinmusał ika manu*
tua ku si-sa-zua-an anga ika manu in=ki-musa-ł ika manu
OBL my PAST-go-that-NOM indeed not then PERF=do-two-times not then

kintjelułł, maya tuazua tua ku sisazuan anga.
in=ki-tjelu-ł ma-aya tua-zua tua ku si-sa-zua-an anga
PERF=do-three-times STAT-be.thus OBL-that OBL my PAST-go-that-NOM indeed
Whenever I went there, not just twice or three times, it was the same every time.

110 *ika manu amin a i pudipungan.*
ika manu amin a i pu-ḍipung-an
not then no.more C LOC have-Japan-NOM
It wasn't only at the police station.

111 *nu sema qinałan aken, qaqivuin aken a paqeteleng.*
nu em=sa in=qała-an aken qa-qivu-en aken a pa-qeteleng
when AF=go PERF=outsider-NOM F.I RED-speak-PF F.I C cause-randomly
When I went to the village I was abused.

112 *pai namaya tutsu a ku siselapay.*
pai na-ma-aya tu-tsu a ku si-se-lapay
well PAST-STAT-be.thus OBL-this C my IF-INVOL-severe
That was the way I suffered.

113 *nu vaik itjen a tjemautsikel tua kai nua Tsemas, tjara*
nu vaik itjen a em=tja-u-tsikel tua kai nua Tsemas tjara
when leave F.we(INC) C AF=more-?-return OBL speech of God surely

izua tja siselapayan.
i-zua tja si-se-lapay-an
LOC-that our(INC) IF-INVOL-severe-NOM
When we go to tell the word of God, there are always times when we suffer.

114 *łakua paparangez itjen sakamaya tua Tsemas i vavaw.*
łakua pa-pa-rangez itjen sakamaya tua Tsemas i va-vaw
but cause-cause-rely F.we(INC) only OBL God LOC RED-above
But we just trust God above.

115 *nu kinemnem itjen tua kinipakezkezan ni Yisu-sama tua*
nu kinemnem itjen tua in=ki-pa-kezkez-an ni Yisu-sama tua
when think F.we(INC) OBL PERF=do-cause-nail-NOM of Jesus-H OBL

siselapay, paparangez itjen sakamaya tua tja
si-se-lapay pa-pa-rangez itjen sakamaya tua tja
IF-INVOL-severe cause-cause-rely F.we(INC) only OBL our(INC)

siselapay.
si-se-lapay
IF-INVOL-severe
When we think of the suffering of Jesus in his crucifixion, we just trust God in our suffering.

I am Gił gił aw of Vał ulu village. I was born in Vał ulu. It is 24 years since I was born. When I was 14 I went to school to study. I was 4 years in school. Before I went to school I helped my father and mother in their (field) work. When I was still at school my father died. My elder brother was in the army. My mother had very young children. My two siblings were still children, not yet able to work. My mother and the children were very badly off. That is why I left school. I had pity on my mother and my siblings. There was no one to provide for them. I had a bad time then working for us. I had to do everything on my own. I was very tired. But if I didn't work there would be no food for my mother and my siblings. So I put up with working to provide for my mother and my siblings, until my elder brother came back from the army. When my brother had come back from the army there was someone to help me with our work. I did the work on my own for 5 years; then my brother came, and I had a companion in the work.

When my brother came back, there was less work for me. I wasn't tired out. I could go off for fun to other places - to Pał ul, Payuan, Qutsapungan, and to Takao (Kaohsiung). I worked in Takao to earn money. With it I bought clothes. When I had got some clothes I went back home; and I gave clothes to my mother and my siblings. They were very pleased. Every time I went to Takao I bought clothes. My mother was very pleased. But I was very bad. I hit my mother and my siblings. I was very bad. But now since becoming a believer I don't hit people any more. Now I listen to the teaching of God. I read the Bible frequently. I know about loving our mothers and everyone. At first my two siblings became believers, and then my mother. My siblings said to me: "Brother, become a believer. It's very good. We don't quarrel any more. We don't steal. We are taught that when we die we go to heaven. We have no more sins when we become believers. Become a believer. It's very good. And your sins will be taken away." My siblings told me the teaching of God. I didn't believe. But I noticed my siblings' behaviour. They didn't quarrel any

more. When they came back from school, they went to get water or went to meet people (coming back laden from the fields). They were very obedient to what we told them. I noticed their behaviour. I thought that perhaps what they said was true. This disturbed me when I thought about it. My siblings had been given some booklets that were distributed. When they had gone to school, I took the booklets and read them. What I read was: "We should love our parents. We should not kill people, fornicate, steal or envy others. Love your neighbours." Another thing I read was: "Love one another." One more thing I read was: "I was dead and came back to life. I am the way, the truth and the life. Anyone who follows me, even if they die I will bring them back to life." That was what I read, and I believed.

But I was ashamed to attend worship because of what I had said about believers. But after a time I did accompany my family to worship. Then I frequently attended the believers' meetings, and I understood the believers' ways. "So that's the way it is," I said to myself. I was surprised. "If only I had known and become a believer sooner. Then I would have been good at doing things and would have understood," I thought. I greatly regretted that I hadn't become a believer sooner. But when I became a believer I was a very zealous practising believer. Some time after I had become a believer I thought of going to tell others, and I went to other villages to tell people about the love and power of God. First I went to Makazayazaya to tell them about the word of God. But they didn't understand. After my third visit they understood the teaching of God. One family became believers; and later more people did so. Every week I went to Makazayazaya. I stayed in Makazayazaya 3 or 4 days telling them the teaching of God. For over a year I continued telling them the teaching of God. There were 80 believers. But then I didn't go for 3 months; and 20 of them gave up. Then someone came back from studying at Karenko (Hualien), and went to Makazayazaya to look after the believers. So I went to other places to tell them the word of God. I went to Masilid and Djaɬadjaɬay to tell them the word of God. However rainy or windy it was I always went to Makazyazaya. However far it was, when the time came for me to go I always went.

When I arrived in Makazayazaya I went straight round to the police station to tell the officer: "Sir, I'm going to preach the word of God." "Where is your permit from the Alikang police station? Are you a (?Bible school) graduate?" said the officer. That was said to me without any reason. But I didn't reply at all. It was getting dark, and it was the rainy season. I had got rained on on the way. Although I was very cold, I wasn't allowed to go quickly. I was abused without any reason for it. I wasn't given a seat. It was late at night when I was allowed to go to the village. In spite of the rain and the darkness, I wasn't lent anything to keep off the rain and I wasn't given a torch. I was just told to go. That's not all. Whenever I went there, not just twice or three times, it was the same every time. It wasn't only at the police station. When I went to the village I was abused. That was the way I suffered. When we go to tell the word of God, there are always times when we suffer. But we just trust God above. When we think of the suffering of Jesus in his crucifixion, we just trust God in our suffering.

080 PLAYING AT HUNTING

told by Gił gił aw of Vał ulu village

001 *ti Tjikunal kirimu a seman tjalupun tua sunat, sa tjalupunan*
ti Tjikunal ki-rimu a em=sane tjalupun tua sunat sa tjalupun-an
F.H (name) do-quick C AF=make hat OBL book and hat-LF

nimadju.
ni-madju
by-3RD.PERS
Tjikunal straightaway made a hat out of paper and put it on.

002 *ka manu sikiqaiłungan, nasaregem aravats timadju.*
ka manu si-ki-qa-iłung-an na-saregem a-ravats ti-madju
after then IF-self-?-glass-NOM PAST-magnificent C-true F-3RD.PERS
When he looked in the mirror he looked very splendid.

003 *qau "nanguaq a kiqetsi aken tua tsumay," aya timadju.*
qau na-nguaq a ki-qetsi aken tua tsumay aya ti-madju
so STAT-good C do-fight F.I OBL bear say F-3RD.PERS
So he said: "I must go and hunt a bear."

004 *seman tjakit tua zaman sa pasivuluq tua qau timadju*
em=sane tjakit tua zaman sa pa-masi-vuluq tua qau ti-madju
AF=make knife OBL torch and cause-source-spear OBL bamboo.sp F-3RD.PERS

a sema kasasavan.
a em=sa ka-sasaw-an
C AF=go main-forecourt-NOM
He had miscanthus grass for a sword and held a bit of bamboo as a spear, and went out into the forecourt of the house.

005 *manu patsun ti Kałikałi a kaka nimadju.*
manu pa-tsun ti Kałikałi a kaka ni-madju
then cause-see F.H (name) C sibling of-3RD.PERS
His sibling Kałikałi saw him,

006 *"uri kemuda sun, kaka?" aya kivadaq.*
uri em=kuda sun kaka aya ki-vadaq
will AF=do.what F.you(S) sibling say do-ask
and asked: "What are you going to do, brother?"

007 *manu tevelain ni Tjikunal: "uri kiqetsi aken tua tsumay," aya.*
manu tevela-en ni Tjikunal uri ki-qetsi aken tua tsumay aya
then answer-PF by (name) will do-fight F.I OBL bear say
Tjikunal answered: "I'm going to hunt a bear."

008 *qau "su sikuda zua zaman azua qau?" ayain ni Kałikałi.*
qau su si-kuda zua zaman a-zua qau aya-en ni Kałikałi
so you(S) IF-do.what that torch C-that bamboo.sp say-PF by (name)
So Kałikałi said: "What are you doing with that grass and bamboo?"

009 *"inika zaman, inika qau.*
ini-ka zaman ini-ka qau
not-after torch not-after bamboo.sp
He answered: "That's not grass or bamboo;

010 *ku tjakit aitsu, ku vuluq aitsu," aya temvela.*
ku tjakit aya-i-tsu ku vuluq aya-i-tsu aya em=tevela
my knife be.thus-LOC-this my spear be.thus-LOC-this say AF=answer
this is my sword and my spear."

011 *"iya, ui ḍi.*
iya ui ḍi
ah yes oh
"Oh, I see.

012 *pakianu aken, kaka," ayain ni Kałikałi.*
pa-kian-u aken kaka aya-en ni Kałikałi
cause-join-IMP F.I sibling say-PF by (name)
Take me with you, brother," said Kałikałi.
[*pakianu*: F120 has *kian* 'join', but F61 has *pa-ki-aya-n* too.]

013 *manu kemim tiamadju tua tsumay.*
manu em=kim ti-a-madju tua tsumay
then AF=search F-PL-3RD.PERS OBL bear
So they went looking for bears,

014 *neka.*
neka
no
but didn't find any.

015 *qau "ainu anga, kaka, a tsumay?" aya ti Kałikałi.*
qau a-inu anga kaka a tsumay aya ti Kałikałi
so ?-where indeed sibling C bear say F.H (name)
So Kałikałi said: "Where are the bears, brother?"

016 *"uzing anga, palamu anga," ayain ni Tjikunal.*
uzing anga pa-lamu anga aya-en ni Tjikunal
there indeed cause-short.time indeed say-PF by (name)
"Over there; we'll soon see them," said Tjikunal.

017 *manu ka tsuay a pagału tevuta zua niamadju a ngiaw.*
manu ka tsuay a pa-gału te-vuta zua ni-a-madju a ngiaw
then after long.time C cause-slow do-appear that of-PL-3RD.PERS C cat
After quite a time their cat emerged.

018 *"aku tja ngiaw, kaka.*
aku tja ngiaw kaka
why our(INC) cat sibling
"Why, it's our cat, brother.

019 *maya qemtsiqetsi," aya ti Kałikałi.*
maya em=qetsi-qetsi aya ti Kałikałi
don't AF=RED-fight say F.H (name)
Don't kill it," said Kałikałi.

020 *łakua sipatsiłik sakamaya ni Tjikunal sa laingi.*
łakua si-pa-tsiłik sakamaya ni Tjikunal sa laing-i
but IF-cause-lift.up only by (name) and follow-PF
But Tjikunal just raised his weapons and chased it.

021 *ti Kałikałi "maya maya, a tja ngiaw, kaka, semalimsim," aya a*
ti Kałikałi maya maya a tja ngiaw kaka em=al=simsim aya a
F.H (name) don't don't C our(INC) cat sibling AF=QAL=pity say C

patjavilivilił.
pa-tja-vili-vilił
cause-more-RED-behind
Kałikałi followed him saying: "Don't don't; it's our cat, brother; the poor thing."

022 *ka ika makalaing ti Tjikunal, semutjalupun anga sa veritsan*
ka ika maka-laing ti Tjikunal em=su-tjalupun anga sa verits-an
after not finished-follow F.H (name) AF=remove-hat indeed and discard-LF

anga a zaman a qau a djinadjas, sa tjumaq anga.
anga a zaman a qau a in=djadjas sa tju-umaq anga
indeed C torch C bamboo.sp C PERF=grab and there-house indeed
When Tjikunal failed to catch up with the cat, he took off his hat and threw away the grass and bamboo he had been holding, and went indoors.

023 *manu pakatjaraitan nua kina tua vurasi a kinuław*
manu pa-ka-tjara-ita-an nua kina tua vurasi a in=kuław
then cause-main-surely-one-NOM of mother OBL sweet.potato C PERF=roast

tiamadju a marekaka.
ti-a-madju a mare-kaka
F-PL-3RD.PERS C pair-sibling
So their mother gave the siblings a roasted sweet potato each.
[*tjara*: with numeral, denotes 'each'.]

024 *ka kemakan tiamadju.*
ka em=ka-kan ti-a-madju
after AF=RED-eat F-PL-3RD.PERS
While they were eating,

025 *mangtjez azua ngiaw niamadju; łakua seqałanga sakamaya,*
m-pangetjez a-zua ngiaw ni-a-madju łakua se-qała-anga sakamaya
AF-come C-that cat of-PL-3RD.PERS but INVOL-outsider-indeed only

ika ui anga a łiadet.
ika ui anga a łia-det
not yes indeed C be.in-near
their cat came in; but it was very shy and wouldn't go near them.

026 *"qau pai pasedjaluu, kaka, a tja ngiaw," ayain anga ni*
qau pai pa-se-djalu-u kaka a tja ngiaw aya-en anga ni
so well cause-INVOL-peace-IMP sibling C our(INC) cat say-PF indeed by

Kałikałi ti Tjikunal.
Kałikałi ti Tjikunal
(name) F.H (name)
Kałikałi said to Tjikunal: "Make friends with our cat, brother."

027 *sa pasedjalu-i anga, sana łiadedet, sana kakan*
sa pa-se-djalu-i anga sa-na łia-de-det sa-na ka-kan
and cause-INVOL-peace-PF indeed and-then be.in-RED-near and-then RED-eat

tua sinitseviq ni Tjikunal.
tua in=si-tseviq ni Tjikunal
OBL PERF=IF-segment by (name)
So he made friends with it, and then it came near and ate the bits of food which Tjikunal broke off for it.

Tjikunal straightaway made a hat out of paper and put it on. When he looked in the mirror he looked very splendid. So he said: "I must go and hunt a bear." He had miscanthus grass for a sword and held a bit of bamboo as a spear, and went out into the forecourt of the house. His sibling Kałikałi saw him, and asked: "What are you going to do, brother?" Tjikunal answered: "I'm going to hunt a bear." So Kałikałi said: "What are you doing with that grass and bamboo?" He answered: "That's not grass or bamboo; this is my sword and my spear." "Oh, I see. Take me with you, brother," said Kałikałi.

So they went looking for bears, but didn't find any. So Kałikałi said: "Where are the bears, brother?" "Over there; we'll soon see them," said Tjikunal. After quite a time their cat emerged. "Why, it's our cat, brother. Don't kill it," said Kałikałi. But Tjikunal just raised his weapons and chased it. Kałikałi followed him saying: "Don't don't; it's our cat, brother; the poor thing." When Tjikunal failed to catch up with the cat, he took off his hat and threw away the grass and bamboo he had been holding, and went indoors.

So their mother gave the siblings a roasted sweet potato each. While they were eating, their cat came in; but it was very shy and wouldn't go near them. Kałikałi said to Tjikunal: "Make friends with our cat, brother." So he made friends with it, and then it came near and ate the bits of food which Tjikunal broke off for it.

081 MICE SOLDIERS

told by Gił̨giław of Vał̨ulu village

(possibly a story originally from Japan)

001 *izua za itua matjaita umaq izua za ngiaw a ita.*
i-zua zua i-tua matja-ita umaq i-zua zua ngiaw a ita
LOC-that that LOC-OBL NUM-one house LOC-that that cat C one
Once upon a time in a house there was a cat.

002 *qau djuł̨am aravats azua ngiaw tua zua qiqi.*
qau djuł̨am a-ravats a-zua ngiaw tua zua qiqi
so expert C-true C-that cat OBL that mouse
The cat was very good at catching mice.

003 *manu mazepzep azua mareka ał̨ak nua qiqi: "aku ika*
manu ma-zepzep a-zua mareka ał̨ak nua qiqi aku ika
then STAT-converse C-that many child of mouse why not

nakisumavan sa tja matjał̨ał̨ak tua kiqetsi?
na-ki-su-ma-avan tsa tja matja-ł̨ał̨ak tua ki-qetsi
PAST-do-remove-STAT-exact this our(INC) NUM-child OBL do-fight
So the mice children discussed together: "Why don't our parents do anything about fighting the cat?

004 *ku pai ari tja sikasavidan a kakeḍian sa tja*
ku pai ari tja si-ka-savid-an a ka-keḍi-an sa tja
well well go.on we(INC) IF-STAT-same-NOM C RED-small-NOM and we(INC)

qetsii azua ngiaw a namalalap tua tja sevalitan,"
qetsi-i a-zua ngiaw a na-m-al-alap tua tja se-valit-an
fight-PF C-that cat C PAST-AF-RED-take OBL our(INC) person.of-exchange-NOM

aya, sa kaqepuqepu a mazepzep.
aya sa ka-qepu-qepu a ma-zepzep
say and STAT-RED-associate C STAT-converse
So come on! Let us children go it alone and kill the cat that has taken our ancestors," so they got together to discuss it.
[*qetsii*: was *qetsi*]

005 *ka marasudj, mapangapangał tiamadju tua uri tjał̨uqulu a kemats,*
ka ma-rasudj ma-panga-pangał ti-a-madju tua uri tjał̨u-qulu a em=kats
after STAT-align STAT-RED-portion F-PL-3RD.PERS OBL will until-head C AF=bite

tua tjał̨uuquł, sana vaivaik.
tua tjał̨u-uquł sa-na vai-vaik
OBL until-back and-then RED-leave
When they had agreed, they were divided up into those who would bite the cat's head and those who would bite its back, and off they went.

006 *manu malesles tiamadju, sa senay a djemaladjalan: "makaya men*
manu ma-lesles ti-a-madju sa senay a em=djala-djalan ma-kaya amen
then STAT-line F-PL-3RD.PERS and chant C AF=RED-road STAT-able F.we(EXC)

aravats.
a-ravats
C-true
So they lined up and sang as they went: "We are very strong.

007 *keɬu samaza-u a ngiaw; nia su papatsayaw," aya*
keɬ-u sa-maza-u a ngiaw nia su pa-patsay-aw aya
come-IMP go-here-IMP C cat we(EXC) you(S) cause-die-LF say

tiamadju a pasiqatsangata.
ti-a-madju a pa-si-qatsa-anga-ta
F-PL-3RD.PERS C cause-IF-big-indeed-?
Come here, cat. We're going to kill you," they said very loudly.

008 *manu langdan nazua vuluvulung a qiqi.*
manu langeda-an nua-zua vulu-vulung a qiqi
then hear-LF by-that RED-old C mouse
An old mouse heard them,

009 *"semainu amen aya mun a sedjeɬ a kakeḍian?*
em=sa-inu amen aya mun a sedjeɬ a ka-keḍi-an
AF=go-where F.we(EXC) say F.you(P) C only C RED-small-NOM
and said: "Where do you think you are going, you children all on your own?
[*amen*: quoted speech in translation, direct speech in text]

010 *kemuda sa nu kakaya a qemtsi tua ngiaw?" ayain.*
em=kuda sa nu ka-kaya a m=qetsi tua ngiaw aya-en
AF=do.what and you(P) STAT-able C AF=fight OBL cat say-PF
How can you kill the cat?"

011 *ɬakua, "malitseng.*
ɬakua ma-litseng
but STAT-quiet
But they answered: "Be quiet.

012 *pai patsutsunu amen.*
pai pa-tsu-tsun-u amen
well cause-RED-see-IMP F.we(EXC)
Just watch us.

013 *tjara nia qetsin," aya temvela, sa puarut sakamaya.*
tjara nia qetsi-en aya em=tevela sa puarut sakamaya
surely we(EXC) fight-PF say AF=answer and straight only
We'll certainly kill it," and they just went on.

014 *ka tjaɬu qinaɬivan tiamadju, semkez anan a pakeɬang tua uri*
ka tjaɬu in=qaɬiw-an ti-a-madju m=sekez anan a pa-keɬang tua uri
after reach PERF=roof-NOM F-PL-3RD.PERS AF=rest still C cause-know OBL will

pakazuanan.
pa-maka-zua-an-an
cause-via-that-NOM-NOM
When they got to the roof, they paused for instructions about the route.

015 *"ari," ka ayain nazua kamakama niamadju, vaik a sema teku a*
ari ka aya-en nua-zua kama-kama ni-a-madju vaik a em=sa teku a
go.on after say-PF by-that RED-father of-PL-3RD.PERS leave C AF=go down C

mapułat a kipagału.
ma-puîat a ki-pa-gaîu
NUM-all C do-cause-slow
When their leader said: "Let's go," they all went below slowly.

016 *ka manu sarigsig tiamadju, patseged azua ngiaw sa pangiaw.*
ka manu ar=sigsig ti-a-madju pa-tseged a-zua ngiaw sa pa-ngiaw
after then QAL=scratch F-PL-3RD.PERS cause-alert C-that cat and cause-cat
But when they made a scratching noise the cat woke up and miaowed.

017 *ka lemangda tiamadju, "ari," nuka ayain nua kamakama, migerger*
ka em=langeda ti-a-madju ari nuka aya-en nua kama-kama m-igerger
after AF=hear F-PL-3RD.PERS go.on even say-PF by RED-father AF-tremble

anga sakamaya a mapułat.
anga sakamaya a ma-puîat
indeed only C NUM-all
When they heard that, even though the leader said: "Come on," they all just shook with fear.

018 *ka migatsał azua ngiaw, tjara mavilavilad anga tiamadju.*
ka mi-gatsaî a-zua ngiaw tjara ma-vila-vilad anga ti-a-madju
after AF-stand C-that cat surely STAT-RED-flee indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS
When the cat got up, they all just ran away.

019 *azua zuma tjeqelas; azua zuma makelu tua qutjavan.*
a-zua zuma tje-qelas a-zua zuma ma-kelu tua qutjaw-an
C-that other do.at-slip C-that other STAT-fall OBL hurry-NOM
Some slipped and some fell in their hurry.

020 *ka tjału umaq anga, "pai kayaya ken," ayain anga nazua*
ka tjaîu umaq anga pai ka-ay-aya aken aya-en anga nua-zua
after reach house indeed well ?-RED-say F.I say-PF indeed by-that

vuluvulung a qiqi, sa kapedjelian.
vulu-vulung a qiqi sa ka-pe-djeli-an
RED-old C mouse and ?-emerge-laugh-LF
When they got back home, the old mouse said: "I told you so," and laughed at them.

021	*azua*	*mareka*	*kakeḍian*	*a*	*qiqi:*	*"ku*	*maya*	*tja*	*parutan*
	a-zua	mareka	ka-keḍi-an	a	qiqi	ku	ma-aya	tja	parut-an
	C-that	many	RED-small-NOM	C	mouse	well	STAT-be.thus	our(INC)	weak-NOM

a	*maya,"*	*ayanga*	*tiamadju*	*a*	*kisan*	*ngeli*	*a* *mapułat.*
a	ma-aya	aya-anga	ti-a-madju	a	ki-sane	ngeli	a ma-puɬat
C	STAT-be.thus	say-indeed	F-PL-3RD.PERS	C	do-make	friend	C NUM-all

And the mice children all said: "How weak we are after all," laughing at themselves.
[for *kisan ngeli* 'laugh at' see F186]

Once upon a time in a house there was a cat. The cat was very good at catching mice. So the mice children discussed together: "Why don't our parents do anything about fighting the cat? So come on! Let us children go it alone and kill the cat that has taken our ancestors." So they got together to discuss it. When they had agreed, they were divided up into those who would bite the cat's head and those who would bite its back, and off they went. So they lined up and sang as they went: "We are very strong. Come here, cat. We're going to kill you," they said very loudly.

An old mouse heard them, and said: "Where do you think you are going, you children all on your own? How can you kill the cat?" But they answered: "Be quiet. Just watch us. We'll certainly kill it," and they just went on. When they got to the roof, they paused for instructions about the route. When their leader said: "Let's go," they all went below slowly. But when they made a scratching noise the cat woke up and miaowed. When they heard that, even though the leader said: "Come on," they all just shook with fear. When the cat got up, they all just ran away. Some slipped and some fell in their hurry. When they got back home, the old mouse said: "I told you so," and laughed at them. And the mice children all said: "How weak we are after all," laughing at themselves.

082 OWLS AND CHILDREN

told by Gił̲gił̲aw of Val̲ulu village

001 *aitsu a ł̲equ nu qezemezemetj a sipangtjengtjezan a*
aya-i-tsu a ł̲equ nu zeme=qezemetj a si-pa-ngetje-ngetjez-an a
be.thus-LOC-this C owl.sp when RED=night C IF-cause-RED-come-NOM C

pał̲equ.
pa-ł̲equ
cause-owl.sp
It is at night that owls come and hoot.

002 *anema tja kel̲ang tuki anema sipangtjengtjez nua ł̲equ*
a-nema tja kel̲ang tu-ki a-nema si-pa-ngetje-ngetjez nua ł̲equ
?-what we(INC) know COMPL-how ?-what IF-cause-RED-come by owl.sp

nu qezemezemetj a pał̲equ.
nu zeme=qezemetj a pa-ł̲equ
when RED=night C cause-owl.sp
We don't know the reason why owls come and hoot at night.

003 *ł̲akua uri keman tua kakeḍian mana sipangtjengtjez, tja*
ł̲akua uri em=kan tua ka-keḍi-an ma-avan-a si-pa-ngetje-ngetjez tja
but will AF=eat OBL RED-small-NOM STAT-exact-? IF-cause-RED-come we(INC)

ayain anga a mareka kakeḍian a benuru.
aya-en anga a mareka ka-keḍi-an a en=buru
say-PF indeed C many RED-small-NOM C AF=tell.lie
But we lie to our children and tell them they come to eat children.

004 *aitsu nu qemauqaung, nu tsemulitsuli, nu ika*
aya-i-tsu nu em=qau-qaung nu em=tsuli-tsuli nu ika
be.thus-LOC-this when AF=RED-cry when AF=RED-lose.appetite when not

kilangda nu tja qaqivuin a mareka tja ał̲ak, "ku
ki-langeda nu tja qa-qivu-en a mareka tja ał̲ak ku
do-hear when we(INC) RED-speak-PF C many our(INC) child I

sidjauł̲an tua ł̲equ, uł̲a sun a kani," nu tja ayain,
si-djauł̲-an tua ł̲equ uł̲a sun a kan-i nu tja aya-en
PAST-call-LF OBL owl.sp so.that F.you(S) C eat-PF when we(INC) say-PF

patjezuanga tua qemaung tua mał̲ekuya.
pa-tje-zua-anga tua em=qaung tua ma-ł̲e-kuya
cause-do.at-that-indeed OBL AF=cry OBL STAT-go.to-bad
When our children cry or won't eat or don't do what we say, if we say: "I'll call the owl to eat you up", then they stop crying or being bad.

005 *a ł̲equ ika uri kemł̲akel̲ang tuki karekurekutji timadju.*
a ł̲equ ika uri em=kel̲a-kel̲ang tu-ki ka-reku-rekutj-i ti-madju
C owl.sp not will AF=RED-know COMPL-how become-RED-fear-PF F-3RD.PERS
The owl won't know that he is used to frighten children;

006 *qau saka kakarekutjan nua kakeḍian timadju.*
qau sa-ka ka-ka-rekutj-an nua ka-keḍi-an ti-madju
so and-after main-STAT-fear-NOM by RED-small-NOM F-3RD.PERS
but he still is a bogey for children.

007 *a kakeḍian uta ika uri kemłakełang tuki qayaqayam*
a ka-keḍi-an uta ika uri em=keła-kełang tu-ki qaya-qayam
C RED-small-NOM also not will AF=RED-know COMPL-how RED-bird

a ika uri kemuda a karekurekutjan niamadju.
a ika uri em=kuda a ka-reku-rekutj-an ni-a-madju
C not will AF=do.what C become-RED-fear-LF by-PL-3RD.PERS
And the children aren't to know that what they are frightened of is a bird that won't do anything to them.

It is at night that owls come and hoot. We don't know the reason why owls come and hoot at night. But we lie to our children and tell them they come to eat children. And the children aren't to know that what they are frightened of is a bird that won't do anything to them. When our children cry or won't eat or don't do what we say, we say: "I'll call the owl to eat you up," and then they stop crying or being bad. The owl won't know that he is used to frighten children; but he still is a bogey for children. And the children aren't to know that what they are frightened of is a bird that won't do anything to them.

083 PANGOLIN (ANT-EATER)

told by Gił̲giła̲w of Va̲ła̲lu village

001 *aitsu a qam tjara kemła̲ng itjen a mapuła̲t,*
aya-i-tsu a qam tjara m=kea̲ng itjen a ma-pua̲t
be.thus-LOC-this C ant.eater surely AF=know F.we(INC) C NUM-all

aitsu a qam matsaqu aravats a kemali tua qipu, saka
aya-i-tsu a qam ma-tsaqu a-ravats a em=kali tua qipu sa-ka
be.thus-LOC-this C ant.eater STAT-able C-true C AF=dig OBL soil and-after

pazangal aravats a djameqen.
pa-zangal a-ravats a djameq-en
cause-hope C-true C catch-PF
We all know about pangolins; they are very good at digging in the earth, and very hard to catch.

002 *nu inika sitjara kiqam a tsautsau, inika djemamedjameq a*
nu ini-ka si-tjara ki-qam a tsau-tsau ini-ka em=djame-djameq a
when not-after IF-surely do-ant.eater C RED-being not-after AF=RED-catch C

paqeteleng.
pa-qeteleng
cause-randomly
People can't catch them any old how without being specialists at catching them.

003 *aitsu a qam tja kea̲ngen a mapuła̲t tu*
aya-i-tsu a qam tja kea̲ng-en a ma-pua̲t tu
be.thus-LOC-this C ant.eater we(INC) know-PF C NUM-all COMPL

rusiaqan; kana manu, sinipasan qam sun,
ru-siaq-an ka-na manu in=si-pa-sane qam sun
many-shame-NOM after-then then PERF=IF-cause-make ant.eater F.you(S)

ayaya itjen tua rusiaqan.
ay-aya itjen tua ru-siaq-an
RED-say F.we(INC) OBL many-shame-NOM
We all know they are very shy. That's why we say to a shy person: you've become a pangolin.

004 *aitsu a qam sasiq a kakanen.*
aya-i-tsu a qam sasiq a ka-kan-en
be.thus-LOC-this C ant.eater ant C RED-eat-PF
Pangolins feed on ants.

005 *saka nu patsun tua sasiq maligił aravats.*
sa-ka nu pa-tsun tua sasiq ma-ligił a-ravats
and-after when cause-see OBL ant STAT-deceive C-true
When they see ants they are very clever;

006 *kirimu a kembung timadju, sa tselaki aza qauɬivan nimadju,*
ki-rimu a m=kebung ti-madju sa tselak-i a-zua qauɬivan ni-madju
do-quick C AF=lie.flat F-3RD.PERS and open-PF C-that scale of-3RD.PERS

saka mimatsayan.
sa-ka mi-m-patsay-an
and-after pretend-AF-die-LF
they quickly lie down and open their scales and pretend to be dead.
[*mimatsayan*: see F21, can't tell if *-an* is LF or NOM]

007 *qau nu tevuta azua mareka sasiq a sema taladj tazua mareka*
qau nu te-vuta a-zua mareka sasiq a em=sa taladj ta-zua mareka
so when do-appear C-that many ant C AF=go inside OBL-that many

qauɬivan, tsaqevan anga nimadju tazua qauɬivan nimadju; sa
qauɬivan tsaqev-an anga ni-madju ta-zua qauɬivan ni-madju sa
scale lid-LF indeed by-3RD.PERS OBL-that scale of-3RD.PERS and

vaikan anga a sema tua załum a tsemlak ta qauɬivan nimadju.
vaik-an anga a em=sa tua załum a m=tselak ta qauɬivan ni-madju
leave-LF indeed C AF=go OBL water C AF=open OBL scale of-3RD.PERS
When the ants come and get inside the scales, they close the scales, go to water, and there open the scales.

008 *nu setjavaw anga azua mareka sasiq, gałuin anga*
nu se-tja-vaw anga a-zua mareka sasiq gału-en anga
when INVOL-more-above indeed C-that many ant slow-PF indeed

nimadju a keman, aya.
ni-madju a em=kan aya
by-3RD.PERS C AF=eat say
When the ants float to the surface, they eat them at their leisure.

009 *aitsu a vutjuɬ nusa qam sanguaq aravats, aya.*
aya-i-tsu a vutjuɬ nu-tsa qam sa-nguaq a-ravats aya
be.thus-LOC-this C meat of-this ant.eater QAL-good C-true say
Pangolin meat is said to be very tasty;

010 *ɬakua anema tja keɬang nu ika tjen a nakilingaw anga*
ɬakua a-nema tja keɬang nu ika tjen a na-ki-lingaw anga
but ?-what we(INC) know when not F.we(INC) C PAST-do-know indeed

keman, saka kemɬang itjen tu namakuda a pasa
em=kan sa-ka m=keɬang itjen tu na-ma-kuda a pa-sa
AF=eat and-after AF=know F.we(INC) COMPL PAST-STAT-do.what C cause-go

sanguaq?
sa-nguaq
QAL-good
but how can we know if we haven't had the experience of eating it and finding out how tasty it is?

011	*a*	*ti*	*nakeman*	*anga*	*mana*	*ki*	*kemɬang.*
	a	ti	na-em=kan	anga	ma-avan-a	ki	m=keɬang
	C	F.H	PAST-AF=eat	indeed	STAT-exact-?	do	AF=know

Those who have eaten it know.

We all know about pangolins; they are very good at digging in the earth, and very hard to catch. People can't catch them any old how without being specialists at catching them. We all know they are very shy. That's why we say to a shy person: you've become a pangolin. Pangolins feed on ants. When they see ants they are very clever; they quickly lie down and open their scales and pretend to be dead. When the ants come and get inside the scales, they close the scales, go to water, and there open the scales. When the ants float to the surface, they eat them at their leisure. Pangolin meat is said to be very tasty; but how can we know if we haven't had the experience of eating it and finding out how tasty it is? Those who have eaten it know.

084 PIYAQAN AND TSABŁIŁAQ

told by Giłgiław of Vałulu village

001 *izua za mareqali tia Piyaqan kati Tsabłiłaq.*
i-zua zua mare-qali ti-a Piyaqan ka-ti Tsabłiłaq
LOC-that that pair-friend F.H-PL (name) and-F.H (name)
There were two friends called Piyaqan and Tsabłiłaq.

002 *"ari kivala-i, qalian, sema ta vavayavayan," aya ti Piyaqan.*
ari ki-vala-i qali-an em=sa ta vaya=vavayan aya ti Piyaqan
go.on self-able-HORT friend-NOM AF=go OBL RED=female say F.H (name)
"Come on, friend, let's go and visit the girls," said Piyaqan.
[*kivala-i*: *vala* has a wide variety of meanings]

003 *"ari," aya ti Tsabłiłaq.*
ari aya ti Tsabłiłaq
go.on say F.H (name)
"Let's go," said Tsabłiłaq.

004 *vaik tia mareqali a kivala sema tua vavayavayan.*
vaik ti-a mare-qali a ki-vala em=sa tua vaya=vavayan
leave F.H-PL pair-friend C self-able AF=go OBL RED=female
So the friends went to visit the girls.

005 *tjumaq tia mareqali.*
tju-umaq ti-a mare-qali
there-house F.H-PL pair-friend
The friends went indoors.

006 *"kasinu mun, ła kiḍi," aya ti Piyaqan taza sudju nimadju*
kasi-inu mun ła kiḍi aya ti Piyaqan ta-zua sudju ni-madju
from-where F.you(P) oh Miss say F.H (name) OBL-that sweetheart of-3RD.PERS

a ti Kałałułału.
a ti Kałałułału
C F.H (name)
"Where have you been to, girls?" said Piyaqan to his girl-friend Kałałułału.

007 *"na i umaq amen; 'ka i umaqi anga,' ka aya mun*
na i umaq amen ka i umaq-i anga ka aya mun
PAST LOC house F.we(EXC) after LOC house-HORT indeed after say F.you(P)

tjanuamen.
tjanu-amen
OBL-we(EXC)
"We've been at home; seeing that you said 'Let's stay at home'.

008 *qau kasinu mun avuaq?" aya ti Kałałułału.*
qau kasi-inu mun a-vuaq aya ti Kałałułału
so from-where F.you(P) ?-today say F.H (name)
And where have you been today?" said Kałałułału.

009 *"namaya na i umaq amen uta.*
na-ma-aya na i umaq amen uta
PAST-STAT-be.thus PAST LOC house F.we(EXC) also
"We've been at home too.

010 *łakua ika men a napatsun tjanusun.*
łakua ika amen a na-pa-tsun tjanu-sun
but not F.we(EXC) C PAST-cause-see OBL-you(S)
But we didn't see you.

011 *'aki maya sema vavua,' aya men."*
aki ma-aya em=sa va-vua aya amen
how STAT-be.thus AF=go RED-field say F.we(EXC)
We thought you must have gone to the fields," (said Piyaqan).

012 *"navaik aken a venateq," aya ti Kałałułału.*
na-vaik aken a en=vateq aya ti Kałałułału
PAST-leave F.I C AF=wash say F.H (name)
"I went to wash clothes," said Kałałułału.

013 *"djałepan a ika men a napatsun tjanusun; manu navaik*
djałep-an a ika amen a na-pa-tsun tjanu-sun manu na-vaik
fit-NOM C not F.we(EXC) C PAST-cause-see OBL-you(S) then PAST-leave

sun a venateq," aya ti Piyaqan.
sun a en=vateq aya ti Piyaqan
F.you(S) C AF=wash say F.H (name)
"So that's why we didn't see you; you went to wash clothes," said Piyaqan.

014 *pai izua za qali a ti Tsabłiłaq ika qivuivu.*
pai i-zua zua qali a ti Tsabłiłaq ika ivu=qivu
well LOC-that that friend C F.H (name) not RED=speak
Well his friend Tsabłiłaq didn't say a word.

015 *"makuda sun, qalian?*
ma-kuda sun qali-an
STAT-do.what F.you(S) friend-NOM
"What's the matter with you, friend?

016 *ika sun a qivuivu," aya ti Piyaqan taza qali nimadju.*
ika sun a ivu=qivu aya ti Piyaqan ta-zua qali ni-madju
not F.you(S) C RED=speak say F.H (name) OBL-that friend of-3RD.PERS
You haven't said a word," said Piyaqan to his friend.

017 *"nuki ken a makuda tutsu; tjemengez aken sakamaya," aya ti*
nu-ki aken a ma-kuda tu-tsu em=tjengez aken sakamaya aya ti
of-how F.I C STAT-do.what OBL-this AF=nap F.I only say F.H

Tsabłiłaq.
Tsabłiłaq
(name)
"I don't know what's the matter with me now; I just feel sleepy," said Tsabłiłaq.

018 *"pai kataqedan, kama i Tsabɬiɬaq, nu tjemengez sun," aya ti*
pai ka-taqed-an kama i Tsabɬiɬaq nu em=tjengez sun aya ti
well ?-sleep-NOM father which (name) when AF=nap F.you(S) say F.H

Kałałułału.
Kałałułału
(name)
"Well have a sleep then, old Tsabɬiɬaq, if you're sleepy," said Kałałułału.

019 *pai qemereng ti Tsabɬiɬaq.*
pai em=qereng ti Tsabɬiɬaq
well AF=lie.down F.H (name)
So Tsabɬiɬaq lay down.

020 *ini anan ka sekataqed.*
ini anan ka se-ka-taqed
not still after INVOL-?-sleep
He didn't go fast asleep;

021 *manu namitaqedan ti Tsabɬiɬaq.*
manu na-mi-taqed-an ti Tsabɬiɬaq
then PAST-pretend-sleep-LF F.H (name)
he just pretended to go to sleep.

022 *"aku a sidudu nusa ti qalian a nataqed," aya ti Piyaqan.*
aku a si-dudu nu-tsa ti qali-an a na-taqed aya ti Piyaqan
why C IF-angry of-this F.H friend-NOM C PAST-sleep say F.H (name)
"Blast this friend who has gone to sleep!" said Piyaqan.

023 *manu kirimu a paqetjutj ti Piyaqan.*
manu ki-rimu a pa-qetjutj ti Piyaqan
then do-quick C cause-break.wind F.H (name)
Straightaway Piyaqan broke wind.

024 *"ha qalian, uza paqeqe anga sa kuka.*
ha qali-an uza pa-qeqe anga tsa kuka
aha friend-NOM here cause-crow indeed this chicken
"Come on, friend, the cocks are crowing;

025 *gatsału," aya ti Piyaqan tjai Tsabɬiɬaq.*
gatsał-u aya ti Piyaqan tjai Tsabɬiɬaq
stand-IMP say F.H (name) OBL.H (name)
get up!" said Piyaqan to Tsabɬiɬaq.

026 *pai migatsał ti Tsabɬiɬaq.*
pai mi-gatsał ti Tsabɬiɬaq
well AF-stand F.H (name)
Tsabɬiɬaq got up.

027 *"ika ken a nataqed, qalian," aya ti Tsabɬiɬaq.*
ika aken a na-taqed qali-an aya ti Tsabɬiɬaq
not F.I C PAST-sleep friend-NOM say F.H (name)
"I wasn't asleep, friend," said Tsabɬiɬaq.

028 *manu ka paqetjutj ti Piyaqan, sipapazini taza qali*
manu ka pa-qetjutj ti Piyaqan si-pa-pa-zini ta-zua qali
then after cause-break.wind F.H (name) IF-cause-cause-blame OBL-that friend

nimadju a ti Tsabɬiɬaq.
ni-madju a ti Tsabɬiɬaq
of-3RD.PERS C F.H (name)
So when Piyaqan broke wind he tried to put the blame on his friend Tsabɬiɬaq.

029 *ɬakua manu ika nataqed.*
ɬakua manu ika na-taqed
but then not PAST-sleep
But he hadn't been asleep.

030 *pai keɬangen tu timadju a napaqetjutj naza*
pai keɬang-en tu ti-madju a na-pa-qetjutj nua-zua
well know-PF COMPL F-3RD.PERS C PAST-cause-break.wind by-that

vavayavayan.
vaya=vavayan
RED=female
So the girls knew that it was Piyaqan who had broken wind.

031 *pai kasuqelaman anga sakamaya ti Piyaqan naza*
pai ka-su-qelam-an anga sakamaya ti Piyaqan nua-zua
well main-remove-reluctant-NOM indeed only F.H (name) of-that

vavayavayan.
vaya=vavayan
RED=female
So the girls disliked Piyaqan after that.
[*kasuqelaman*: 'object of disgust']

032 *pai titjen nu ruburu itjen, kasuqelaman*
pai ti-tjen nu ru-buru itjen ka-su-qelam-an
well F-we(INC) when many-tell.lie F.we(INC) main-remove-reluctant-NOM

itjen nua tja salasaladj.
itjen nua tja sala-saladj
F.we(INC) by our(INC) RED-companion
If we are liars our companions won't like us.

033 *ika tjen a kinasaluan nua qaliqali.*
ika tjen a in=ka-salu-an nua qali-qali
not F.we(INC) C PERF=STAT-believe-LF by RED-friend
People won't trust us.

There were two friends called Piyaqan and Tsabɬiɬaq. "Come on, friend, let's go and visit the girls," said Piyaqan. "Let's go," said Tsabɬiɬaq. So the friends went to visit the girls. The friends went indoors. "Where have you been to, girls?" said Piyaqan to his girl-friend Kaɬaɬuɬaɬu. "We've been at home; seeing that you said 'Let's stay at home'. And where have you been today?" said Kaɬaɬuɬaɬu. "We've been at home too. But we didn't see you. We

thought you must have gone to the fields," (said Piyaqan). "I went to wash clothes," said Kałałułału. "So that's why we didn't see you; you went to wash clothes," said Piyaqan.

Well his friend Tsabłiłaq didn't say a word. "What's the matter with you, friend? You haven't said a word," said Piyaqan to his friend. "I don't know what's the matter with me now; I just feel sleepy," said Tsabłiłaq. "Well have a sleep then, old Tsabłiłaq, if you're sleepy," said Kałałułału. So Tsabłiłaq lay down. He didn't go fast asleep; he just pretended to go to sleep. "Blast this friend who has gone to sleep!" said Piyaqan. Straightaway Piyaqan broke wind. "Come on, friend, the cocks are crowing; get up!" said Piyaqan to Tsabłiłaq. Tsabłiłaq got up. "I wasn't asleep, friend," said Tsabłiłaq. So when Piyaqan broke wind he tried to put the blame on his friend Tsabłiłaq. But he hadn't been asleep. So the girls knew that it was Piyaqan who had broken wind. So the girls disliked Piyaqan after that. If we are liars our companions won't like us. People won't trust us.

085 SHAMAN

told by Gił̲giła̲w of Va̲ła̲lu village

001 *malada nu aya, maretima̲ła̲ima̲ła̲i a tsemas niamadju.*
ma-lada nu aya mare-ti-ma̲ła̲i-ma̲ła̲i a tsemas ni-a-madju
STAT-ritual when say pair-?-RED-different C god of-PL-3RD.PERS
When we speak of shamans, they have various gods.

002 *ła̲kua tjara tadjaladjalan a sidjapesan a sikapalisian a pagała̲u.*
ła̲kua tjara ta-djala-djalan a si-djapes-an a si-ka-palisi-an a pa-gała̲u
but surely one-RED-road C IF-breathe-NOM C if-?-taboo-NOM C cause-slow
But they are all more or less the same in their blowing (and) rituals.
[*pagała̲u* means 'a little' here]

003 *aitsu a malada nu izua saqetju djapesen niamadju.*
aya-i-tsu a ma-lada nu i-zua saqetju djapes-en ni-a-madju
be.thus-LOC-this C STAT-ritual when LOC-that painful breathe-PF by-PL-3RD.PERS
When someone is in pain the shamans blow on them.

004 *nu selapay sitjetsemas niamadju a malada, sa djaua̲n tua*
nu se-lapay si-tje-tsemas ni-a-madju a ma-lada sa djaua̲-an tua
when INVOL-severe IF-do.at-god by-PL-3RD.PERS C STAT-ritual and call-LF OBL

salasaladj niamadju, sana kapalisilisi niamadju.
sala-saladj ni-a-madju sa-na ka-lisi=palisi ni-a-madju
RED-companion of-PL-3RD.PERS and-then ?-RED=taboo by-PL-3RD.PERS
If it's a severe case the shamans go into a trance for them and summon their spirit companions and perform rites.

005 *qau nu palisi tiamadju, venay itjen tua tjinutsauan.*
qau nu palisi ti-a-madju en=vay itjen tua in=tju-tsau-an
so when taboo F-PL-3RD.PERS AF=give F.we(INC) OBL PERF=apart-being-NOM
When they perform rites, we give gifts for the spirits.

006 *vaqu a sipatjutsautsau.*
vaqu a si-pa-tju-tsau-tsau
millet C IF-cause-apart-RED-being
Millet is the gift for summoning spirits to human beings(?).

007 *nu neka, paisu anga, lami anga a zuma.*
nu neka paisu anga lami anga a zuma
when no money indeed staple.food indeed C other
If we haven't any, then money or some other staple food.

008 *saka izua uta a sinikipapuluqem a sinitjuap a*
sa-ka i-zua uta a in=si-ki-pa-pu-luqem a in=si-tjuap a
and-after LOC-that also C PERF=IF-do-cause-have-fortune C PERF=IF-signal C

sinikipuvatjuła̲yan a tja pinakitjukuda nu venay
in=si-ki-pu-vatjuła̲yan a tja in=pa-ki-tju-kuda nu en=vay
PERF=IF-do-have-iron C we(INC) PERF=cause-do-apart-do.what when AF=give

itjen.
itjen
F.we(INC)
And we also differentiate between gifts for success, for summoning spirits, for charms(?).
[*pinakitjukuda* 'differentiate']

009 *nu selapay aravats tja sitsułu tua qatsang.*
nu se-lapay a-ravats tja si-tsuîu tua qatsang
when INVOL-severe C-true we(INC) IF-butcher OBL pig
If it's a very serious case we kill a pig.

010 *nu tsemułu izua za zinatjak aya a sinipatjavang tua*
nu em=tsuîu i-zua zua in=zatjak aya a in=si-pa-tjavang tua
when AF=butcher LOC-that that PERF=arrangement say C PERF=IF-cause-cup OBL

tsemas.
tsemas
god
When we kill it, part is 'set aside' as an offering to the gods (to be eaten only by the immediate family).
[*patjavang*: F293 has *tjavang* 'a cup without handles', so with *pa-* means 'to offer']

011 *azua zuma nu vutjułan mana ika makudanga a kanen nua*
a-zua zuma nu vutjuî-an ma-avan-a ika ma-kuda-anga a kan-en nua
C-that other of meat-NOM STAT-exact-? not STAT-do.what-indeed C eat-PF by

mareka kaka.
mareka kaka
many sibling
The rest of the meat can be eaten by the relations.

012 *aitsu a qemazał tjara kitsułu sakamaya.*
aya-i-tsu a em=qazaî tjara ki-tsuîu sakamaya
be.thus-LOC-this C AF=dread surely do-butcher only
When there is a haunting(?) we certainly join in a sacrificial feast.

013 *azua malada nu izua a naminvalak, sualapan tua mareka*
a-zua ma-lada nu i-zua a na-min-valak su-alap-an tua mareka
C-that STAT-ritual when LOC-that C PAST-AF-swell remove-take-LF OBL many

qatsiłay tua mareka valiseqał tua mareka qidung.
qatsiîay tua mareka valiseqaî tua mareka qidung
stone OBL many wood.chip OBL many charcoal
When someone has a swelling the shaman removes it with stones, wood-chips or charcoal.
[*naminvalak*: constituency? F335 has *m-ine-valak*, F482 has *mi-ne-valak* and *m-i-ne-velak*.]

014 *nu izua piqay, nu naminvalak a tja kinatsavatsavan,*
nu i-zua piqay nu na-min-valak a tja in=ka-tsava-tsavan
when LOC-that wound when PAST-AF-swell C our(INC) PERF=main-RED-body

malaing anga a nasema varung tjayamadju tua siqaqivu.
ma-laing anga a na-em=sa varung tjai-a-madju tua si-qa-qivu
STAT-follow indeed C PAST-AF=go chest OBL-PL-3RD.PERS OBL IF-RED-speak
If we have sores or swellings on our bodies, the shamans say whatever comes to their minds to explain it.

015 *vinułuq aya.*
in=vułuq aya
PERF=throw say
We are told that spirits have thrown something at us,

016 *djinukul aya.*
in=djukul aya
PERF=beat say
have hit us,

017 *sinizurung sun aya.*
in=si-zurung sun aya
PERF=IF-push F.you(S) say
have pushed us,

018 *nasetsevung sun ayain itjen.*
na-se-tsevung sun aya-en itjen
PAST-INVOL-meet F.you(S) say-PF F.we(INC)
or we have met a spirit.

019 *aitsu a malada makaya djemauł tua tja tjaisangas*
aya-i-tsu a ma-lada ma-kaya em=djauł tua tja tja-i-sangas
be.thus-LOC-this C STAT-ritual STAT-able AF=call OBL our(INC) more-LOC-first

sa tja kiqaqivuan.
sa tja ki-qa-qivu-an
and we(INC) do-RED-speak-LF
Shamans can summon our ancestors so that we can converse with them.

020 *nu izua a tja sikivadavadaq, paruqu itjen tua zaqu.*
nu i-zua a tja si-ki-vada-vadaq pa-ruqu itjen tua zaqu
when LOC-that C we(INC) IF-do-RED-ask cause-roll F.we(INC) OBL crystal.bead
If we have a question we put a crystal bead (on a gourd).

021 *nu sitseker, łemaui aya.*
nu si-tseker em=ła-ui aya
when IF-stop AF=really-yes say
If it stays on, the answer is Yes.

022 *izua i tjarivavaw a umaq nua tsemas.*
i-zua i tjari-va-vaw a umaq nua tsemas
LOC-that LOC utmost-RED-above C house of god
The gods live in heaven.

023 *nu ini anan ka patjełuin inika makaya a tjumaq i*
nu ini anan ka pa-tjełu-en ini-ka ma-kaya a tju-umaq i
when not still after cause-cross.river-PF not-after STAT-able C there-house LOC

tjarivavaw.
tjari-va-vaw
utmost-RED-above
If a shaman hasn't yet qualified she can't get into heaven.
[*patjełuin*: metaphorical use for 'cross over river' to mean 'qualify'.]

024 *qau nu tjumaq i tjarivavaw, ventjek azua malada.*
qau nu tju-umaq i tjari-va-vaw n=vetjek a-zua ma-lada
so when there-house LOC utmost-RED-above AF=segment C-that STAT-ritual
When a shaman is going to enter heaven, she performs a rite of breaking bamboo.

025 *nu uri malada tiamadju mesuaw a gemdeged sana*
nu uri ma-lada ti-a-madju me-suaw a em=gedged sa-na
when will STAT-ritual F-PL-3RD.PERS AF-yawn C AF=repeat and-then

pangtjengtjezi, sana sane djaladjalan.
pa-ngetje-ngetjez-i sa-na sane djala-djalan
cause-RED-come-PF and-then make RED-road
When shamans are going to perform a trance rite, they yawn repeatedly and then the spirits come on them, and they make their way (to heaven).

026 *nu qematsuvung seman djalan uta sana patjezua.*
nu em=qa-tsuvung em=sane djalan uta sa-na pa-tje-zua
when AF=?-complete AF=make road also and-then cause-do.at-that
When they have finished they make a way back and that's the end.

027 *nu makakivaqu pakasalut tua tsemas; nu*
nu maka-ki-vaqu pa-ka-salut tua tsemas nu
when finished-do-millet cause-?-harvest.rite OBL god when

makakiłumay uta.
maka-ki-łumay uta
finished-do-millet.sp also
When we have finished harvesting millet we make a feast for the gods, and also when we have finished harvesting barnyard millet.

028 *azua zuma nu maladan palisi a tjemamaku, palisi a keman tua*
a-zua zuma nu ma-lada-an palisi a em=tjamaku palisi a em=kan tua
C-that other of STAT-ritual-NOM taboo C AF=tobacco taboo C AF=eat OBL

paday tua masikau.
paday tua ma-sikau
rice OBL STAT-net.bag
For some shamans smoking is taboo, and also eating rice and wine from the plains(?).

029 *łakua inika palisi a zuma.*
łakua ini-ka palisi a zuma
but not-after taboo C other
But for some there is no such taboo.

030	*nu*	*sangasangasan*	*vayan*	*tua*	*zaqu*	*a*	*mapułat.*
	nu	sanga-sangas-an	vay-an	tua	zaqu	a	ma-puɬat
	when	RED-first-NOM	give-LF	OBL	crystal.bead	C	NUM-all

When shamans begin they are all given a crystal bead.

031	*łakua*	*neka*	*nu*	*patsutsunan*	*niamadju*	*a*	*tsemas.*
	łakua	neka	nu	pa-tsu-tsun-an	ni-a-madju	a	tsemas
	but	no	of	cause-RED-see-NOM	by-PL-3RD.PERS	C	god

But they don't really see gods.

032	*łakua*	*tiamadju*	*a*	*kinemnemnem*	*tua*	*kakudan*	*niamadju.*
	łakua	ti-a-madju	a	nem=kinemnem	tua	ka-kuda-an	ni-a-madju
	but	F-PL-3RD.PERS	C	RED=think	OBL	?-do.what-NOM	of-PL-3RD.PERS

It's they themselves who think up their customs.

When we speak of shamans, they have various gods. But they are all more or less the same in their blowing (and) rituals. When someone is in pain the shamans blow on them. If it's a severe case the shamans go into a trance for them and summon their spirit companions and perform rites. When they perform rites, we give gifts for the spirits. Millet is the gift for summoning spirits to human beings(?). If we haven't any, then money or some other staple food. And we also differentiate between gifts for success, for summoning spirits, for charms(?). If it's a very serious case we kill a pig. When we kill it, part is 'set aside' as an offering to the gods (to be eaten only by the immediate family). The rest of the meat can be eaten by the relations. When there is a haunting(?) we certainly join in a sacrificial feast. When someone has a swelling the shaman removes it with stones, wood-chips or charcoal. If we have sores or swellings on our bodies, the shamans say whatever comes to their minds to explain it. We are told that spirits have thrown something at us, have hit us, have pushed us, or we have met a spirit.

Shamans can summon our ancestors so that we can converse with them. If we have a question we put a crystal bead (on a gourd). If it stays on, the answer is Yes. The gods live in heaven. If a shaman hasn't yet qualified she can't get into heaven. When a shaman is going to enter heaven, she performs a rite of breaking bamboo. When shamans are going to perform a trance rite, they yawn repeatedly and then the spirits come on them, and they make their way (to heaven). When they have finished they make a way back and that's the end. When we have finished harvesting millet we make a feast for the gods, and also when we have finished harvesting barnyard millet.

For some shamans smoking is taboo, and also eating rice and wine from the plains(?). But for some there is no such taboo. When shamans begin they are all given a crystal bead. But they don't really see gods. It's they themselves who think up their customs.

086 SNAILS

told by Gił̨giław of Vał̨ulu village

001 *aitsu a ngatsi maretimał̨imał̨i a papungadan.*
aya-i-tsu a ngatsi mare-ti-mał̨i-mał̨i a pa-pu-ngadan
be.thus-LOC-this C snail pair-?-RED-different C cause-have-name
Snails are known by various names.

002 *azua zuma nu qał̨an ḍuł̨i aya; azua zuma nu qał̨an*
a-zua zuma nu qał̨a-an ḍuł̨i aya a-zua zuma nu qał̨a-an
C-that other of outsider-NOM snail.sp say C-that other of outsider-NOM

ngatsingatsi aya; azua zuma nu qał̨an tsirat aya.
ngatsi-ngatsi aya a-zua zuma nu qał̨a-an tsirat aya
RED-snail say C-that other of outsider-NOM snail.sp say
Some villages call them *ḍuł̨i*, some *ngatsingatsi*, some *tsirat*.

003 *aitsu a ngatsi selapay nu napesakuyakuya aravats*
aya-i-tsu a ngatsi se-lapay nu na-pe-sa-kuya-kuya a-ravats
be.thus-LOC-this C snail INVOL-severe of STAT-emerge-QAL-RED-bad C-true

nu tja patsunan.
nu tja pa-tsun-an
when we(INC) cause-see-LF
Snails are extremely unpleasant to look at;

004 *ł̨akua sanguaq aravats nu tja kanen.*
ł̨akua sa-nguaq a-ravats nu tja kan-en
but QAL-good C-true when we(INC) eat-PF
but they are very tasty to eat.

005 *a sisan kakanenan tja alapen azua seti sakamaya, sa tja*
a si-sane ka-kan-en-an tja alap-en a-zua seti sakamaya sa tja
C IF-make RED-eat-PF-NOM we(INC) take-PF C-that meat only and we(INC)

senavi tua qavu a seman lialiaw, tua sika sualapan nazua
senaw-i tua qavu a em=sane lia-liaw tua sika su-alap-an nua-zua
wash-PF OBL ash C AF=make RED-many OBL reason remove-take-LF of-that

djarayadjayadjay, sana tja qirqiri tua ł̨awł̨aw, sa tja
ar=djaya-djayadjay sa-na tja qirqir-i tua ł̨awł̨aw sa tja
QAL=RED-sticky and-then we(INC) fry-PF OBL oil and we(INC)

tau'iyu-i, sa tja djamayan.
tau'iyu-i sa tja djamay-an
mix.with.soy-PF and we(INC) side.dish-LF
When we are going to prepare them to eat, we take the meat only and clean it many times over with ash/lime to get rid of the stickiness; them we fry them in oil, add soya sauce, and eat them as a side dish.

[*alapen*: was *lapen*, assume *a* coalesced with previous *a* of *tja*]
[*sisan kakanenan*: two words here but constituency is [si[san[ka[kan]en]]an] 'time of making eatables']
[*ławław*: was *łauław*]

006 *łakua inika amin a san djamayin; nanguaq uta a tsavuin*
îakua ini-ka amin a sane djamay-en na-nguaq uta a tsavu-en
but not-after no.more C make side.dish-PF STAT-good also C wrapping-PF

tua ragrag tua sutjaw.
tua ragrag tua sutjaw
OBL dry.taro OBL peanut
But they are not only eaten as a side dish; they are also good wrapped up with pounded dry taro or peanuts.

007 *tjara palalidjam itjen.*
tjara pa-la-lidjam itjen
surely cause-RED-tongue F.we(INC)
We certainly lick our lips after eating them.

008 *qau aitsu a ngatsi ika tjen a pakakẹdikẹdi nu malap*
qau aya-i-tsu a ngatsi ika tjen a pa-ka-ke÷i-ke÷i nu m-alap
so be.thus-LOC-this C snail not F.we(INC) C cause-RED-RED-small of AF-take

itjen.
itjen
F.we(INC)
We don't just get a few snails.

009 *mekẹdi aravats nu tja san kakanenen; saka nu*
me-ke÷i a-ravats nu tja sane ka-kan-en-en sa-ka nu
AF-small C-true when we(INC) make RED-eat-PF-PF and-after when

łemliaw itjen sekuletj itjen.
em=îe-liaw itjen se-kuletj itjen
AF=go.to-many F.we(INC) INVOL-supply F.we(INC)
They go away to nothing when we cook them; so we get lots in order to have enough to eat.
[*kakanenen*: note *kakanenan* in 005, here it must be *kan-en* as 'food' then derived further.]

Snails are known by various names. Some villages call them *ḍułi*, some *ngatsingatsi*, some *tsirat*. Snails are extremely unpleasant to look at; but they are very tasty to eat. When we are going to prepare them to eat, we take the meat only and clean it many times over with ash/lime to get rid of the stickiness; them we fry them in oil, add soya sauce, and eat them as a side dish. But they are not only eaten as a side dish; they are also good wrapped up with pounded dry taro or peanuts. We certainly lick our lips after eating them. We don't just get a few snails. They go away to nothing when we cook them; so we get lots in order to have enough to eat.

087 TABOOS

told by Gił gił aw of Vał ulu village

001 *aitsu a patjara penalisi izua maretimał imał i, ł akua*
aya-i-tsu a pa-tjara in=palisi i-zua mare-ti-mał i-mał i ł akua
be.thus-LOC-this C cause-surely PERF=taboo LOC-that pair-?-RED-different but

tjara liaw a mamamaw.
tjara liaw a ma-ma=amaw
surely many C STAT-RED=same
As for taboos, there are different ones (in different villages), but certainly many are the same.

002 *aitsu nu tjemugut, palisi a masi zał um a namasi vusam.*
aya-i-tsu nu em=tjugut palisi a masi zał um a na-masi vusam
be.thus-LOC-this when AF=sow taboo C carry water C PAST-carry seed
When we sow grain it is taboo for the person carrying the seed to carry water.

003 *sika mapuqasaqasaw aya.*
sika ma-pu-qasa-qasaw aya
reason STAT-have-RED-watery say
It is said to cause the ear to have no grain.

004 *qau nu kivaqu anga palisi a kivinkatan aya.*
qau nu ki-vaqu anga palisi a kivinkatan aya
so when do-millet indeed taboo C touch.herbage say
And when we are harvesting millet it is taboo to touch herbage in the forest(?).
[*kivinkatan*: could be *ki-vin...* or *ki-in=vekat-an* but nothing like these in F.]

005 *sikisaqał aqał ay aya.*
si-ki-sa-qał a-qał ay aya
IF-do-QAL-RED-portend say
It portends a plague (of rodents, etc.).

006 *palisi a djemavats tua kakivaquin aya.*
palisi a em=djavats tua ka-ki-vaqu-en aya
taboo C AF=walk OBL STAT-do-millet-PF say
It is taboo to walk through a millet field being harvested, they say.

007 *inika sikał adjeł adjek aya.*
ini-ka si-ka-ł adje-ł adjek aya
not-after IF-?-RED-dew say
It won't have dew (and won't be a good harvest).

008 *palisi a masi pariuk nu namasi vusam itjen.*
palisi a masi pariuk nu na-masi vusam itjen
taboo C carry wok when PAST-carry seed F.we(INC)
When we are carrying seed it is taboo to carry a wok.

009 *sika* *mapuqiduqidung* *aya.*
sika ma-pu-qidu-qidung aya
reason STAT-have-RED-charcoal say
They say the grain will go black like charcoal.

010 *nu* *uri* *tjemugut* *itjen,* *palisi* *a* *kiqaqivuan* *tua* *tjuḍalian.*
nu uri em=tjugut itjen palisi a ki-qa-qivu-an tua tju-ḍali-an
when will AF=sow F.we(INC) taboo C do-RED-speak-LF OBL there-pregnant-NOM
When we are going to sow grain it is taboo to talk to people expecting a baby.
[*tjuḍalian*: 'expectant parent, male or female']

011 *nu* *palisilisi* *itjen* *palisi* *a* *pakisapuy,* *ayatua* *nasi* *aitsu*
nu lisi=palisi itjen palisi a pa-ki-sapuy aya-tua nasi aya-i-tsu
when RED=taboo F.we(INC) taboo C cause-do-fire say-OBL breath be.thus-LOC-this

a *sapuy* *nu* *misepi* *itjen.*
a sapuy nu mi-sepi itjen
C fire when AF-dream F.we(INC)
When we are observing religious rites it is taboo to give someone a light, because fire represents breath/life when we dream.

012 *nu* *venuɬuq* *itjen* *a* *pasa* *vukivukid,* *vuɬuqen* *itjen* *nua*
nu en=vuɬuq itjen a pa-sa vuki-vukid vuɬuq-en itjen nua
when AF=throw F.we(INC) C cause-go RED-forest throw-PF F.we(INC) by

tsemas *aya.*
tsemas aya
god say
When we throw something towards the woods, the spirits throw things at us, we are told.

013 *nu* *keman* *itjen* *i* *vukivukid,* *nu* *i* *dedet* *itjen* *tua*
nu em=kan itjen i vuki-vukid nu i de-det itjen tua
when AF=eat F.we(INC) LOC RED-forest when LOC RED-near F.we(INC) OBL

vukivukid, *palisi* *a* *ika* *padjalian.*
vuki-vukid palisi a ika pa-djali-an
RED-forest taboo C not cause-make.offering-LF
When we eat in the woods, when we are near the woods, it is taboo not to give an offering to the spirits.

014 *kilinguɬan* *itjen.*
ki-linguɬ-an itjen
do-around-LF F.we(INC)
They will sit and eat with us.

015 *nu* *sekuliɬan* *itjen* *nu* *kemakan* *itjen,* *tjara* *izua*
nu se-kuliɬ-an itjen nu em=ka-kan itjen tjara i-zua
when INVOL-trip-LF F.we(INC) when AF=RED-eat F.we(INC) surely LOC-that

matsay a matsidił aya.
m-patsay a ma-tsidiî aya
AF-die C STAT-alone say
If we are 'tripped' (by a bird calling(?) to us) when we are eating, it is said that someone will certainly die.
[*sekuliłan*: 'trip' is uncertain because *kulił* is also a 'small brown bird of bad omen']

016 *palisi a vaqesingan nu sema vavua itjen, nu uri sema tua*
palisi a vaqesing-an nu em=sa va-vua itjen nu uri em=sa tua
taboo C sneeze-NOM when AF=go RED-field F.we(INC) when will AF=go OBL

namatsay itjen.
na-m-patsay itjen
PAST-AF-die F.we(INC)
It is taboo to sneeze when we are going to the fields or when we are going to where someone has died.

017 *tja sikasaqetjuqetju aya.*
tja si-ka-qetju=saqetju aya
we(INC) IF-become-RED=painful say
It is said it will mean sickness.

018 *nu kaqułisan itjen, inika sitsiketsikel nu sema dedet*
nu ka-quîis-an itjen ini-ka si-tsike-tsikel nu em=sa de-det
when main-turn-NOM F.we(INC) not-after IF-RED-return when AF=go RED-near

itjen, nu ika tjen a mavunglay.
itjen nu ika tjen a ma-vungelay
F.we(INC) when not F.we(INC) C STAT-pregnant
When things are the wrong way round (when the *kir* bird sings before the *tsugaw* bird), it doesn't cause us to go back if we are just going a short distance; or if we aren't expecting a child.

019 *łakua a mavunglay katua uri sema tsadja a uri kiqetsi, palisi*
îakua a ma-vungelay ka-tua uri em=sa tsadja a uri ki-qetsi palisi
but C STAT-pregnant and-OBL will AF=go far C will do-fight taboo

aravats.
a-ravats
C-true
But if we are expecting a child or going some distance to fight, it is a serious taboo.

020 *tja sika tjaparuparut.*
tja sika tja-paru-parut
we(INC) reason more-RED-weak
We will come off worst.

021 *nu saqetju itjen, matu qinułis itjen tua tja*
nu saqetju itjen ma-tu in=qułis itjen tua tja
when painful F.we(INC) STAT-alike PERF=turn F.we(INC) OBL we(INC)

siselapay aya.
si-se-lapay aya
IF-INVOL-severe say
If we are ill, our suffering will be severe, as if we were turned inside out.

022 *palisi uta a patsugavan nu semainu anga itjen.*
palisi uta a pa-tsungaw-an nu em=sa-inu anga itjen
taboo also C cause-bird.sp-NOM when AF=go-where indeed F.we(INC)
It is a bad omen if the *tsugaw* bird sings wherever we are going.

023 *tja sika łułałułay, tja sika malaylaylay nu saqetju*
tja sika łuła-łułay tja sika ma-lay-laylay nu saqetju
we(INC) reason RED-tired we(INC) number STAT-RED-take.time when painful

itjen.
itjen.
F.we(INC)
We will be tired. If we are ill, our illness will be long drawn out.

024 *palisi uta a pakełisan.*
palisi uta a pa-kełis-an
taboo also C cause-bird.sp-NOM
It is a bad omen if the *kełis* bird sings.

025 *tja sipatsatsay i djalan, tja sipagerigerits tua*
tja si-tsa=patsay i djalan tja si-pa-geri-gerits tua
we(INC) IF-RED=die LOC road we(INC) IF-cause-RED-scream OBL

nemanemanga aya.
nema-nema-anga aya
RED-what-indeed say
They say someone will die on the track, or we will have some grief to scream about.

026 *nu alapen a tja itung nua qayaqàyam, palisi aravats.*
nu alap-en a tja itung nua qaya-qayam palisi a-ravats
when take-PF C our(INC) cloth by RED-bird taboo C-true
If our clothes are taken by a bird, that is a very bad omen.
[*alapen*: was *lapen*]

027 *sipatsatsay ta qała aya.*
si-tsa=patsay ta qała aya
IF-RED=die OBL outsider say
They say we will be killed by our enemies.

028 *palisi a qinułivanglaw a qadaw.*
palisi a in=qułivanglaw a qadaw
taboo C PERF=rainbow C sun
It is a bad omen when there is a halo round the sun (when the sun is "rainbow-ed").
[*qinułivanglaw*: F233 has *qułivangeraw* 'rainbow']

029 *sipatsatsay nua mamazangiłan aya.*
si-tsa=patsay nua ma-ma-zangił-an aya
IF-RED=die of STAT-STAT-chief-NOM say
It means a chieftain will die.

030 *aitsu nu sema tjai viri tua djalan a sisił a qatjuvi,*
aya-i-tsu nu em=sa tja-i viri tua djalan a sisił a qatjuvi
be.thus-LOC-this when AF=go more-LOC left OBL road C thrush C snake

qemtseng aya, saka palisi a puarut a sema vavua a sema
m=qetseng aya sa-ka palisi a puarut a em=sa va-vua a em=sa
AF=barrier say and-after taboo C straight C AF=go RED-field C AF=go

tjuqała.
tju-qała
there-outsider
If a quaker-thrush or a snake goes across the track from right to left, it is said to be blocked; and it is taboo to go straight to the fields or to another village.

031 *łakua nu tja teqitsen azua qatjuvi, sa tja pasa tjai*
łakua nu tja teqits-en a-zua qatjuvi sa tja pa-sa tja-i
but when we(INC) hook-PF C-that snake and we(INC) cause-go more-LOC

viri, inika palisi.
viri ini-ka palisi
left not-after taboo
But if we use a stick to flip the snake over to the right and we pass it to the left it is not taboo.

032 *aitsu a qayaqayam nu tja vułuqen a pasa navał*
aya-i-tsu a qaya-qayam nu tja vułuq-en a pa-sa navał
be.thus-LOC-this C RED-bird when we(INC) throw-PF C cause-go right

saka sema tjai navał, inika palisi uta.
sa-ka em=sa tja-i navał ini-ka palisi uta
and-after AF=go more-LOC right not-after taboo also
As for the birds, if we throw things to make them go to the right and they go to the right, it isn't taboo to go on.

033 *palisi a lemaketsuł tua mamazangiłan.*
palisi a em=laketsuł tua ma-ma-zangił-an
taboo C AF=step.over OBL STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
It is taboo to walk over the limb of a chieftain.

034 *sikakalakala aya.*
si-ka-kalakala aya
IF-STAT-arthritis say
It is said to cause arthritis.

035 *palisi petsungu tua tsuqu a kasiw.*
palisi petsungu tua tsuqu a kasiw
taboo make.fire OBL bischoffia C tree
It is taboo to use the bischoffia tree for firewood.

036 *sikaḍaquḍaquł.*
si-ka-ḍaqu-ḍaquł
IF-STAT-RED-goitre
It causes goitre.

037 *palisi a tsemułu a mavunglay tua qatsang.*
palisi a em=tsułu a ma-vungelay tua qatsang
taboo C AF=butcher C STAT-pregnant OBL pig
It is taboo for someone expecting a baby to butcher a pig.

038 *sikamapuqatsaqatsang aya.*
si-ka-ma-pu-qatsa-qatsang aya
IF-become-STAT-have-RED-pig say
They say it causes epilepsy.
[*sikamapuqatsaqatsang*: alternative for 'epilepsy' is *ma-pu-ḍiḍi*, and *ḍiḍi* is also 'pig'.]

039 *palisi a qemtsi tua qemuzimuzip anga.*
palisi a m=qetsi tua em=em=uzi=quzip anga
taboo C AF=fight OBL AF=AF=RED=animal indeed
It is also taboo for them to kill any animal.

040 *sipatsatsay aya.*
si-tsa=patsay aya
IF-RED=die say
They say it will cause a death.

041 *palisi a semenay nu tsavił anga tua puałak.*
palisi a em=senay nu tsavił anga tua pu-ałak
taboo C AF=chant when year indeed OBL have-child
It is taboo to sing a year after a birth.

042 *siqauqaung aya.*
si-qau-qaung aya
IF-RED-cry say
They say the child will be a cry-baby.

043 *palisi a kemzekez a venengetj uta.*
palisi a m=kezkez a en=vengetj uta
taboo C AF=nail C AF=tie also
It is taboo for someone expecting a baby to nail or tie something.

044 *sikapazangazangal nu puałak aya.*
si-ka-pa-zanga-zangal nu pu-ałak aya
IF-STAT-cause-RED-hard when have-child say
They say it will lead to a difficult birth.

As for taboos, there are different ones (in different villages), but certainly many are the same. When we sow grain it is taboo for the person carrying the seed to carry water. It is said to cause the ear to have no grain. And when we are harvesting millet it is taboo to touch herbage in the forest(?). It portends a plague (of rodents, etc.). It is taboo to walk through a millet field being harvested, they say. It won't have dew (and won't be a good harvest). When we are carrying seed

it is taboo to carry a wok. They say the grain will go black like charcoal. When we are going to sow grain it is taboo to talk to people expecting a baby.

When we are observing religious rites it is taboo to give someone a light, because fire represents breath/life when we dream. When we throw something towards the woods, the spirits throw things at us, we are told. When we eat in the woods, when we are near the woods, it is taboo not to give an offering to the spirits. They will sit and eat with us. If we are 'tripped' (by a bird calling(?) to us) when we are eating, it is said that someone will certainly die.

It is taboo to sneeze when we are going to the fields or when we are going to where someone has died. It is said it will mean sickness. When things are the wrong way round (when the *kirkir* sings before the *tsugaw* bird), it doesn't cause us to go back if we are just going a short distance; or if we aren't expecting a child. But if we are expecting a child or going some distance to fight, it is a serious taboo. We will come off worst. If we are ill, our suffering will be severe, as if we were turned inside out. It is a bad omen if the *tsugaw* bird sings wherever we are going. We will be tired. If we are ill, our illness will be long drawn out. It is a bad omen if the *keɬis* bird sings. They say someone will die on the track, or we will have some grief to scream about. If our clothes are taken by a bird, that is a very bad omen. They say we will be killed by our enemies.

It is a bad omen when there is a halo round the sun. It means a chieftain will die. If a quaker-thrush or a snake goes across the track from right to left, it is said to be blocked; and it is taboo to go straight to the fields or to another village. But if we use a stick to flip the snake over to the right and we pass it to the left it is not taboo. As for the birds, if we throw things to make them go to the right and they go to the right, it isn't taboo to go on. It is taboo to walk over the limb of a chieftain. It is said to cause arthritis. It is taboo to use the bischoffia tree for firewood. It causes goitre. It is taboo for someone expecting a baby to butcher a pig. They say it causes epilepsy. It is also taboo for them to kill any animal. They say it will cause a death. It is taboo to sing a year after a birth. They say the child will be a cry-baby. It is taboo for someone expecting a baby to nail or tie something. They say it will lead to a difficult birth.

088 WEDDINGS

told by Gił gił aw of Vał ulu village

001 *aitsu* *a* *maretseketsekeł* *inika* *tadjalan* *a* *mamazangił an*
aya-i-tsu a mare-tseke-tsekeł ini-ka ta-djalan a ma-ma-zangił-an
be.thus-LOC-this C pair-RED-spouse not-after one-road C STAT-STAT-chief-NOM

katua *qaqetitan.*
ka-tua qa-qetit-an
and-OBL RED-commoner-NOM
Weddings of chieftains and commoners are not the same.

002 *nu* *mamazangił an* *marepaukuz* *aya.*
nu ma-ma-zangił-an marepaukuz aya
when STAT-STAT-chief-NOM wedding.type say
With chieftains they are known as *marepaukuz*;

003 *nu* *qaqetitan* *marepalikuz* *aya.*
nu qa-qetit-an marepalikuz aya
when RED-commoner-NOM wedding.type say
with commoners as *marepalikuz.*

004 *aitsu* *a* *mamazangił an* *nu* *qemayam* *tua*
aya-i-tsu a ma-ma-zangił-an nu em=qayam tua
be.thus-LOC-this C STAT-STAT-chief-NOM when AF=inspect OBL

sauzayan, *papirava* *tua* *kama* *tua* *kina* *tua* *zua*
sa-uzay-an pa-pi-rava tua kama tua kina tua zua
QAL-possession-NOM cause-put-prepare OBL father OBL mother OBL that

sirakeraketj.
si-rake-raketj
IF-RED-always
In the case of the chieftains when they inspect the possessions offered as a bride price, they dress the father and the mother of (the bride, who is) the cause of all-day celebrations.

005 *nu* *uqał ay* *gamuts* *ḍeqer* *tjakit* *kuang* *siatj* *paledeled* *a*
nu uqał ay gamuts ḍeqer tjakit kuang siatj pa-ledeled a
when male headdress necklace knife firearm bandolier cause-belt C

sipapirava.
si-pa-pi-rava
IF-cause-put-prepare
A male is dressed in a headdress (with wild boars' tusks), necklace, sword, gun, bandolier and belt.

006 *nu vavayan quvaɬ tarar vatsvats ḍeqer kava kun tjukap a*
nu vavayan quvaɬ tarar vatsvats ḍeqer kava kun tjukap a
when female hair turban earring necklace clothing skirt clog C

sipapirava.
si-pa-pi-rava
IF-cause-put-prepare
A female is dressed in a fur coat, turban, pendant earrings, necklace, robe, skirt and shoes.

007 *qau nu kavusaman papiravan a kama a kina azua ałak*
qau nu ka-vusam-an pa-pi-rava-an a kama a kina a-zua ałak
so when main-chief-NOM cause-put-prepare-LF C father C mother C-that child

a vavayan.
a vavayan
C female
And when it is a head chieftain father, mother and daughter are all dressed.

008 *ɬakua inika mapasusu a penuɬat.*
ɬakua ini-ka ma-pa-susu a en=puɬat
but not-after STAT-cause-proceed C AF=all
But these customs are not always carried out.

009 *sauzayan anga a mamadjeledjelean, paisu anga a*
sa-uzay-an anga a ma-ma-djele-djele-an paisu anga a
QAL-possession-NOM indeed C STAT-STAT-RED-simple-NOM money indeed C

sipapirava.
si-pa-pi-rava
IF-cause-put-prepare
Cheaper possessions or money may be given instead of dressing the people.

010 *nu uri marepaukuz seman rarukuzan nu katiatiaw,*
nu uri marepaukuz em=sane ra-rukuz-an nu ka-tia-tiaw
when will wedding.type AF=make RED-depend-NOM when PAST-RED-one.day

sana parepaukuz.
sa-na parepaukuz
and-then ?
When a wedding is to take place, preparations of food etc. (which confirm the agreement(?)) are made the day before, and then the wedding goes ahead.

011 *nu maɬianga marepakaiv, sana ɬayuz.*
nu ma-ɬia-anga mare-pa-kaiv sa-na ɬayuz
when STAT-dawn-indeed pair-cause-meal and-then love.song
Next day there is an exchange of drinks (at a feast); then there is a love song (at which the bride weeps).

012 *nu ɬemayuz mana siqunevunevuɬ a sangasangasan.*
nu em=ɬayuz ma-avan-a si-nevu=qunevuɬ a sanga-sangas-an
when AF=love.song STAT-exact-? IF-RED=give.gift C RED-first-NOM
When the song is sung there is the first distribution of small gifts to all.

013 *nu* *małianga* *kiulaw* *anga* *a* *sema* *tsemtsemel.*
nu ma-ɬia-anga ki-ulaw anga a em=sa tsem-tsemel
when STAT-dawn-indeed self-lost indeed C AF=go RED-plant
The next day the bride hides herself in the woods.

014 *nu* *masulem* *nu* *mangtjez* *anga* *qemunevuɬ* *anga* *uta* *tua*
nu ma-sulem nu m-pangetjez anga em=qunevuɬ anga uta tua
when STAT-dark when AF-come indeed AF=give.gift indeed also OBL

sikinmusaɬ.
si-in=ki-musa-ɬ
IF-PERF=do-two-times
In the evening when she comes back there is the second distribution of gifts.

015 *nu* *małian* *anga* *nu* *qadavan* *kitsaqis* *anga,* *mana* *zua*
nu małi-an anga nu qadaw-an ki-tsaqis anga ma-avan-a zua
when different-NOM indeed when sun-NOM do-sew indeed STAT-exact-? that

viliviliɬan *anga* *a* *qemunevuɬ;* *sana* *kialap* *nu* *małian*
vili-viliɬ-an anga a em=qunevuɬ sa-na ki-alap nu małi-an
RED-behind-NOM indeed C AF=give.gift and-then do-take when different-NOM

anga *nu* *qadavan.*
anga nu qadaw-an
indeed when sun-NOM
On the next day the bride puts on layers of underpants, and there is a last distribution of gifts.
And then on the next day the bride is taken to the bridegroom's house.

016 *namayatutsu* *a* *kakudan* *nu* *tja* *suqatsan.*
na-ma-aya-tu-tsu a ka-kuda-an nu tja su-qatsa-an
PAST-STAT-be.thus-alike-this C ?-do.what-NOM when we(INC) remove-big-LF
These are the customs in brief.
[*namayatutsu*: *-tu* could also be 'OBL' or 'alike'.]

017 *łakua* *nu* *i* *tjuqała* *a* *vavayan,* *izua* *uta* *a* *kiniqayaman,*
łakua nu i tju-qała a vavayan i-zua uta a in=ki-qayam-an
but when LOC there-outsider C female LOC-that also C PERF=do-inspect-NOM

a *pana* *a* *tjekeza,* *a* *siniteperuk* *tua* *qinałan,* *a* *tedek*
a pana a tjekeza a in=si-teperuk tua in=qała-an a tedek
C river C ladder C PERF=IF-break.down OBL PERF=outsider-NOM C ornament

tua *tsakar,* *na* *maqatsuvutsuvung,* *a* *sitjumaq,* *a* *sinipakizing.*
tua tsakar nua ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung a si-tju-umaq a in=si-pa-kizing
OBL platform of STAT-?-RED-complete C IF-there-house C PERF=IF-cause-spoon
But if the bride is in another village there will also be inspections of rivers and bridges, and compensation for 'breaking up the village', decorations for the shrine, the youths' share, compensation for entering(?) and for food expenses (*or* for bringing home)(?).

018 *aitsu* *a* *siputsketsekeł* *nua* *mamazangiłan* *kadjunangan*
aya-i-tsu a si-pu-tseke-tsekeł nua ma-ma-zangił-an ka-djunang-an
be.thus-LOC-this C IF-have-RED-spouse of STAT-STAT-chief-NOM main-earth-NOM

pana *qałuqałupan* *djilung* *a* *kaułayan* *qata* *kuang* *tjakit,* *izuanan*
pana qału-qałup-an djilung a ka-ułay-an qata kuang tjakit i-zua-anan
river RED-hunt-NOM jar C main-piece-NOM bead firearm knife LOC-that-still

uta *a* *zuma* *vadis.*
uta a zuma vadis
also C other chief's.meat
The bride-prices among chieftains include land, rivers, hunting grounds, precious pots, beads, guns and swords; and there is other tribute to be paid as well.
[*kaułayan*: F326 'a rare, precious thing']

019 *izua* *uta* *aza* *tjiuma* *ayayain* *a* *łałakayan.*
i-zua uta a-zua tjiuma ay-aya-en a ła-łakay-an
LOC-that also C-that wedding.swing RED-say-PF C RED-swing-NOM
There is also a swing set up called a *tjiuma*.

Weddings of chieftains and commoners are not the same. With chieftains they are known as *marepaukuz*; with commoners as *marepalikuz*. In the case of the chieftains when they inspect the possessions offered as a bride price, they dress the father and the mother of (the bride, who is) the cause of all-day celebrations. A male is dressed in a headdress (with wild boars' tusks), necklace, sword, gun, bandolier and belt. A female is dressed in a fur coat, turban, pendant earrings, necklace, robe, skirt and shoes. And when it is a head chieftain father, mother and daughter are all dressed. But these customs are not always carried out. Cheaper possessions or money may be given instead of dressing the people.

When a wedding is to take place, preparations of food etc. (which confirm the agreement(?)) are made the day before, and then the wedding goes ahead. Next day there is an exchange of drinks (at a feast); then there is a love song (at which the bride weeps). When the song is sung there is the first distribution of small gifts to all. The next day the bride hides herself in the woods. In the evening when she comes back there is the second distribution of gifts. On the next day the bride puts on layers of underpants, and there is a last distribution of gifts. And then on the next day the bride is taken to the bridegroom's house. These are the customs in brief. But if the bride is in another village there will also be inspections of rivers and bridges, and compensation for 'breaking up the village', decorations for the shrine, the youths' share, compensation for entering(?) and for food expenses (*or* for bringing home)(?). The bride-prices among chieftains include land, rivers, hunting grounds, precious pots, beads, guns and swords; and there is other tribute to be paid as well. There is also a swing set up called a *tjiuma*.

089 THE DRUNKARD RETURNS HOME

conversation piece, Vałulu dialect

001 *Rapar: pai pai, sa rukamayamayanga sun.*
Rapar pai pai sa ru-ka-m-aya-m-aya-anga sun
(name) well well and many-?-AF-RED-AF-be.thus-indeed F.you(S)
Rapar (wife): Well, you're always the same.

002 *aitsu ki sun a natemekel tu sa vava pai.*
aya-i-tsu ki sun a na-em=tekel tu tsa vava pai
be.thus-LOC-this do F.you(S) C PAST-AF=drink OBL this alcohol well
Now presumably you've been drinking beer.

003 *Tsudjuy: anemaya sun?*
Tsudjuy a-nema-aya sun
(name) C-what-say F.you(S)
Tsudjuy (husband): What are you saying?

004 *mapulaw aya sun a benuru a paqeteleng?*
ma-pulaw aya sun a en=buru a pa-qeteleng
STAT-drunk say F.you(S) C AF=tell.lie C cause-randomly
Are you having the cheek to lie and say I'm drunk?

005 *Rapar: qau kemuda?*
Rapar qau em=kuda
(name) so AF=do.what
Rapar: Yes, what about it?

006 *tsunu tsunu sa su sikudan a matu makapalapalak,*
tsun-u tsun-u tsa su si-kuda-an a ma-tu maka-pala-palak
see-IMP see-IMP this your(S) IF-do.what-NOM C STAT-alike finished-RED-sorcery

matu ika tsautsau.
ma-tu ika tsau-tsau
STAT-alike not RED-being
Look at your behaviour, acting like a madman, not like a human being.

007 *anana anana.*
anana anana
ow ow
(He hits her.) Ow ow!

008 *matsay aken.*
m-patsay aken
AF-die F.I
I'm dying.

009 *aku ken uri su papatsayin qa?*
aku aken uri su pa-patsay-en qa
why F.I will you(S) cause-die-PF ah
Why are you going to kill me?

010 *makuda sun makuda sun?*
ma-kuda sun ma-kuda sun
STAT-do.what F.you(S) STAT-do.what F.you(S)
What's the matter with you?

011 *aitsu patjaḍikitj anga ku nasi.*
aya-i-tsu pa-tja-ḍikitj anga ku nasi
be.thus-LOC-this cause-more-short indeed my breath
My life has been shortened.

012 *kina ni Rapar: qai, sa ku ałak.*
kina ni Rapar qai tsa ku ałak
mother of (name) oh this my child
Rapar's mother: Oh, my child!

013 *nu kudain, ła qunu?*
nu kuda-en ła qunu
you(P) do.what-PF oh child
What are you up to, children?

014 *aitsu uri matsay anga.*
aya-i-tsu uri m-patsay anga
be.thus-LOC-this will AF-die indeed
She'll die.

015 *Kemay: na.*
Kemay na
(name) well
Kemay (neighbour): Well,

016 *ui ḍi.*
ui ḍi
yes oh
yes.

017 *aku maya sisamałi a maya?*
aku ma-aya si-sa-małi a ma-aya
why STAT-be.thus IF-QAL-different C STAT-be.thus
Why is this such a surprise?
[*aku*: here and next was *ku* in the original.]

018 *aku a paulan nu sa tsautsau?*
aku a pa-ula-an nu tsa tsau-tsau
why C cause-lack-NOM of this RED-being
What a waste of a person!

019 *aku manu manganga maya ti su qali?*
aku manu ma-nganga ma-aya ti su qali
why then STAT-molest STAT-be.thus F.H your(S) friend
Why is your friend such a scoundrel?

020 *kina: tsulis tsulis, sanguaq.*
kina tsulis tsulis sa-nguaq
mother alright alright QAL-good
Rapar's mother: All right all right; that's fine.

021 *masudjan sun.*
masudj-an sun
tidy-NOM F.you(S)
You've had enough.

022 *aku manu su kiayayan sakamaya tjai su qali a*
aku manu su ki-ay-aya-en sakamaya tjai su qali a
why then you(S) self-RED-be.thus-PF only OBL.H your(S) friend C

manganga su kełangen?
ma-nganga su kełang-en
STAT-molest you(S) know-PF
Then why are you always going with your friend who is a scoundrel, as you well know?

023 *Tsudjuy: saka ari aya ti qali.*
Tsudjuy sa-ka ari aya ti qali
(name) and-after go.on say F.H friend
Tsudjuy: Well my friend says Come on;

024 *manu uri kapaḍangan aken.*
manu uri ka-paḍang-an aken
then will ?-bully-LF F.I
and I would be bullied (if I didn't).

025 *kina: qau manu ari nu aya, kiayan sun; łakua tjenglay*
kina qau manu ari nu aya ki-aya-an sun łakua tjenglay
mother so then go.on when say do-be.thus-LF F.you(S) but like

sun uta kaumaya tua kidjadjalan tjai su qali.
sun uta kaumaya tua ki-dja-djalan tjai su qali
F.you(S) also perhaps OBL do-RED-road OBL.H your(S) friend
Rapar's mother: Oh, so you go with him when he says Come on; but perhaps you also like going with your friend.

026 *Tsudjuy: ika ken a uri kiayan anga nu tjaivilił.*
Tsudjuy ika aken a uri ki-aya-an anga nu tja-i-vilił
(name) not F.I C will do-be.thus-LF indeed when more-LOC-behind
Tsudjuy: I'm not going to go with him any more.

Rapar: Well, you're always the same. Now presumably you've been drinking beer.

Tsudjuy: What are you saying? Are you having the cheek to lie and say I'm drunk?

Rapar: Yes, what about it? Look at your behaviour, acting like a madman, not like a human being. (He hits her.) Ow Ow! I'm dying. Why are you going to kill me? What's the matter with you? My life has been shortened.

Rapar's mother: Oh, my child! What are you up to, children? She'll die.

Kemay (neighbour): Well, yes. Why is this such a surprise? What a waste of a person! Why is your friend such a scoundrel?

Rapar's mother: All right all right; that's fine. You've had enough. Then why are you always going with your friend who is a scoundrel, as you well know?

Tsudjuy: Well my friend says Come on; and I would be bullied (if I didn't).

Rapar's mother: Oh, so you go with him when he says Come on; but perhaps you also like going with your friend.

Tsudjuy: I'm not going to go with him any more.

090 HARVEST PROSPECTS

conversation piece

001 *Kai: "uri keman itjen tu sa qarizang nia su vuvu," ku*
Kai uri em=kan itjen tu tsa qarizang ni-a su vuvu ku
(name) will AF=eat F.we(INC) OBL this bean.sp of-PL your(S) grandparent I

ayain, kina, a su vuvu ka sauni, ka tsemalivalivat
aya-en kina a su vuvu ka sauni ka em=liva=tsalivat
say-PF mother C your(S) grandparent after soon after AF=RED=pass

amen ta za su quma.
amen ta zua su quma
F.we(EXC) OBL that your(S) field
(Rough translation) Kai: "We'll be eating some of your grandparents' beans," I said to your grandchild, mother, earlier on when we were passing your fields.

002 *Kaleskes: inu inu?*
Kaleskes inu inu
(name) where where
Kaleskes: Where where?

003 *uzi ki mavan aza i kadjalanan a taupuan, aya-u.*
uzi ki ma-avan a-zua i ka-djalan-an a ta-upu-an aya-u
well will STAT-exact C-that LOC main-road-NOM C one-wall-NOM say-IMP
Oh I suppose you mean the one terrace by the roadside.

004 *Kai: pai ɬa, maya manu benereq a "taupuan" aya ta za nu*
Kai pai ɬa maya manu in=bereq a ta-upu-an aya ta zua nu
(name) well oh don't then PERF=joke C one-wall-NOM say OBL that your(P)

penulingelingetj ta za nu quma.
in=pu-linge-lingetj ta zua nu quma
PERF=have-RED-entire OBL that your(P) field
Kai: Oh come on, don't joke by saying "one terrace" about your fields all over the place.
[*benereq*: F63 has *beraq* 'joke']

005 *Kaleskes: iya, ui, maɬimaɬi; nu uri keman itjen kaumaya nu*
Kaleskes iya ui maɬimaɬi nu uri em=kan itjen kaumaya nu
(name) ah yes thank.you when will AF=eat F.we(INC) perhaps when

izua.
i-zua
LOC-that
Kaleskes: Oh yes, thank you; perhaps we'll have something to eat if there is any crop.

006 *Kai: ui, qau mayanga za nu puk, mayanga*
Kai ui qau ma-aya-anga zua nu puk ma-aya-anga
(name) yes so STAT-be.thus-indeed that your(P) bean.sp STAT-be.thus-indeed

za nu łangga, mayanga za nu łumay,
zua nu łangga ma-aya-anga zua nu łumay
that your(P) sesame STAT-be.thus-indeed that your(P) millet.sp

mayanga za nu vaqu.
ma-aya-anga zua nu vaqu
STAT-be.thus-indeed that your(P) millet
Kai: Yes, not to mention your peas, your sesame, your banyard millet, your ordinary millet.
[*łangga*: 'sesame' here, but note F has it as 'peanut'.]

007 *uri keman itjen aravats ta za nu kikavetsengel.*
uri em=kan itjen a-ravats ta zua nu ki-ka-vetsengel
will AF=eat F.we(INC) C-true OBL that your(P) do-main-crop
We are going to have plenty to eat from your crops.

008 *Kaleskes: ui, łakua qadjaw ki tja` kani anga.*
Kaleskes ui łakua qadjaw ki tja kan-i anga
(name) yes but perhaps will we(INC) eat-PF indeed
Kaleskes: Yes, but I don't know whether we'll eat any of it,

009 *maya sa qemuzimuzip, maya sa tja*
ma-aya tsa em=em=uzi=quzip ma-aya tsa tja
STAT-be.thus this AF=AF=RED=animal STAT-be.thus this our(INC)

kinatsavitsavił-an a nakuya aravats.
in=ka-tsavi-tsavił-an a na-kuya a-ravats
PERF=PAST-RED-year-NOM C STAT-bad C-true
what with the pests and (making good our losses on) the very bad years.

010 *Kai: qu saka ki tja pinatsunan anga a tsinuvuqan.*
Kai qu sa-ka ki tja in=pa-tsun-an anga a in=tsuvuq-an
(name) well and-after will we(INC) PERF=cause-see-LF indeed C PERF=sprout-NOM
Kai: Well, let's be content to look at the crops.

011 *qau mamaw ka ta zua inika tjen a napatsun anga ta*
qau ma-amaw ka ta zua ini-ka tjen a na-pa-tsun anga ta
so STAT-same after OBL that not-after F.we(INC) C PAST-cause-see indeed OBL

tsinuvuqan(?).
in=tsuvuq-an
PERF=sprout-NOM
It's not as if we hadn't any crops to look at.

012 *łakua qemazał a ika tjen a uri sinikuletj na Tsemas, a ika*
łakua em=qazał a ika tjen a uri in=si-kuletj nua Tsemas a ika
but AF=dread C not F.we(INC) C will PERF=IF-supply by God C not

tjen	*a*	*uri*	*sinipenetj*	*tua*	*tja*	*sikavałut.*
tjen	a	uri	in=si-penetj	tua	tja	si-ka-vałut
F.we(INC)	C	will	PERF=IF-allot	OBL	our(INC)	IF-?-alive

Anyway it would be something quite out of the ordinary if God didn't supply us and arrange for us to have something to live on.

(Rough translation) Kai: "We'll be eating some of your grandmother's beans," I said to your grandchild, mother, earlier on when we were passing your fields.

Kaleskes: Where where? Oh I suppose you mean the one terrace by the roadside.

Kai: Oh come on, don't joke by saying "one terrace" about your fields all over the place.

Kaleskes: Oh yes, thank you; perhaps we'll have something to eat if there is any crop.

Kai: Yes, not to mention your peas, your sesame, your banyard millet, your ordinary millet. We are going to have plenty to eat from your crops.

Kaleskes: Yes, but I don't know whether we'll eat any of it, what with the pests and (making good our losses on) the very bad years.

Kai: Well, let's be content to look at the crops. It's not as if we hadn't any crops to look at. Anyway it would be something quite out of the ordinary if God didn't supply us and arrange for us to have something to live on.

091 KUŁEŁEŁEŁE AND PULELELELENGAN

001 *izua aya tua ku milimilingan, izua aya zua marałak a ti*
i-zua aya tua ku mili-miling-an i-zua aya zua mare-ałak a ti
LOC-that say OBL my RED-past.era-NOM LOC-that say that pair-child C F.H

Kułełełełe kati Pulelelelengan a setjarivavaw, aya.
Kułełełełe ka-ti Pulelelelengan a se-tjari-va-vaw aya
(name) and-F.H (name) C person.of-utmost-RED-above say
There were according to my story, there were a parent and child called Kułełełełe and Pulelelelengan who lived in the world above, they say.

002 *izua maḍusaḍusa selapay nu nasepułu aravats, aya.*
i-zua ma-ḍusa-ḍusa se-lapay nu na-se-pułu a-ravats aya
LOC-that NUM-RED-two INVOL-severe of PAST-INVOL-deficit C-true say
With only the two of them they were extremely lonely, they say.

003 *"qai, qunu, qai mai sapułu itjen.*
qai qunu qai mai sa-pułu itjen
oh child oh oh QAL-deficit F.we(INC)
"Well, son, we are lonely.

004 *qai muri tjemavang itjen tua vaung tua lizuk tua gadu," aya*
qai ma-uri em=tjavang itjen tua vaung tua lizuk tua gadu aya
oh STAT-will AF=create F.we(INC) OBL sea OBL plain OBL mountain say

tiamadju a marałak, aya.
ti-a-madju a mare-ałak aya
F-PL-3RD.PERS C pair-child say
Now we'll make the sea, the plains and the mountains," said the parent and child, they say.
[*tjemavang*: *tjavang* in F is 'offer to spirits']

005 *manu izuanga nakipalinguł a vaung.*
manu i-zua-anga na-ki-pa-linguł a vaung
then LOC-that-indeed PAST-do-cause-around C sea
So then there was the sea all around.

006 *izuanga tiamadju itua tjałavavavan a gadu a*
i-zua-anga ti-a-madju i-tua tjała-va-vaw-an a gadu a
LOC-that-indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS LOC-OBL most-RED-above-NOM C mountain C

tjemavatjavang tua vaung tua lizuk tua gadu, aya.
em=tjava-tjavang tua vaung tua lizuk tua gadu aya
AF=RED-create OBL sea OBL plain OBL mountain say
There they were on the highest mountain making the sea, the plains and the mountains, they say.

007 *"qai qai, muri pułaułaung itjen tua maretimałimałi a kasiw*
qai qai ma-uri pu-łau-łaung itjen tua mare-ti-małi-małi a kasiw
oh oh STAT-will have-RED-shade F.we(INC) OBL pair-?-RED-different C tree

a venutsiatsiar a venangavangał tua kakanen a mareka kaizuazua,"
a en=tsia=vutsiar a en=vanga-vangał tua ka-kan-en a mareka ka-i-zua-zua
C AF=RED=flower C AF=RED-fruit OBL RED-eat-PF C many ?-LOC-RED-that

aya uta, aya.
aya uta aya
say also say
"Well we'll get shade from the various kinds of trees that have blossom and bear fruit for food of all kinds(?)," they said too, they say.
[*venutsiatsiar*: F also has *vetsiar*]
[*venangavangał*: was *venagavangał*]

008 *manu izuanga uta naseleman anga a gadu a kasiw*
manu i-zua-anga uta na-selem-an anga a gadu a kasiw
then LOC-that-indeed also PAST-dark-NOM indeed C mountain C tree

matatukalulum anga matatuzarzarzar anga vutsiar, aya.
ma-ta-tu-ka-lu-lum anga ma-ta-tu-zar-zarzar anga vutsiar aya
STAT-RED-alike-?-RED-ripe indeed STAT-RED-alike-RED-shine indeed flower say
And so the mountains became shaded (?); trees got ripe in turn and the blossoms became bright in turn, they say.
[*matatukalulum*: constituency uncertain]

009 *nuka tsemel anga tsinuvuqan anga sepełuq a kana qipuqipu*
nuka tsemel anga in=tsuvuq-an anga se-pełuq a ka-na qipu-qipu
even plant indeed PERF=sprout-NOM indeed INVOL-full C after-then RED-soil

anga, aya.
anga aya
indeed say
Grass too sprang up, and all the ground was full up, they say.

010 *manu "qai muri pukuku itjen, qunu, tua qemuzimuzip tua*
manu qai ma-uri pu-kuku itjen qunu tua em=em=uzi=quzip tua
then oh STAT-will have-pet F.we(INC) child OBL AF=AF=RED=animal OBL

qayaqayam tua łemangułanguy i taladj tua vaung," manu aya uta
qaya-qayam tua em=łangu-łanguy i taladj tua vaung manu aya uta
RED-inspect OBL AF=RED-swim LOC inside OBL sea then say also

tiamadju a marałak, aya.
ti-a-madju a mare-ałak aya
F-PL-3RD.PERS C pair-child say
Then "Now we'll have pets, child; animals, birds and things that swim in the sea," the parent and child also said, they say.

011 *saka tjikezem, manu ka tsimeraw izuanga uta; nekanga*
sa-ka tjikezem manu ka tsimeraw i-zua-anga uta neka-anga
and-after close.eyes then after open.eyes LOC-that-indeed also no-indeed

nuka ita ika izua.
nuka ita ika i-zua
even one not LOC-that
So they closed their eyes, and when they opened them, there it all was; there was not a thing missing;
[*ita*: not in original text, but required here]

012 *nekanga nu kinaqusaw tua kuku, aya.*
neka-anga nu in=ka-qusaw tua kuku aya
no-indeed of PERF=STAT-missing OBL pet say
they weren't missing any pets, they say.

013 *saka izuanga tiamadju a talidulidu sakamaya, aya.*
sa-ka i-zua-anga ti-a-madju a lidu=talidu sakamaya aya
and-after LOC-that-indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS C RED=interested only say
So there they were just enjoying themselves, they say.

014 *"qai, qunu, djavadjavay łakua ku pai sa-u ḍi, łizavu a tja*
qai qunu djava-djavay łakua ku pai sa-u ḍi łizaw-u a tja
oh child RED-do.much but well well go-IMP oh look-IMP C our(INC)

sikataqałan i tjariteku," ayain ti Pulelelelengan nua zua
si-ka-ta-qała-an i tjari-teku aya-en ti Pulelelelengan nua zua
IF-main-?-outsider-NOM LOC utmost-down say-PF F.H (name) by that

kama ti Kułełełełe, aya.
kama ti Kułełełełe aya
father F.H (name) say
"Now, child, I'm sorry but off you go and see our fellows in the world below," said father Kułełełełe to Pulelelelengan, they say.

015 *"manu ika na ku łizaven ḍi, kama, ki kemudakuda?" aya ti*
manu ika na ku łizaw-en ḍi kama ki em=kuda-kuda aya ti
then not well I look-PF oh father will AF=RED-do.what say F.H

Pulelelelengan, aya.
Pulelelelengan aya
(name) say
So "If I go to see them,(?) father, what am I to do?" said Pulelelelengan, they say.
[*ika na*: was *i kana*]

016 *qau "ui, djavadjavay, łakua sa-u kivakini ki pasemalaw a tja*
qau ui djava-djavay łakua sa-u kivakini ki pa-em=salaw a tja
so yes RED-do.much but go-IMP ? will cause-AF=tell C our(INC)

sikataqałan, qunu.
si-ka-ta-qała-an qunu
IF-main-?-outsider-NOM child
"Yes, I'm sorry, but go (?); our fellows will tell you, child.

017 *łakua maya patjekutjekuł tua tjelu a puluq a qadaw, ḍi, sa su*
łakua maya pa-tjeku-tjekuł tua tjelu a puluq a qadaw ḍi sa su
but don't cause-RED-exceed OBL three C ten C sun oh and you(S)

pangtjez sa su kitsepeliw a sema maza," aya ti Kułełełełe tua zua
pangetjez sa su ki-tsepeliw a em=sa maza aya ti Kułełełełe tua zua
come and you(S) do-return C AF=go here say F.H (name) OBL that

ałak a ti Pulelelelengan a pazazekazekatj, aya.
ałak a ti Pulelelelengan a pa-za-zeka-zekatj aya
child C F.H (name) C cause-RED-RED-share say
But don't stay longer than 30 days and come back here," ordered Kułełełełe to his child Pulelelelengan, they say.
[*pazazekazekatj*: 'give order to']

018 *sa vaik ti Pulelelelengan a łemizaw tua i tjariteku, aya.*
sa vaik ti Pulelelelengan a em=łizaw tua i tjari-teku aya
and leave F.H (name) C AF=look OBL LOC utmost-down say
So Pulelelelengan went to visit the world below, they say.

019 *manu zemuker i tjariteku maka tjaia Muatjukutjuku azua ti*
manu em=zuker i tjari-teku maka tjai-a Muatjukutjuku a-zua ti
then AF=arrive LOC utmost-down via OBL.H-PL (name) C-that F.H

Pulelelelengan, aya.
Pulelelelengan aya
(name) say
And Pulelelelengan arrived in the world below by way of the Muatjukutjuku house, they say.
[*tjaia*: was *tjaya*]

020 *manu ka zemuker anga, "kełu, ła sikataqałan.*
manu ka em=zuker anga keł-u ła si-ka-ta-qała-an
then after AF=arrive indeed come-IMP oh IF-main-?-outsider-NOM
And when he had arrived, he kept saying: "Come here, fellow villagers,

021 *qa kełu satjaiqayavu tjanuaken.*
qa keł-u sa-tjai-qayaw-u tjanu-aken
ah come-IMP go-OBL-front-IMP OBL-I
come to me.

022 *ku nu tjautsikelay ku nu pasemalavay," ayaya timadju.*
ku nu tjautsikel-ay ku nu pa-se-malaw-ay ay-aya ti-madju
I you(P) story-LF I you(P) cause-INVOL-tell-LF RED-say F-3RD.PERS
I will speak to you and explain to you."
[*ku nu*: note double preposed pronouns, see Egli p.156-7.]

023 *sa qepuqepu-i a setjariteku, sa pasekełangi tua*
sa qepu-qepu-i a se-tjari-teku sa pa-se-kełang-i tua
and RED-associate-PF C person.of-utmost-down and cause-INVOL-know-PF OBL

nanguaqan nua kinaizuanan, tua izua kama nimadju a
na-nguaq-an nua in=ka-i-zua-anan tua i-zua kama ni-madju a
STAT-good-NOM of PERF=?-LOC-that-still OBL LOC-that father of-3RD.PERS C

tjałakiłivakan,	*nu*	*ayaya,*	*qai*	*ka*	*sekełang*	*anga*	*a*	*i*
tjaîa-ki-îivak-an	nu	ay-aya	qai	ka	se-keîang	anga	a	i
most-do-care.for-NOM	when	RED-say	oh	after	INVOL-know	indeed	C	LOC

tjariteku,	*"qu*	*manu*	*kemuda*	*a*	*nu*	*izua*	*tjananguaq*	*tua*
tjari-teku	qu	manu	em=kuda	a	nu	i-zua	tja-na-nguaq	tua
utmost-down	well	then	AF=do.what	C	when	LOC-that	more-STAT-good	OBL

tja	*kinaizuanan,*	*a*	*nu*	*izua*	*rukiłivakan*	*aravats,"*
tja	in=ka-i-zua-anan	a	nu	i-zua	ru-ki-îivak-an	a-ravats
our(INC)	PERF=?-LOC-that-still	C	when	LOC-that	many-do-care.for-NOM	C-true

aya zua	*setjariteku,*	*aya.*
aya zua	se-tjari-teku	aya
say that	person.of-utmost-down	say

So he gathered the people of the world below, and explained to them the goodness of his place, and about his most loving father. And when the people of the world below understood this, they said: "So that's how it is; so there is a place better than our place, and there is someone really loving," said the people of the world below, they say.

024

saka	*a*	*mapuzangal*	*anga*	*tua*	*patsun*	*tua*	*sema*
sa-ka	a	ma-pu-zangal	anga	tua	pa-tsun	tua	em=sa
and-after	C	STAT-have-hope	indeed	OBL	cause-see	OBL	AF=go

tjarivavaw,	*aya.*
tjari-va-vaw	aya
utmost-RED-above	say

And they longed to see and to get to the world above, they say.

025

"qai,	*ła*	*sikataqałan,*	*patjatjautsiketsikelu*	*anga*	*ḍi,*
qai	îa	si-ka-ta-qaîa-an	pa-tja-tsike=tjautsikel-u	anga	÷i
oh	oh	IF-main-?-outsider-NOM	cause-more-RED=story-IMP	indeed	oh

pasekełangu	*anga*	*a*	*ika*	*nakiqepu*	*a*	*ika*	*ku*
pa-se-keîang-u	anga	a	ika	na-ki-qepu	a	ika	ku
cause-INVOL-know-IMP	indeed	C	not	PAST-do-associate	C	not	I

sintsevungan	*ḍi;*	*uła*	*mun*	*a*	*kemłang*	*a*	*mapułat*	*tua*
in=se-tsevung-an	÷i	uîa	mun	a	m=keîang	a	ma-puîat	tua
PERF=INVOL-meet-LF	oh	so.that	F.you(P)	C	AF=know	C	NUM-all	OBL

kiłivak	*ni*	*kama,*	*tua*	*nanguaqan*	*nua*	*i*	*tjarivavaw,"*	*aya*	*ti*
ki-îivak	ni	kama	tua	na-nguaq-an	nua	i	tjari-va-vaw	aya	ti
do-care.for	of	father	OBL	STAT-good-NOM	of	LOC	utmost-RED-above	say	F.H

Kułe-Pulelelelengan.
Kuîe-Pulelelelengan
(name)-(name)
"Fellow villagers, tell one another; explain to the people who didn't turn up, whom I haven't met; so that you will all know the love of my father and the goodness of the world above," said Kułe-Pulelelelengan.

026 *sa vaik a kitsepeliw a sema tua kama i tjarivavaw, aya.*
sa vaik a ki-tsepeliw a em=sa tua kama i tjari-va-vaw aya
and leave C do-return C AF=go OBL father LOC utmost-RED-above say
And he went back to his father in the world above, they say.

027 *sa tjautsiketsikel anga tua kama a ɬemitaɬita tua*
sa tsike=tjautsikel anga tua kama a em=ɬita-ɬita tua
and RED=story indeed OBL father C AF=RED-one OBL

kinaitjaritekuan ti Pulelelelengan, aya.
in=ka-i-tjari-teku-an ti Pulelelelengan aya
PERF=main-LOC-utmost-down-NOM F.H (name) say
And Pulelelelengan told his father everything that he had done in the world below, they say.

028 *selapay nu namalevaleva aravats a "manu izua nanguaq*
se-lapay nu na-ma-leva-leva a-ravats a manu i-zua na-nguaq
INVOL-severe of PAST-STAT-RED-pleased C-true C then LOC-that STAT-good

matu sa tja kinaizuanan, manu zua izua
ma-tu tsa tja in=ka-i-zua-anan manu zua i-zua
STAT-alike this our(INC) PERF=?-LOC-that-still then that LOC-that

mamazangiɬan aravats a rukiɬivak," aya setjariteku.
ma-ma-zangiɬ-an a-ravats a ru-ki-ɬivak aya se-tjari-teku
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM C-true C many-do-care.for say person.of-utmost-down
And the people were very glad. "So there is something good like our own place. And there is a real chief who is truly loving," said the people of the world below,
[*matu sa*: was *ma tusa*]

029 *saka namalevanga aravats, saka sa su u*
sa-ka na-ma-leva-anga a-ravats sa-ka sa su u
and-after PAST-STAT-pleased-indeed C-true and-after and you(S) ?

iravaravanga sa su(?) kalevalevanga tua sema
i-rava-rava-anga sa su ka-leva-leva-anga tua em=sa
LOC-RED-prepare-indeed and you(S) become-RED-pleased-indeed OBL AF=go

tjarivavaw a kitjaviliɬ tua ti` Pulelelelengan, aya.
tjari-va-vaw a ki-tja-viliɬ tua ti Pulelelelengan aya
utmost-RED-above C do-more-behind OBL F.H (name) say
and they were very glad, "So get ready and be glad to go to the world above following Pulelelelengan," they said (?).

There were according to my story, there were a parent and child called Kuɬeɬeɬeɬe and Pulelelelengan who lived in the world above, they say. With only the two of them they were extremely lonely, they say. "Well, son, we are lonely. Now we'll make the sea, the plains and the mountains," said the parent and child, they say. So then there was the sea all around. There they were on the highest mountain making the sea, the plains and the mountains, they say. "Well we'll get shade from the various kinds of trees that have blossom and bear fruit for food of all kinds(?)," they said too, they say. And so the mountains became shaded (?); the trees got ripe in turn and the blossoms became bright in turn, they say. Grass too sprang up, and all the ground was full up, they say. Then "Now we'll have pets, child; animals, birds and things that swim in the sea," the parent

and child also said, they say. So they closed their eyes, and when they opened them, there it all was; there was not a thing missing; they weren't missing any pets, they say.

So there they were just enjoying themselves, they say. "Now, child, I'm sorry but off you go and see our fellows in the world below," said father Kułełełełe to Pulelelelengan, they say. So "If I go to see them, father, what am I to do?" said Pulelelelengan, they say. "Yes, I'm sorry, but go (?); our fellows will tell you, child. But don't stay longer than 30 days and come back here," ordered Kułełełełe to his child Pulelelelengan, they say. So Pulelelelengan went to visit the world below, they say. And Pulelelelengan arrived in the world below by way of the Muatjukutjuku house, they say. And when he had arrived, he kept saying: "Come here, fellow villagers, come to me. I will speak to you and explain to you." So he gathered the people of the world below, and explained to them the goodness of his place, and about his most loving father. And when the people of the world below understood this, they said: "So that's how it is; so there is something good like our own place, and there is someone really loving," said the people of the world below, they say. And they longed to see and to get to the world above, they say. "Fellow villagers, tell one another; explain to the people who didn't turn up, whom I haven't met; so that you will all know the love of my father and the goodness of the world above," said Kułe-Pulelelelengan.

And he went back to his father in the world above, they say. And Pulelelelengan told his father everything that he had done in the world below, they say. And the people were very glad. "So there is something better (?) than our place. And there is a real chief who is truly loving," said the people of the world below, and they were very glad, "So get ready and be glad to go to the world above following Pulelelelengan," they said (?).

092 WEDDING CONSULTATION

Vałulu dialect

(meaning of text obscure in many places)

001 *aitsu* *uri* *pasemalaw* *aken* *tua* *sikazepzepan* *nua*
aya-i-tsu uri pa-em=salaw aken tua si-ka-zepzep-an nua
be.thus-LOC-this will cause-AF=tell F.I OBL IF-STAT-converse-NOM of

maretseketsekeł *a* *mamazangiłan.*
mare-tseke-tsekeł a ma-ma-zangił-an
pair-RED-spouse C STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
Now I am going to tell you about the discussions of chiefly families who are planning to arrange a marriage.

002 *aitsu* *nu* *izua* *uri* *marepaukuukuz* *nua*
aya-i-tsu nu i-zua uri mare-pa-uku-ukuz nua
be.thus-LOC-this when LOC-that will pair-cause-RED-engage of

mamazangiłan, *azua* *sauqałay* *mangtjez* *a* *sema* *zua* *itua*
ma-ma-zangił-an a-zua sa-uqałay m-pangetjez a em=sa zua i-tua
STAT-STAT-chief-NOM C-that QAL-male AF-come C AF=go that LOC-OBL

savavayan; *sa* *patsun* *tazua* *sauzayan* *a* *uri* *sinisusu*
sa-vavayan sa pa-tsun ta-zua sa-uzay-an a uri in=si-susu
QAL-female and cause-see OBL-that QAL-possession-NOM C will PERF=IF-proceed

tua *zua* *vavayan,* *sa* *kazepzep* *tuki* *marasudj* *tuki* *ini.*
tua zua vavayan sa ka-zepzep tu-ki ma-rasudj tu-ki ini
OBL that female and STAT-converse COMPL-how STAT-align COMPL-how not
When chiefly families are going to have a betrothal the man's family come to the woman's place; and they (the bride's family) look at the possessions which are to be given as a bride price for the woman, and they discuss whether they can agree or not.

003 *nu* *inika* *marasudj* *magagulagula* *tua* *maretseketsekeł.*
nu ini-ka ma-rasudj ma-ga-gula-gula tua mare-tseke-tsekeł
when not-after STAT-align STAT-RED-RED-interrupt OBL pair-RED-spouse
If they don't agree the marriage cannot go forward.

004 *łakua* *nu* *marasudj* *tjara* *marepaukuukuz* *anga* *tiamadju.*
łakua nu ma-rasudj tjara mare-pa-uku-ukuz anga ti-a-madju
but when STAT-align surely pair-cause-RED-engage indeed F-PL-3RD.PERS
But if they agree they certainly are betrothed.

005 *qau* *aitsu* *uri* *qivu* *anga* *ken* *tua* *kapatatevelavela*
qau aya-i-tsu uri qivu anga aken tua ka-pa-ta-vela=tevela
so be.thus-LOC-this will speak indeed F.I OBL become-cause-RED-RED=answer

niamadju.
ni-a-madju
of-PL-3RD.PERS
So now I'll tell you the dialogue between them.

006 *maitutsu* *a* *savavayan:* *pai* *aitsu* *a* *timun* *a* *nia*
ma-aya-tu-tsu a sa-vavayan pai aya-i-tsu a ti-mun a nia
STAT-be.thus-alike-this C QAL-female well be.thus-LOC-this C F-you(P) C our(EXC)

kaka *a* *nia* *vetjek,* *uri* *putakalanan* *aken.*
kaka a nia vetjek uri pu-ta-kala-anan aken
sibling C our(EXC) sibling will have-one-thread-still F.I
This is what the woman's side say: Now our brothers and sisters I have something to say.
[*putakalanan*: could be *-an* NOM + *-an* LF at end.]

007 *aku* *ika* *tjen* *a* *maleva,* *aku* *ika* *tjen* *a* *seman* *azua* *tua*
aku ika tjen a ma-leva aku ika tjen a em=sane a-zua tua
why not F.we(INC) C STAT-pleased why not F.we(INC) C AF=make C-that OBL

mareka *tja* *kaka* *tua* *mareka* *tja* *sikataqaɬan* *a*
mareka tja kaka tua mareka tja si-ka-ta-qaɬa-an a
many our(INC) sibling OBL many our(INC) IF-main-?-outsider-NOM C

nakemasi *tjuqaɬa.*
na-em=kasi tju-qaɬa
PAST-AF=from there-outsider
Why shouldn't we be glad and praise one another as siblings and fellow-tribespeople from elsewhere?

008 *maɬimaɬi* *a* *nasaɬinga* *mun* *a* *nakiɬivak* *mun*
maɬimaɬi a nasa-ɬinga mun a na-ki-ɬivak mun
thank.you C perhaps-desire F.you(P) C PAST-do-care.for F.you(P)

nalitjengits(?) *mun* *kaumaya* *tua* *nu* *aɬak* *tua* *nu* *vuvu.*
nalitjengits mun kaumaya tua nu aɬak tua nu vuvu
? F.you(P) perhaps OBL your(P) child OBL your(P) grandchild
We are grateful that you want, love and perhaps ? your child or grandchild.

009 *ɬakua* *pai* *aitsu* *a* *nu* *sinipaqayam* *aitsu* *a*
ɬakua pai aya-i-tsu a nu in=si-pa-qayam aya-i-tsu a
but well be.thus-LOC-this C you(P) PERF=IF-cause-inspect be.thus-LOC-this C

nu *kinuletj* *a* *nu* *linanaw* *tu* *kiɬivak* *tua* *nu* *aɬak*
nu in=kuletj a nu in=lanaw tu ki-ɬivak tua nu aɬak
you(P) PERF=supply C you(P) PERF=decide? OBL do-care.for OBL your(P) child

tua *nu* *vuvu,* *aku* *inika* *uri* *tsengtseng,* *aku* *inika* *uri*
tua nu vuvu aku ini-ka uri tsengtseng aku ini-ka uri
OBL your(P) grandchild why not-after will enough why not-after will

nanguaq *a* *tja* *sipalungulungu* *nua* *mareka* *kaka* *a* *marevetjevetjek,*
na-nguaq a tja si-pa-ɬungulungu nua mareka kaka a mare-vetje-vetjek
STAT-good C we(INC) IF-cause-put.beside by many sibling C pair-RED-sibling

aya sa ku kininemneman.
aya tsa ku in=kinemnem-an
say this my PERF=think-NOM
But what you have set out, what you have provided as an expression(?) of your love for your child or grandchild, why isn't it suitable, why isn't it up to what we expect(?) of our brothers and sisters?, is what I am thinking.

010 *sauqałay: ui tjara maitazua, uła namaya aya men.*
sa-uqaîay ui tjara ma-aya-ta-zua uîa na-ma-aya aya amen
QAL-male yes surely STAT-be.thus-?-that so.that PAST-STAT-be.thus say F.we(EXC)
Man's side: Yes, that's true. We want the same.

011 *nia kinłang tu inika napenapadjulu, tu*
nia in=keîang tu ini-ka na-in=pa-pa-djulu tu
we(EXC) PERF=know COMPL not-after PAST-PERF=cause-cause-ready COMPL

inika uri nu siselaing a nia vusam a nia tjałayan.
ini-ka uri nu si-se-laing a nia vusam a nia tjaîayan.
not-after will you(P) IF-INVOL-follow C our(EXC) seed C our(EXC) big.seeds
We know that it looks as if it's not properly prepared, that it wouldn't be acceptable to you our original roots.

012 *łakua qau saka nu aya itjen.*
îakua qau sa-ka nu aya itjen
but so and-after when say F.we(INC)
But then what are we to do?

013 *pai małi ki tsadja i inuan a nu, a kinitjuayan*
pai maîi ki tsadja i inu-an a nu a in=ki-tjuay-an
well different will far LOC where-NOM C your(P) C PERF=do-possess-NOM

a kiniłałaungan nua nu ałak nua nu vuvu uta, nu
a in=ki-îa-îaung-an nua nu aîak nua nu vuvu uta nu
C PERF=do-RED-shade-NOM of your(P) child of your(P) grandchild also you(P)

kełangen uta tu nasemalimsim, nu kełangen uta tu
keîang-en uta tu na-m=al=simsim nu keîang-en uta tu
know-PF also COMPL PAST-AF=QAL=pity you(P) know-PF also COMPL

napenapeqauqaung uta aravats; saka kiłałava mun
na-in=pa-pe-qau-qaung uta a-ravats sa-ka ki-îa-îava mun
PAST-PERF=cause-emerge-RED-cry also C-true and-after do-RED-wait F.you(P)

saka pakadjele mun a maya numa.
sa-ka pa-ka-djele mun a ma-aya numa
and-after cause-STAT-simple F.you(P) C STAT-be.thus indeed
It would be different if the possessions and abodes of your children and grandchildren were a long way away. You know too that we are badly off, you know that we are very pitiable too; and you were waiting for us and you seem to belittle(?) us.

014 *qau mere anemanga men uta a nu ałak a nu vuvu;*
qau mere a-nema-anga amen uta a nu ałak a nu vuvu
so large ?-what-indeed F.we(EXC) also C your(P) child C your(P) grandchild

nu aitutsuin uta aravats a paqaung aravats.
nu aya-tu-tsu-in uta a-ravats a pa-qaung a-ravats
you(P) be.thus-alike-this-NOM also C-true C cause-cry C-true
So what are we to become, we your children and grandchildren? You treat us like this and cause us a lot of pain.

015 *savavayan: ui ma, tjara maitazua.*
sa-vavayan ui ma tjara ma-aya-ta-zua
QAL-female yes well surely STAT-be.thus-?-that
Woman's side: Well yes, it's like that.

016 *nia kełangen a maitazua łakua, pai aitsu a nu*
nia kełang-en a ma-aya-ta-zua łakua pai aya-i-tsu a nu
we(EXC) know-PF C STAT-be.thus-?-that but well be.thus-LOC-this C your(P)

varung uta a nu kininemneman uta nia, a mareka nia kaka
varung uta a nu in=kinemnem-an uta nia a mareka nia kaka
chest also C your(P) PERF=think-NOM also we(EXC) C many our(EXC) sibling

sauqałay, inika nu sinipaquliqulidan aravats kaumaya ta
sa-uqałay ini-ka nu in=si-pa-quli-qulid-an a-ravats kaumaya tua
QAL-male not-after you(P) PERF=IF-cause-RED-real-LF C-true perhaps OBL

nu kininemneman.
nu in=kinemnem-an
your(P) PERF=think-NOM
We know it's like that; but, brothers and sisters of the man's side, your hearts and thoughts, you have not been truly honest in your thoughts.
[*nia* (second instance): probably a speech error]

017 *pai aitsu nu kana nu nalemanaw(?) mun, nuka*
pai aya-i-tsu nu ka-na nu na-em=lanaw mun nuka
well be.thus-LOC-this when after-then when PAST-AF=decide? F.you(P) even

nu pinaquliqulidanen a nu kininemneman, uzi ki
nu in=pa-quli-qulid-an-en a nu in=kinemnem-an uzi ki
you(P) PERF=cause-RED-real-NOM-PF C your(P) PERF=think-NOM well will

kana nu pinarumaya, łakua ayatua namatsaquan
ka-na nu in=pa-ru-ma-aya łakua aya-tua na-ma-tsaqu-an
after-then you(P) PERF=cause-many-STAT-be.thus but say-OBL PAST-STAT-able-LF

mun a kinemnem, tutsu anga małian anga tja
mun a kinemnem tu-tsu anga małi-an anga tja
F.you(P) C think OBL-this indeed different-LF indeed our(INC)

kakudan, inika tjen a kematsukatsu tua sitiavan tua
ka-kuda-an ini-ka tjen a em=katsu-katsu tua si-tiaw-an tua
?-do.what-NOM not-after F.we(INC) C AF=RED-carry OBL IF-one.day-NOM OBL

sikatjeluan *a* *tja* *kakudan.*
sika-tjelu-an a tja ka-kuda-an
number-three-NOM C our(INC) ?-do.what-NOM
Well if you had ?, if you had been honest in your thinking, you would have ?. But because you are clever at thinking, you say now the customs have changed, we don't keep on the customs of yesterday and the day before.

018 *aitsu* *a* *izuanga* *tja* *kivadaqan* *a* *ḍipung* *a* *imaza*
aya-i-tsu a i-zua-anga tja ki-vadaq-an a ÷ipung a i-maza
be.thus-LOC-this C LOC-that-indeed we(INC) do-ask-LF C Japan C LOC-here

i *kungkuan.*
i kungkuan
LOC police.station
Now there are the Japanese here in the police station to ask.

019 *ki* *tja* *paligiligiłi* *anga,* *ki* *tja* *katsaqu-i* *anga* *a*
ki tja pa-ligi-ligiî-i anga ki tja ka-tsaqu-i anga a
will we(INC) cause-RED-deceive-PF indeed will we(INC) ?-able-PF indeed C

qivu *tiamadju,* *sa* *tje* *palaluqeluqemi,* *aya* *nu* *varung.*
qivu ti-a-madju sa tje pa-la-luqe-luqem-i aya nu varung
speak F-PL-3RD.PERS and we(INC) cause-RED-RED-fortune-PF say your(P) chest
We'll deceive them, we'll talk cleverly to them and we'll get the better of them, is what you're saying in your hearts.

020 *łakua* *pai* *aitsu* *a* *nu* *vuvu* *aitsu* *a* *nu*
îakua pai aya-i-tsu a nu vuvu aya-i-tsu a nu
but well be.thus-LOC-this C your(P) grandchild be.thus-LOC-this C your(P)

ałak *palisi* *a* *nu* *katsaquin,* *palisi* *a* *nu* *kaligiłen* *a* *qivu.*
aîak palisi a nu ka-tsaqu-en palisi a nu ka-ligiî-en a qivu
child taboo C your(P) STAT-able-PF taboo C you(P) ?-deceive-PF C speak
But it's taboo to fool your grandchild or child, it's taboo to deceive her in words.

021 *nu* *namaitazua* *a* *nu* *varung,* *neka,* *ika* *tjen* *a* *sa*
nu na-ma-aya-ta-zua a nu varung neka ika tjen a tsa
when PAST-STAT-be.thus-?-that C your(P) chest no not F.we(INC) C this

malalaing *angata.*
ma-la-laing anga-ta
STAT-RED-follow indeed-?
If that's the way your hearts are, that's it, we certainly won't agree.

022 *sauqałay:* *paḍia* *mun* *paḍia* *mun* *a* *nia* *vusam* *a*
sa-uqaîay pa-÷ia mun pa-÷ia mun a nia vusam a
QAL-male cause-correct F.you(P) cause-correct F.you(P) C our(EXC) seed C

mareka *nia* *kaka.*
mareka nia kaka
many our(EXC) sibling
Man's side: You are quite right, quite right, brothers and sisters who are our roots.

023 *łakua pai mereanemanga uta nu ałak a nu kaka.*
łakua pai mere-a-nema-anga uta nu ałak a nu kaka
but well large-?-what-indeed also your(P) child C your(P) sibling
But what are we to become, your children and your brothers and sisters?

024 *pai titjen a tsautsau anga kasałinga-i kipakimi tua*
pai ti-tjen a tsau-tsau anga ka-sa-łinga-i ki-pa-kim-i tua
well F-we(INC) C RED-being indeed ?-want-desire-PF self-cause-search-PF OBL

mana tsekeł nua tja ałak, nu aya itjen a
ma-avan-a tsekeł nua tja ałak nu aya itjen a
STAT-exact-? spouse of our(INC) child when say F.we(INC) C

timaimanga, tjara napapułat itjen tjara nakinemnem itjen
ti-ima-ima-anga tjara na-pa-pułat itjen tjara na-kinemnem itjen
F-RED-who-indeed surely PAST-cause-all F.we(INC) surely PAST-think F.we(INC)

tua mana uri napenapadjulu, nu mateveteveł uta
tua ma-avan-a uri na-in=pa-pa-djulu nu ma-teve-teveł uta
OBL STAT-exact-? will PAST-PERF=cause-cause-ready when STAT-RED-join also

tjara liaw aravats a kai, tjara łakua, qau saka nema tja
tjara liaw a-ravats a kai tjara łakua qau sa-ka nema tja
surely many C-true C speech surely but so and-after what we(INC)

alapen, pakasinu itjen nu masa uraman nu
alap-en pa-kasi-inu itjen nu ma-sa uram-an nu
take-PF cause-from-where F.we(INC) when STAT-maybe need-NOM when

masa sinalimsiman.
ma-sa in=al=simsim-an
STAT-maybe PERF=QAL=pity-NOM
All of us human beings when anyone of us says that we want and are looking for a spouse for our child, we certainly do our best, we certainly think of what will be proper provision. But what are we to take, what way are we to take because of our need and our pitiable state?
[*masa*: hard to see meaning 'because' here, could be 'perhaps']
[*alapen*: was *lapen*]

025 *pai aitsu a nu ałak a nu vuvu mana*
pai aya-i-tsu a nu ałak a nu vuvu ma-avan-a
well be.thus-LOC-this C your(P) child C your(P) grandchild STAT-exact-?

sika namaitutsu, aitsu kinamiaminan
sika na-ma-aya-tu-tsu aya-i-tsu in=ka-ami-amin-an
reason PAST-STAT-be.thus-alike-this be.thus-LOC-this PERF=?-RED-no.more-NOM

anga pinapułatan anga.
anga in=pa-pułat-an anga
indeed PERF=cause-all-LF indeed
And that's the way it is with your child or grandchild. We have got to the end of everything, we have done everything for him.

026 *łakua tjara nu pakadjelein.*
łakua tjara nu pa-ka-djele-en
but surely you(P) cause-STAT-simple-PF
But you just despise (?) it.

027 *łakua qadjaw nimun uta.*
łakua qadjaw ni-mun uta
but perhaps of-you(P) also
But it's up to you,

028 *nu ika saqetju a nu varung, nu ika mun a salełseł uta tua*
nu ika saqetju a nu varung nu ika mun a al=sełseł uta tua
when not painful C your(P) chest when not F.you(P) C QAL=pity also OBL

nu ałak, timun a mareka a tia kama a tia kina.
nu ałak ti-mun a mareka a ti-a kama a ti-a kina
your(P) child F-you(P) C many C F.H-PL father C F.H-PL mother
if your hearts aren't sad, if you don't have pity on your child, our fathers and mothers.

029 *savavayan: maitazua łakua uri mezangal sa ku kai.*
sa-vavayan ma-aya-ta-zua łakua uri me-zangal tsa ku kai
QAL-female STAT-be.thus-?-that but will AF-hope this my speech
Woman's side: That's so; but I'm going to go on speaking.

030 *pai kana sa kudanga kana kamatsulen tua sitsuayan*
pai ka-na sa kuda-anga ka-na ka-matsul-en tua si-tsuay-an
well after-then and do.what-indeed after-then ?-?-PF OBL IF-long.time-NOM

tua sitiavan tua sikatjeluan.
tua si-tiaw-an tua sika-tjelu-an
OBL IF-one.day-NOM OBL number-three-NOM
(?) How would it be if we followed the customs of long ago, of yesterday and the day before.

031 *pai katiaw kasikatjelu na tja pinakakaizuazua*
pai ka-tiaw ka-sika-tjelu na tja in=pa-ka-ka-i-zua-zua
well PAST-one.day PAST-number-three PAST more PERF=cause-?-?-LOC-RED-that

a tja pinakakudakudanga nu mareka salingałinga itjen
a tja in=pa-ka-kuda-kuda-anga nu mareka sa-łinga-łinga itjen
C more PERF=cause-?-RED-do.what-indeed when many QAL-RED-desire F.we(INC)

a mareka kaka a marevetjevetjek a tjara kavusavusaman.
a mareka kaka a mare-vetje-vetjek a tjara ka-vusa-vusam-an
C many sibling C pair-RED-sibling C surely main-RED-seed-NOM
Well yesterday and the day before (?) there were all sorts of things we had to give and do if we wanted one another, we brothers and sisters of the real chiefly families.

032 *łakua pai tutsu malumay anga, izuanga tja kivadaqan*
łakua pai tu-tsu ma-lum-ay anga i-zua-anga tja ki-vadaq-an
but well OBL-this STAT-ripe-LF indeed LOC-that-indeed our(INC) do-ask-NOM

izua pazazekazekatj tjanuitjen numa.
i-zua pa-za-zeka-zekatj tjanu-itjen numa
LOC-that cause-RED-RED-share OBL-we(INC) indeed
But now we have gone weak(?). There are people to ask. There are people who give us orders.
[*malumay*: could possibly be *ma-lunay* STAT-out.of.action or *ma-lumaɬ* STAT-ashamed.]

033 *aku mun a setseleɬ a maya, aku mun a seman paravats*
aku mun a se-tseleɬ a ma-aya aku mun a em=sane pa-ravats
why F.you(P) C INVOL-cold C STAT-be.thus why F.you(P) C AF=make cause-true

aravats numa?
a-ravats numa
C-true indeed
Why are you so cold(?)? Why do you flatter(?) so much?

034 *saka qadjaw nimun.*
sa-ka qadjaw ni-mun
and-after perhaps of-you(P)
And it's up to you.

035 *pai tutsu tja minadjeledjele anga sa kininemneman.*
pai tu-tsu tja in=ma-djele-djele anga tsa in=kinemnem-an
well OBL-this we(INC) PERF=STAT-RED-simple indeed this PERF=think-NOM
And now we have all cut down our ideas(?).

036 *łakua ika mun a masan itaɬ ika mun a masan*
łakua ika mun a ma-sane ita-ɬ ika mun a ma-sane
but not F.you(P) C STAT-make one-times not F.you(P) C STAT-make

musaɬ tua nu kininemneman tua nu sinipaqayam.
ma-usa-ɬ tua nu in=kinemnem-an tua nu in=si-pa-qayam
NUM-two-times OBL your(P) PERF=think-NOM OBL your(P) PERF=IF-cause-inspect
But you haven't thought once or twice (?) about what you have put on show.

037 *pai aitsu a keḍikeḍi inika matsidiɬ inika maḍusa*
pai aya-i-tsu a keḍi-keḍi ini-ka ma-tsidiɬ ini-ka ma-ḍusa
well be.thus-LOC-this C RED-small not-after STAT-alone not-after NUM-two

matjałałak, tjuruvu aravats a matjałałak.
matja-łałak tjuruvu a-ravats a matja-łałak
NUM-child many C-true C NUM-child
This child hasn't got just one or just two parents; there are very many people (of the parents' generation)(?).

038 *nu* *mavadavaday* *semainu* *tunazuanga* *tjara* *tja*
nu ma-vada-vaday em=sa-inu tu-na-zua-anga tjara tja
when STAT-RED-separate AF=go-where OBL-PAST-that-indeed surely we(INC)

nemayain *anga* *nu* *qempuqepu,* *tja* *nemayain* *anga*
nema-aya-en anga nu m=qepu-qepu tja nema-aya-en anga
what-be.thus-PF indeed when AF=RED-associate we(INC) what-be.thus-PF indeed

nu *qivu.*
nu qivu
when speak
If they all go off everywhere, what are we to say to call them together again?

039 *nu* *mateveteveɬ* *uta* *tjara* *liaw* *aravats* *a* *kai,* *tjara* *vutselay(?)*
nu ma-teve-teveɬ uta tjara liaw a-ravats a kai tjara vutselay
when STAT-RED-join also surely many C-true C speech surely pale

itjen *sakamaya.*
itjen sakamaya
we(INC) only
If they are together again, there will be a great deal of talk; we'll all be pale with shame(?).

040 *saka* *qadjaw* *nimun,* *nu* *ika* *mun* *sa* *maumaɬ* *anga*
sa-ka qadjaw ni-mun nu ika mun tsa ma-uma-ɬ anga
and-after perhaps of-you(P) when not F.you(P) this STAT-other-times indeed

nu *kininemneman,* *kitjen* *a* *maḍaḍikiḍikitj* *sakamaya.*
nu in=kinemnem-an ki-itjen a ma-ḍa-ḍiki-ḍikitj sakamaya
your(P) PERF=think-NOM will-F.we(INC) C STAT-RED-RED-short only
So it's up to you. If you don't change your thinking we'll cut the meeting short.

041 *tjara* *nasemalimsim* *mun* *sakamaya.*
tjara na-em=al=simsim mun sakamaya
surely PAST-AF=QAL=pity F.you(P) only
You are certainly pitiable.

042 *vutselay* *itjen* *tua* *matjaɬaɬak* *nu* *sa* *nu* *vuvu* *nu* *sa* *nu*
vutselay itjen tua matja-ɬaɬak nu tsa nu vuvu nu tsa nu
pale F.we(INC) OBL NUM-child of this your(P) grandchild of this your(P)

aɬak.
aɬak
child
We are pale with shame before the parents of this your grandchild or child.

043 *sauqaɬay:* *ui* *ui,* *ɬakua* *nakuya* *uta* *mezangal* *aravats.*
sa-uqaɬay ui ui ɬakua na-kuya uta me-zangal a-ravats
QAL-male yes yes but STAT-bad also AF-hard C-true
Man's side: Yes, yes. But it's bad to go on too much.

044 *uɬa* *men* *anemaya-i* *aya* *men.*
uɬa amen a-nema-aya-i aya amen
so.that F.we(EXC) ?-what-say-PF say F.we(EXC)
What can be said to us, we ask ourselves.

045 *tjara paquliqulid mun nu pasaqetju mun nu meɬel mun*
tjara pa-quli-qulid mun nu pa-saqetju mun nu meɬel mun
surely cause-RED-real F.you(P) when cause-painful F.you(P) when ? F.you(P)

nu kisan kuya mun tusa nia kininemneman tusa
nu ki-sane kuya mun tu-tsa nia in=kinemnem-an tu-tsa
when do-make bad F.you(P) OBL-this our(EXC) PERF=think-NOM OBL-this

separutan tusa ika napenapadjulu, ɬakua aitsu
se-parut-an tu-tsa ika na-in=pa-pa-djulu ɬakua aya-i-tsu
INVOL-weak-NOM OBL-this not PAST-PERF=cause-cause-ready but be.thus-LOC-this

ki nu(?) sipazekatj sakamaya, ki kamseng a nu
ki nu si-pa-zekatj sakamaya ki ka-meseng a nu
will you(P) IF-cause-share only will become-enough C you(P)

pinalangedan anga men ta nu varung ta nu
in=pa-langeda-an anga amen ta nu varung ta nu
PERF=cause-hear-LF indeed F.we(EXC) OBL your(P) chest OBL your(P)

kininemneman.
in=kinemnem-an
PERF=think-NOM
You are quite right when you are harsh with us, when you ? us, when you object to our thinking, to our weakness, to the unsuitability of our provision(?). But you could forgive this(?). It would be enough that you have let us know your feelings and thinking.

046 *manu tiamen uta uła tja patjavavavi uła tjen*
manu ti-amen uta uła tja pa-tja-va-vaw-i uła tjen
then F-we(EXC) also so.that we(INC) cause-more-RED-above-PF so.that F.we(INC)

a madjadjelidjeli, aya uta nia kininemneman tiamen a
a ma-dja-djeli-djeli aya uta nia in=kinemnem-an ti-amen a
C STAT-RED-RED-laugh say also our(EXC) PERF=think-NOM F-we(EXC) C

sauqałay.
sa-uqałay
QAL-male
We too on the man's side we want us all to make progress, so that we can all be happy together, that's our thinking too.

047 *ɬakua saka nu aya itjen a naseparut amen aravats.*
ɬakua sa-ka nu aya itjen a na-se-parut amen a-ravats
but and-after when say F.we(INC) C PAST-INVOL-weak F.we(EXC) C-true
But what are we to do, as we are so very weak?

048 *qau saka mereanemanga men uta.*
qau sa-ka mere-a-nema-anga amen uta
so and-after large-?-what-indeed F.we(EXC) also
And what are we to become too?

049 *qau ika mun a sa salimsim uta tua nu ałak tua nu*
qau ika mun a tsa al=simsim uta tua nu ałak tua nu
so not F.you(P) C this QAL=pity also OBL your(P) child OBL your(P)

vuvu, papaula-u(?) amen uta.
vuvu pa-pa-ula-u amen uta
grandchild cause-cause-lack-IMP F.we(EXC) also
You don't take pity either on your child or grandchild. Take pity on us too.

050 *savavayan: ui łakua maitazua mun a palalaut tua*
sa-vavayan ui łakua ma-aya-ta-zua mun a pa-la-laut tua
QAL-female yes but STAT-be.thus-?-that F.you(P) C cause-RED-able OBL

nu kai, łakua ini, tjara kuḍesul amen sakamaya.
nu kai łakua ini tjara kuḍesul amen sakamaya
your(P) speech but not surely hard F.we(EXC) only
Woman's side: Yes, but you keep saying that. But no, we will just stand firm.

051 *aitsu a tja sipatataretarev a kavusaman*
aya-i-tsu a tja si-pa-ta-tare-tarev a ka-vusam-an
be.thus-LOC-this C our(INC) IF-cause-RED-RED-attain C main-seed-NOM

kadjunangan pana qałuqałupen vadis, mana tja
ka-djunang-an pana qału-qałup-en vadis ma-avan-a tja
main-earth-NOM river RED-hunt-PF chief's.meat STAT-exact-? our(INC)

sipatataretarev numa.
si-pa-ta-tare-tarev numa
IF-cause-RED-RED-attain indeed
The bride prices of us real chiefs are land, rivers, hunting grounds, meat tribute, those are our bride prices.

052 *ku pai papatsuni anan amen tua kadjunangan tua pana*
ku pai pa-pa-tsun-i anan amen tua ka-djunang-an tua pana
well well cause-cause-see-HORT still F.we(EXC) OBL main-earth-NOM OBL river

tua qałuqałupen tua vadis, sana tje karasurasudj sana
tua qału-qałup-en tua vadis sa-na tje ka-rasu-rasudj sa-na
OBL RED-hunt-PF OBL chief's.meat and-then we(INC) STAT-RED-align and-then

tje pałałungułungu sana tja qaqivuivu-i a mareka
tje pa-ła-łungu-łungu sa-na tja qa-ivu=qivu-i a mareka
do.at cause-RED-RED-alongside and-then we(INC) RED-RED=speak-PF C many

tja kaka a inu tunazuanga a mapułat, sana tje,
tja kaka a inu tu-na-zua-anga a ma-pułat sa-na tje
our(INC) sibling C where OBL-PAST-that-indeed C NUM-all and-then we(INC)

sana tja parepaukuukuz, aya sa kininemneman numa.
sa-na tja pare-pa-uku-ukuz aya tsa in=kinemnem-an numa
and-then we(INC) pair-cause-RED-engage say this PERF=think-NOM indeed
So then show us land, rivers, hunting grounds, meat tribute and we'll all agree, and we'll put them side by side, and we'll tell all our brothers and sisters everywhere, and we'll – and we'll have a betrothal, is what we think.

053 *ini nu aya mun, ki tjen a maḍaḍikiḍikitj sakamaya.*
ini nu aya mun ki tjen a ma-ḍa-ḍiki-ḍikitj sakamaya
not you(P) say F.you(P) will F.we(INC) C STAT-RED-RED-short only
If you say no, we'll just cut the talk short.

054 *nu uri puałak tiamadju, nu uri tinveteveł a zinkatj*
nu uri pu-ałak ti-a-madju nu uri in=tive-teveł a in=zekatj
when will have-child F-PL-3RD.PERS when will PERF=RED-join C PERF=share

nua naqemati, kitjen a maumaumał anga nu
nua na-em=qati ki-itjen a ma-uma-uma-ł anga nu
of PAST-AF=create will-F.we(INC) C STAT-RED-other-times indeed when

tjaivilił a mazepzep numa.
tja-i-vilił a ma-zepzep numa
more-LOC-behind C STAT-converse indeed
If they are to have children, if what the creator has provided is to be brought together, we'll renew the discussion in the future.

055 *aitsu a tja zepzepan tutsu a qezemezemetj tjara*
aya-i-tsu a tja zepzep-an tu-tsu a zeme=qezemetj tjara
be.thus-LOC-this C our(INC) converse-NOM OBL-this C RED=night surely

qemulip sakamaya.
em=qulip sakamaya
AF=waste only
Our discussion tonight is just a waste of time.

056 *sa patjezuanga sa tja zepzepan.*
sa pa-tje-zua-anga tsa tja zepzep-an
and cause-do.at-that-indeed this our(INC) converse-NOM
So that's the end of our discussion.

Now I am going to tell you about the discussions of chiefly families who are planning to arrange a marriage. When chiefly families are going to have a betrothal the man's family come to the woman's place; and they (the bride's family) look at the possessions which are to be given as a bride price for the woman, and they discuss whether they can agree or not. If they don't agree the marriage cannot go forward. But if they agree they certainly are betrothed. So now I'll tell you the dialogue between them.

This is what the woman's side say: Now our brothers and sisters I have something to say. Why shouldn't we be glad and praise one another as siblings and fellow-tribespeople from elsewhere? We are grateful that you want, love and perhaps ? your child or grandchild. But what you have set out, what you have provided as an expression(?) of your love for your child or grandchild, why isn't it suitable, why isn't it up to what we expect (?) of our brothers and sisters?, is what I am thinking.

Man's side: Yes, that's true. We want the same. We know that it looks as if it's not properly prepared, that it wouldn't be acceptable to you our original roots. But then what are we to do? It would be different if the possessions and abodes of your children and grandchildren were a long way away. You know too that we are badly off, you know that we are very pitiable too; and you were waiting for us and you seem to belittle(?) us. So what are we to become, we your children and grandchildren? You treat us like this and cause us a lot of pain.

Woman's side: Well yes, it's like that. We know it's like that; but, brothers and sisters of the man's side, your hearts and thoughts, you have not been truly honest in your thoughts. Well if you had, if you had been honest in your thinking, you would have. But because you are clever at thinking, you say now the customs have changed, we don't keep on the customs of yesterday and the day before. Now there are the Japanese here in the police station to ask. We'll deceive them, we'll talk cleverly to them and we'll get the better of them, is what you're saying in your hearts. But it's taboo to fool your grandchild or child, it's taboo to deceive her in words. If that's the way your hearts are, that's it, we certainly won't agree.

Man's side: You are quite right, quite right, brothers and sisters who are our roots. But what are we to become, your children and your brothers and sisters? All of us human beings when anyone of us says that we want and are looking for a spouse for our child, we certainly do our best, we certainly think of what will be proper provision. But what are we to take, what way are we to take because of our need and our pitiable state? And that's the way it is with your child or grandchild. We have got to the end of everything, we have done everything for him. But you just despise (?) it. But it's up to you, if your hearts aren't sad, if you don't have pity on your child, our fathers and mothers.

Woman's side: That's so; but I'm going to go on speaking. (?)How would it be if we followed the customs of long ago, of yesterday and the day before. Well yesterday and the day before (?) there were all sorts of things we had to give and do if we wanted one another, we brothers and sisters of the real chiefly families. But now we have gone weak(?). There are people to ask. There are people who give us orders. Why are you so cold(?)? Why do you flatter(?) so much? And it's up to you. And now we have all cut down our ideas(?). But you haven't thought once or twice (?) about what you have put on show. This child hasn't got just one or just two parents; there are very many people (of the parents' generation)(?). If they all go off everywhere, what are we to say to call them together again? If they are together again, there will be a great deal of talk; we'll all be pale with shame(?). So it's up to you. If you don't change your thinking we'll cut the meeting short. You are certainly pitiable. We are pale with shame before the parents of this your grandchild or child.

Man's side: Yes, yes. But it's bad to go on too much. What can be said to us, we ask ourselves. You are quite right when you are harsh with us, when you (?) us, when you object to our thinking, to our weakness, to the unsuitability of our provision(?). But you could forgive this(?). It would be enough that you have let us know your feelings and thinking. We too on the man's side we want us all to make progress, so that we can all be happy together, that's our thinking too. But what are we to do, as we are so very weak? And what are we to become too? You don't take pity either on your child or grandchild. Take pity on us too.

Woman's side: Yes, but you keep saying that. But no, we will just stand firm. The bride prices of us real chiefs are land, rivers, hunting grounds, meat tribute, those are our bride prices. So then show us land, rivers, hunting grounds, meat tribute and we'll all agree, and we'll put them side by side, and we'll tell all our brothers and sisters everywhere, and we'll – and we'll have a betrothal, is what we think. If you say no, we'll just cut the talk short. If they are to have children, if what the creator has provided is to be brought together, we'll renew the discussion in the future. Our discussion tonight is just a waste of time. So that's the end of our discussion.

093 MESSAGE TO PEOPLE IN ENGLAND (1)

Vałulu dialect

001 *pai timun a nia kaka i Igiris a mapułat, małimałi aravats*
pai ti-mun a nia kaka i Igiris a ma-puł at małimałi a-ravats
well F-you(P) C our(EXC) sibling LOC England C NUM-all thank.you C-true

a nasekełang mun tua kai nua Tsemas tua kiłivak nua
a na-se-kełang mun tua kai nua Tsemas tua ki-łivak nua
C PAST-INVOL-know F.you(P) OBL speech of God OBL do-care.for of

Tsemas a kirimu; sa nu pasa Tayuangi anga ti Uaituun
Tsemas a ki-rimu sa nu pa-sa Tayuang-i anga ti Uaituun
God C do-quick and you(P) cause-go Taiwan-PF indeed F.H Whitehorn

sinsi, sa ne pałalualuayi anga tua kiłivak nua Tsemas.
sinsi sa ne pa-lua=łaluay-i anga tua ki-łivak nua Tsemas
teacher and we(EXC) cause-RED=clear-PF indeed OBL do-care.for of God
All our brothers and sisters in England, we are very thankful that you came to know the word of God earlier, and you sent Mr Whitehorn, and the love of God was made clear to us.

002 *pai ka tjaisangas ika men a kemłang ki tjen a*
pai ka tja-i-sangas ika amen a m=kełang ki tjen a
well after more-LOC-first not F.we(EXC) C AF=know how F.we(INC) C

marekakakaka, ki matsidił a tja kama a naqemati
mare-kaka-kaka ki ma-tsidił a tja kama a na-em=qati
pair-RED-sibling how STAT-alone C our(INC) father C PAST-AF=create

tjanuitjen a i katsauan.
tjanu-itjen a i ka-tsau-an
OBL-F.we(INC) C LOC main-being-NOM
Before that we did not know that we are brothers and sisters, and that we have one Father who created us all in the world.

003 *łakua ka pasemalavan anga men ni Uaituun sinsi*
łakua ka pa-se-malaw-an anga amen ni Uaituun sinsi
but after cause-INVOL-tell-LF indeed F.we(EXC) by Whitehorn teacher

kałaluayin anga men, kemłang anga men tu
ka-łaluay-en anga amen m=kełang anga amen tu
become-clear-PF indeed F.we(EXC) AF=know indeed F.we(EXC) COMPL

marekakakaka itjen.
mare-kaka-kaka itjen
pair-RED-sibling F.we(INC)
But when Mr Whitehorn told us we understood, and now we know that we are brothers and sisters.

004 *manu marekakakaka itjen a mapułat a i katsauan, ayanga*
manu mare-kaka-kaka itjen a ma-puł-at a i ka-tsau-an aya-anga
then pair-RED-sibling F.we(INC) C NUM-all C LOC main-being-NOM say-indeed

men.
amen
F.we(EXC)
So now we acknowledge that all of us in the world are brothers and sisters.

005 *pai a kina-i-Tayuangan ni Uaituun sinsi nuka i tsadja*
pai a in=ka-i-Tayuang-an ni Uaituun sinsi nuka i tsadja
well C PERF=PAST-LOC-Taiwan-NOM of Whitehorn teacher even LOC far

aravats i gadu ika pululałułayan tua pasemalaw tua kai nua
a-ravats i gadu ika pu-łuła-łułay-an tua pa-em=salaw tua kai nua
C-true LOC mountain not have-RED-tired-LF OBL cause-AF=tell OBL speech of

Tsemas, tua tjemtjautsikel.
Tsemas tua em=tj-tjautsikel
God OBL AF=RED-story
During Mr Whitehorn's time in Taiwan even in very distant places in the mountains he has not shirked telling the word of God and preaching.
[*tjemtjautsikel*: unusual reduplication, or is it *m=tje-* 'do.at']

006 *pai kana ika pitsul nua Tsemas, kana ikana men a*
pai ka-na ika pitsul nua Tsemas ka-na ika-na amen a
well after-then not strong of God after-then not-then F.we(EXC) C

zinuker ni Uaituun sinsi.
in=zuker ni Uaituun sinsi
PERF=arrive by Whitehorn teacher
If it were not for the power of God Mr Whitehorn would not have reached us.
[*ikana*: was *kana*]

007 *łakua ki anema pinapupitsulan nua Tsemas, ika*
łakua ki a-nema in=pa-pu-pitsul-an nua Tsemas ika
but do ?-what PERF=cause-have-strong-LF by God not

napululałułayan tu uri mapaseqełing amen uta, ayaya
na-pu-łuła-łułay-an tu uri ma-pa-se-qełing amen uta ay-aya
PAST-have-RED-tired-LF OBL will STAT-cause-INVOL-save F.we(EXC) also RED-say

men a malevaleva; saka napaparangez anga men
amen a ma-leva-leva sa-ka na-pa-pa-rangez anga amen
F.we(EXC) C STAT-RED-pleased and-after STAT-cause-cause-rely indeed F.we(EXC)

sakamaya tua Tsemas.
sakamaya tua Tsemas
only OBL God
But he has been given power by God and has not shirked the task, so that we too could be saved; we gladly acknowledge this, and we have truly trusted in God.

008 *pai tisun a ti Uaituun sinsi, djavadjavay aravats a su*
pai ti-sun a ti Uaituun sinsi djava-djavay a-ravats a su
well F-you(S) C F.H Whitehorn teacher RED-do.much C-true C you(S)

kina-i-Tayuangan.
in=ka-i-Tayuang-an
PERF=PAST-LOC-Taiwan-NOM
Now Mr Whitehorn, we are very grateful for your time in Taiwan.

009 *pai ki sun a zemuker anga itua mareka tja kaka i*
pai ki sun a em=zuker anga i-tua mareka tja kaka i
well will F.you(S) C AF=arrive indeed LOC-OBL many our(INC) sibling LOC

Igiris, ki sun a tjemautsiketsikel anga tua su
Igiris ki sun a em=tsike=tjautsikel anga tua su
England how you(S) C AF=RED=story indeed OBL your(S)

kinasi-Tayuangan tua su zelian.
in=ka-si-Tayuang-an tua su zeli-an
PERF=PAST-IF-Taiwan-NOM OBL your(S) weariness-NOM
Now you will return to our brothers and sisters in England, and you will be telling them of your visit to Taiwan and your labours here.

010 *ika manu men a dedet a su zinuker, djavadjavay aravats,*
ika manu amen a de-det a su in=zuker djava-djavay a-ravats
not then F.we(EXC) C RED-near C you(S) PERF=arrive RED-do.much C-true

Uaituun sinsi.
Uaituun sinsi
Whitehorn teacher
It is not as if we to whom you came lived near you; we are very grateful, Mr Whitehorn.

011 *pai uła sun a kinizangan, uła sun a*
pai uła sun a in=ki-zang-an uła sun a
well so.that F.you(S) C PERF=self-guard-LF so.that F.you(S) C

pinapupitsulan, uła sun a pinakatsuatsuay
in=pa-pu-pitsul-an uła sun a in=pa-ka-tsua-tsuay
PERF=cause-have-strong-LF so.that F.you(S) C PERF=cause-become-RED-long.time

i katsauan nua naqemati a Tsemas tua su
i ka-tsau-an nua na-em=qati a Tsemas tua su
LOC main-being-NOM by PAST-AF=create C God OBL you(S)

pasemalamalaw tua kai nua Tsemas, sa su kana tsemikel
pa-se-mala-malaw tua kai nua Tsemas sa su ka-na em=tsikel
cause-INVOL-RED-tell OBL speech of God and you(S) after-then AF=return

anga	*uta*	*tjanuamen*	*a*	*i*	*Tayuang*	*a*	*mareka*	*su*	*kaka.*
anga	uta	tjanu-amen	a	i	Tayuang	a	mareka	su	kaka
indeed	also	OBL-we(EXC)	C	LOC	Taiwan	C	many	your(S)	sibling

May you be guarded and strengthened, and may the creator God grant you to live long in the world for your telling of the word of God, and so may you come back again to us your brothers and sisters in Taiwan.

[*a Tsemas*: was *nua*]

012

aitsu	*a*	*tiamen*	*ki*	*men*	*a*	*napatjakisamułanga*
aya-i-tsu	a	ti-amen	ki	amen	a	na-pa-tja-ki-samuła-anga
be.thus-LOC-this	C	F-we(EXC)	will	F.we(EXC)	C	PAST-cause-more-do-urgent-indeed

uta	*a*	*łemaluay*	*tua*	*pazazekazekatj*	*nua*	*Tsemas,*	*uła*	*men*	*a*
uta	a	em=łaluay	tua	pa-za-zeka-zekatj	nua	Tsemas	uła	amen	a
also	C	AF=clear	OBL	cause-RED-RED-share	by	God	so.that	F.we(EXC)	C

napenakalevanga	*uta*	*tjanusun*	*a*	*ti,*	*tjanusun,*	*nu*
na-en=pa-ka-leva-anga	uta	tjanu-sun	a	ti	tjanu-sun	nu
PAST-AF=cause-become-pleased-indeed	also	OBL-you(S)	C	F.H	OBL-you(S)	when

mangtjez	*anga*	*sun*	*a*	*kitsepeliw*	*a*	*sema*	*maza*	*i*	*Tayuang.*
m-pangetjez	anga	sun	a	ki-tsepeliw	a	em=sa	maza	i	Tayuang
AF-come	indeed	F.you(S)	C	do-return	C	AF=go	here	LOC	Taiwan

As for us we will more zealously try to understand the commands of God, so that we may gladden you, Mr – you, when you come back here to Taiwan.

All our brothers and sisters in England, we are very thankful that you came to know the word of God earlier, and you sent Mr Whitehorn, and the love of God was made clear to us. Before that we did not know that we are brothers and sisters, and that we have one Father who created us all in the world. But when Mr Whitehorn told us we understood, and now we know that we are brothers and sisters. So now we acknowledge that all of us in the world are brothers and sisters. During Mr Whitehorn's time in Taiwan even in very distant places in the mountains he has not shirked telling the word of God and preaching. If it were not for the power of God Mr Whitehorn would not have reached us. But he has been given power by God and has not shirked the task, so that we too could be saved; we gladly acknowledge this, and we have truly trusted in God. Now Mr Whitehorn, we are very grateful for your time in Taiwan. Now you will return to our brothers and sisters in England, and you will be telling them of your visit to Taiwan and your labours here. It is not as if we to whom you came lived near you; we are very grateful, Mr Whitehorn. May you be guarded and strengthened, and may the creator God grant you to live long in the world for your telling of the word of God, and so may you come back again to us your brothers and sisters in Taiwan. As for us we will more zealously try to understand the commands of God, so that we may gladden you, Mr – you, when you come back here to Taiwan.

094 MESSAGE TO PEOPLE IN ENGLAND (2)

Vałulu dialect

001 *pai timun a mareka nia vetjek a i Igiris, kaleva-i anan*
pai ti-mun a mareka nia vetjek a i Igiris ka-leva-i anan
well F-you(P) C many our(EXC) sibling C LOC England ?-pleased-HORT still

tua Tsemas.
tua Tsemas
OBL God
Our brothers and sisters in England, let us continue to rejoice in God.

002 *pai a Tsemas, a ałak nimadju a kinaitaitan a ti Yisu-sama*
pai a Tsemas a ałak ni-madju a in=ka-ita-ita-an a ti Yisu-sama
well C God C child of-3RD.PERS C perf=main-RED-one-NOM C F.H Jesus-H

pasa maza i katsauanen sa tje paseqełingi anga,
pa-sa maza i ka-tsau-an-en sa tje pa-se-qełing-i anga
cause-go here LOC main-being-NOM-PF and we(INC) cause-INVOL-save-PF indeed

sa tje saneałaki anga a mapułat a i katsauan a
sa tje sane-ałak-i anga a ma-pułat a i ka-tsau-an a
and we(INC) make-child-PF indeed C NUM-all C LOC main-being-NOM C

tsautsau, sa tje paparevetjevetjeki anga a mapułat.
tsau-tsau sa tje pa-pare-vetje-vetjek-i anga a ma-pułat
RED-being and we(INC) cause-pair-RED-sibling-PF indeed C NUM-all
As for God he sent his only son Jesus here to the world, and we are saved, and all we human beings in the world are made his children, and we are all made brothers and sisters together.

003 *maleva itjen aravats tua Tsemas.*
ma-leva itjen a-ravats tua Tsemas
STAT-pleased F.we(INC) C-true OBL God
We truly rejoice in God.

004 *qau pai timun a nia kaka i Igiris tjaisangas mun a*
qau pai ti-mun a nia kaka i Igiris tja-i-sangas mun a
so well F-you(P) C our(EXC) sibling LOC England more-LOC-first F.you(P) C

kemłang tua kiłivak nua Tsemas.
m=kełang tua ki-łivak nua Tsemas
AF=know OBL do-care.for of God
Now you our brothers and sisters in England you first knew of the love of God.

005 *nu djałunen amen a kemasi tsadja ravats i kaledep a*
nu djałun-en amen a em=kasi tsadja ravats i ka-ledep a
you(P) arrive-PF F.we(EXC) C AF=from far true LOC main-descend C

sema maza i Tayuang.
em=sa maza i Tayuang
AF=go here LOC Taiwan
You came to us from far away in the west to here in Taiwan.

006 *pai ka alu a puluq a tsaviɬ a tjaisangas imazanga mun a*
pai ka alu a puluq a tsaviî a tja-i-sangas i-maza-anga mun a
well after eight C ten C year C more-LOC-first LOC-here-indeed F.you(P) C

tjemautsiketsikel tjanuamen.
em=tsike=tjautsikel tjanu-amen
AF=RED=story OBL-we(EXC)
From 80 years ago you were here teaching us.

007 *liaw anga aravats a kiukai imaza i Tayuang.*
liaw anga a-ravats a kiukai i-maza i Tayuang
many indeed C-true C church LOC-here LOC Taiwan
Now there are very many churches here in Taiwan.

008 *pai tutsu a tsaviɬ ka kemasi sikatjeluɬ tjuruvu anga aravats*
pai tu-tsu a tsaviî ka em=kasi sika-tjelu-î tjuruvu anga a-ravats
well OBL-this C year after AF=from number-three-times many indeed C-true

a nalemingdjeɬ tsa su umaq ta su
a na-em=lingdjeî tsa su umaq ta su
C PAST-AF=stand.on.end this your(S) house OBL your(S)

kinatsautsauan a Tsemas.
in=ka-tsau-tsau-an a Tsemas
PERF=main-RED-being-NOM C God
And now and in the last few years(?) very many people have built up your house your body, God.

009 *pai aitsu tiamen a katsalisian kisusususu anga*
pai aya-i-tsu ti-amen a ka-tsalisi-an ki-susu-susu anga
well be.thus-LOC-this F-we(EXC) C main-slope-NOM do-RED-proceed indeed

men a mapuɬat, natjeɬaving anga men tua nia
amen a ma-puîat na-tje-îaving anga amen tua nia
F.we(EXC) C NUM-all PAST-do.at-side indeed F.we(EXC) OBL our(EXC)

sisalimsim tua mana nia pasalisaliw, malevaleva
si-al=simsim tua ma-avan-a nia pa-sali-saliw ma-leva-leva
IF-QAL=pity OBL STAT-exact-? our(EXC) cause-RED-sin STAT-RED-pleased

men aravats.
amen a-ravats
F.we(EXC) C-true
And now we people of the mountain slopes have all become believers, we have passed the time of misery because of our sins; and we are very glad.

010 *pai aitsu tisun a Tsemas a napaseqeɬing tjanuamen,*
pai aya-i-tsu ti-sun a Tsemas a na-pa-se-qeɬing tjanu-amen
well be.thus-LOC-this F-you(S) C God C PAST-cause-INVOL-save OBL-we(EXC)

saka timun uta a mareka nia vetjek a se Igiris a
sa-ka ti-mun uta a mareka nia vetjek a se Igiris a
and-after F-you(P) also C many our(EXC) sibling C person.of England C

napadjaɬun tjanuamen tua kai nua Tsemas, sa aya men a
na-pa-djaɬun tjanu-amen tua kai nua Tsemas sa aya amen a
PAST-cause-arrive OBL-we(EXC) OBL speech of God and say F.we(EXC) C

malevaleva.
ma-leva-leva
STAT-RED-pleased
We rejoice and say: You, God, have saved us, and you our brothers and sisters of England have brought to us the word of God.

011 *pai ka sikatjeluɬ a tsaviɬ nu sekauɬan uta a ti Uaituun*
pai ka sika-tjelu-ɬ a tsaviɬ nu sekauɬ-an uta a ti Uaituun
well after number-three-times C year you(P) send-LF also C F.H Whitehorn

sinsi pasa maza i Tayuang, saka uri kitsaquan tua nia
sinsi pa-sa maza i Tayuang sa-ka uri ki-tsaqu-an tua nia
teacher cause-go here LOC Taiwan and-after will do-able-LF OBL our(EXC)

kai a katsalisian, sa uri katsalisiani anga su kai,
kai a ka-tsalisi-an sa uri ka-tsalisi-an-i anga su kai
speech C main-slope-NOM and will main-slope-NOM-PF indeed your(S) speech

maleva men uta aravats.
ma-leva amen uta a-ravats
STAT-pleased F.we(EXC) also C-true
Two years ago you also sent teacher Whitehorn here to Taiwan, to learn our mountain language and to put your word into mountain language; we are very glad.

012 *pai tu kinaimazan kisamuɬamuɬa aravats a*
pai tu in=ka-i-maza-an ki-muɬa=samuɬa a-ravats a
well OBL PERF=?-LOC-here-NOM do-RED=urgent C-true C

kematsalisianan tua nia sizengzenger tua Tsemas a senay.
em=ka-tsalisi-an-an tua nia si-zeng-zenger tua Tsemas a senay
AF=main-slope-NOM-NOM OBL our(EXC) IF-RED-beg OBL God C chant
During his time here he has worked hard to put into mountain language our songs of praise to God.

013 *aitsu a nia, aitsu a kai uta nua Tsemas liaw*
aya-i-tsu a nia aya-i-tsu a kai uta nua Tsemas liaw
be.thus-LOC-this C our(EXC) be.thus-LOC-this C speech also of God many

anga uta a nia kinatsalisianan.
anga uta a nia in=ka-tsalisi-an-an
indeed also C our(EXC) PERF=main-slope-NOM-NOM
These our -- the word of God too, we have put a lot into mountain language.

014 *pai tutsu łemaluay anga men tua senay, łemaluay anga*
pai tu-tsu em=łaluay anga amen tua senay em=łaluay anga
well OBL-this AF=clear indeed F.we(EXC) OBL chant AF=clear indeed

men tua kai nua Tsemas a pagału.
amen tua kai nua Tsemas a pa-gału
F.we(EXC) OBL speech of God C cause-slow
So now we understand the songs, we understand the word of God a little.

015 *malevaleva men uta aravats.*
ma-leva-leva amen uta a-ravats
STAT-RED-pleased F.we(EXC) also C-true
We are very glad.

016 *qau pai aitsu namatsadjatsadja itjen aravats a i Igiris*
qau pai aya-i-tsu na-ma-tsadja-tsadja itjen a-ravats a i Igiris
so well be.thus-LOC-this PAST-STAT-RED-far F.we(INC) C-true C LOC England

a i maza, łakua tjara ita tja kininemneman, tjara
a i maza łakua tjara ita tja in=kinemnem-an tjara
C LOC here but surely one our(INC) PERF=think-NOM surely

kisamułamuła-i sakamaya, tjara kalevaleva-i sakamaya, tjara
ki-muła=samuła-i sakamaya tjara ka-leva-leva-i sakamaya tjara
do-RED=urgent-HORT only surely STAT-RED-pleased-HORT only surely

zengezengeri sakamaya tua Tsemas.
zenge-zenger-i sakamaya tua Tsemas
RED-beg-HORT only OBL God
And now we in England and here are very far apart, but certainly we are one in thought; so let us all work hard, let us all rejoice, let us all praise God.

017 *qau pai aitsu tiamen a katsalisian imaza uri*
qau pai aya-i-tsu ti-amen a ka-tsalisi-an i-maza uri
so well be.thus-LOC-this F-we(EXC) C main-slope-NOM LOC-here will

zemenger amen, uri malevanan amen, uri semukub
em=zenger amen uri ma-leva-anan ʻamen uri em=sukub
AF=beg F.we(EXC) will STAT-pleased-still F.we(EXC) will AF=bow.head

amen tua Tsemas a palangda tjanumun a nia kaka i
amen tua Tsemas a pa-langeda tjanu-mun a nia kaka i
F.we(EXC) OBL God C cause-hear OBL-you(P) C our(EXC) sibling LOC

Igiris a mapułat.
Igiris a ma-pułat
England C NUM-all
And now we mountain people here are going to praise, to rejoice, to worship God, for all you our brothers and sisters in England to hear.

Our brothers and sisters in England, let us continue to rejoice in God. As for God he sent his only son Jesus here to the world, and we are saved, and all we human beings in the world are made his children, and we are all made brothers and sisters together. We truly rejoice in God. Now you

our brothers and sisters in England you first knew of the love of God. You came to us from far away in the west to here in Taiwan. From 80 years ago you were here teaching us. Now there are very many churches here in Taiwan. And now and in the last few years(?) very many people have built up your house your body, God. And now we people of the mountain slopes have all become believers, we have passed the time of misery because of our sins; and we are very glad. We rejoice and say: You, God, have saved us, and you our brothers and sisters of England have brought to us the word of God. Two years ago you also sent teacher Whitehorn here to Taiwan, to learn our mountain language and to put your word into mountain language; we are very glad. During his time here he has worked hard to put into mountain language our songs of praise to God. These our – the word of God too, we have put a lot into mountain language. So now we understand the songs, we understand the word of God a little. We are very glad. And now we in England and here are very far apart, but certainly we are one in thought; so let us all work hard, let us all rejoice, let us all praise God. And now we mountain people here are going to praise, to rejoice, to worship God, for all you our brothers and sisters in England to hear.

095 PRAYER

Makazayazaya dialect

001 *pai aitsu uri maleva men tjanusun a naqemati*
pai aya-i-tsu uri ma-leva amen tjanu-sun a na-em=qati
well be.thus-LOC-this will STAT-pleased F.we(EXC) OBL-you(S) C PAST-AF=create

a Tsemas.
a Tsemas
C God
And now we will rejoice in you, creator God.

002 *pai aitsu a i katsauan tisun a Tsemas a*
pai aya-i-tsu a i ka-tsau-an ti-sun a Tsemas a
well be.thus-LOC-this C LOC main-being-NOM F-you(S) C God C

naqemati, mavan a muri nia sikaleva.
na-em=qati ma-avan a ma-uri nia si-ka-leva
PAST-AF=create STAT-exact C STAT-will we(EXC) IF-?-pleased
It is you, God, who created this world, and for that we rejoice in you.

003 *sa?a pai aitsu su pinasuɬivatjan amen a Tsemas,*
sa-ka pai aya-i-tsu su in=pa-suɬivatj-an amen a Tsemas
and-after well be.thus-LOC-this you(S) PERF=cause-peace-LF F.we(EXC) C God

su kinizangan amen tusa nia pinatsalivat a qadaw;
su in=ki-zang-an amen tu-tsa nia in=pa-tsalivat a qadaw
you(S) PERF=do-guard-LF F.we(EXC) OBL-this we(EXC) PERF=cause-pass C sun

malevaleva men aravats.
ma-leva-leva amen a-ravats
STAT-RED-pleased F.we(EXC) C-true
And now you, God, have given us peace, you have guarded us through the past days; we rejoice greatly in you.

004 *qau pai aitsu imazanga men i tjaiqayaw*
qau pai aya-i-tsu i-maza-anga amen i tjai-qayaw
so well be.thus-LOC-this LOC-here-indeed F.we(EXC) LOC OBL-front

tjanusun a namaqepu a uri semenasenay a uri semupusupu
tjanu-sun a na-ma-qepu a uri em=sena-senay a uri em=supu-supu
OBL-you(S) C PAST-STAT-associate C will AF=RED-chant C will AF=RED-count

tua su pazazekazekatj a Tsemas.
tua su pa-za-zeka-zekatj a Tsemas
OBL your(S) cause-RED-RED-share C God
And now here we are before you gathered to sing and to read your commands, God.

005 *pai sa?a uła men a nałemaluay, uła men a su*
pai sa-ka uła amen a na-em=łaluay uła amen a su
well and-after so.that F.we(EXC) C PAST-AF=clear so.that F.we(EXC) C you(S)

kinizangan a kemasi patagił a patje maqatsuvung
in=ki-zang-an a em=kasi pa-tagił a pa-tje ma-qa-tsuvung
PERF=do-guard-LF C AF=from cause-originate C cause-do.at STAT-?-complete

tusa nia kinaqepuan.
tu-tsa nia in=ka-qepu-an
OBL-this our(EXC) PERF=STAT-associate-NOM
So may we understand, and may we be guarded by you from the beginning to the end of our gathering.

006 *uła men a napuzangar, uła men a natemavelak*
uła amen a na-pu-zangar uła amen a na-em=ta-velak
so.that F.we(EXC) C PAST-have-joy so.that F.we(EXC) C PAST-AF=PAST-receive

uta tua su pitsul tua su kiłivak tusa nia
uta tua su pitsul tua su ki-łivak tu-tsa nia
also OBL you(S) strong OBL you(S) do-care.for OBL-this our(EXC)

kinaqepuan.
in=ka-qepu-an
PERF=STAT-associate-NOM
May we be joyful, and may we receive also your strength and love in our gathering.

007 *sa?a aitsu a nia kiqaung a nia levan*
sa-ka aya-i-tsu a nia ki-qaung a nia leva-an
and-after be.thus-LOC-this C our(EXC) do-cry C our(EXC) pleased-NOM

nia pinaka tjanusun a ti Yisu-sama.
nia in=pa-maka tjanu-sun a ti Yisu-sama
we(EXC) PERF=cause-via OBL-you(S) C F.H Jesus-H
And now our prayer and praise is made through you, Jesus.

008 *?aming.*
qaming
amen
Amen.

And now we will rejoice in you, creator God. It is you, God, who created this world, and for that we rejoice in you. And now you, God, have given us peace, you have guarded us through the past days; we rejoice greatly in you. And now here we are before you gathered to sing and to read your commands, God. So may we understand, and may we be guarded by you from the beginning to the end of our gathering. May we be joyful, and may we receive also your strength and love in our gathering. And now our prayer and praise is made through you, Jesus. Amen.

096 SERMON AND PRAYER

Vaɬulu dialect

001 *pai patsuni tu aitsu imaza itua kai nua Tsemas.*
pai pa-tsun-i tu a-i-tsu i-maza i-tua kai nua Tsemas
well cause-see-HORT OBL C-LOC-this LOC-here LOC-OBL speech of God
Let us look at this passage here in the word of God.

002 *aitsu a vetsik imaza, kiɬivaku tua nu ɬaqediqedi,*
a-i-tsu a vetsik i-maza ki-ɬivak-u tua nu ɬa-qedi-qedi
C-LOC-this C mark LOC-here do-care.for-IMP OBL your(P) class-RED-boundary

aya.
aya
say
This writing here says Love your neighbours.

003 *pai izua zua maqatsuvutsuvung vaik a sema zua i tjai*
pai i-zua zua ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung vaik a em=sa zua i tjai
well LOC-that that STAT-?-RED-complete leave C AF=go that LOC OBL.H

Yisu-sama.
Yisu-sama
Jesus-H
Now there was a young person who went to Jesus.

004 *"tima mana ku ɬaqediqedi?" aya kivadaq timadju.*
ti-ima ma-avan-a ku ɬa-qedi-qedi aya ki-vadaq ti-madju
F-who STAT-exact-? my class-RED-boundary say do-ask F-3RD.PERS
"Who is my neighbour?" he asked.

005 *manu tevelain ni Yisu-sama: "pai ku su pasemalavay.*
manu tevela-en ni Yisu-sama pai ku su pa-se-malaw-ay
then answer-PF by Jesus-H well I you(S) cause-INVOL-tell-LF
And Jesus replied: "I will tell you.

006 *izua zua matsidiɬ a nakemasi zua i Yirusaɬim a pasa*
i-zua zua ma-tsidiɬ a na-em=kasi zua i Yirusaɬim a pa-sa
LOC-that that STAT-alone C PAST-AF=from that LOC Jerusalem C cause-go

Yiriku a patjeɬelauz.
Yiriku a pa-tje-ɬe-lauz
Jericho C cause-do.at-go.to-down
There was a person who went down from Jerusalem towards Jericho.
[*patjeɬelauz*: original was *patjeɬalauz*]

007 *manu setsevung tua za tsaḍ.*
manu se-tsevung tua zua tsaḍ
then INVOL-meet OBL that bandit
And he met some robbers.

008 *qau azua tsaḍ kirimuin a djemukul timadju, sa uri papatsayi,*
qau a-zua tsaḍ ki-rimu-en a em=djukul ti-madju sa uri pa-patsay-i
so C-that bandit do-quick-PF C AF=beat F-3RD.PERS and will cause-die-PF

sa sukava-i timadju, sa paseqerengi, sa alapi
sa su-kava-i ti-madju sa pa-se-qereng-i sa alap-i
and remove-clothing-PF F-3RD.PERS and cause-INVOL-lie.down-PF and take-PF

aza nanemanemanga, sa vaikan.
a-zua na-nema-nema-anga sa vaik-an
C-that PAST-RED-what-indeed and leave-LF
And the robbers quickly beat him up, and were going to kill him, and took off his clothes and knocked him over and took everything, and left him.
[*alapi*: was *lapi*]

009 *qau pai ka naseqereng anga azua matsidiɬ, tsemalivat azua*
qau pai ka na-se-qereng anga a-zua ma-tsidiɬ em=tsalivat a-zua
so well after PAST-INVOL-lie.down indeed C-that STAT-alone AF=pass C-that

kisamuɬamuɬa i tsakar.
ki-muɬa=samuɬa i tsakar
do-RED=urgent LOC platform
And as the man was lying there, a person who worked hard at the shrine passed by.

010 *manu inika pinatsunan.*
manu ini-ka in=pa-tsun-an
then not-after PERF=cause-see-LF
He didn't look at him;

011 *vaik sakamaya timadju a lemagaw a pasulivay tsemalivat.*
vaik sakamaya ti-madju a em=lagaw a pa-su-livay em=tsalivat
leave only F-3RD.PERS C AF=avoid C cause-remove-go.aside AF=pass
he just made a detour and ignored him and passed on.

012 *mangtjez uta a se Ɬibi a tsautsau; manu patsunan aza*
m-pangetjez uta a se Ɬibi a tsau-tsau manu pa-tsun-an a-zua
AF-come also C person.of Levi C RED-being then cause-see-LF C-that

naseqereng.
na-se-qereng
PAST-INVOL-lie.down
A person from Levi also came. He looked at the person lying there,

013 *lagavan uta nimadju, sa vaik.*
lagaw-an uta ni-madju sa vaik
avoid-LF also by-3RD.PERS and leave
and also made a detour and went.

014 *mangtjez anga a sika masan tjeluɬ a se Samalia a*
m-pangetjez anga a sika ma-sane tjelu-ɬ a se Samalia a
AF-come indeed C number STAT-make three-times C person.of Samaria C

nanguaq aravats a tsautsau.
na-nguaq a-ravats a tsau-tsau
STAT-good C-true C RED-being
The third person to come was a very good person from Samaria.

015 *łeteku anga timadju taza kinavavavan a lakuda,*
îe-teku anga ti-madju ta-zua in=ka-va-va-vaw-an a lakuda
go.to-down indeed F-3RD.PERS OBL-that PERF=?-RED-RED-above-NOM C camel

sa sazua-i anga patsun aza naseqereng, sa alapan anga
sa sa-zua-i anga pa-tsun a-zua na-se-qereng sa alap-an anga
and go-that-PF indeed cause-see C-that PAST-INVOL-lie.down and take-LF indeed

tua tsemel nimadju, sa putsemeli, sa tsavu-i anga aza
tua tsemel ni-madju sa pu-tsemel-i sa tsavu-i anga a-zua
OBL plant of-3RD.PERS and have-treat-PF and wrapping-PF indeed C-that

mareka piqay.
mareka piqay
many wound
He got down from the camel he was riding, and went and looked at the person lying there, and got out his medicines and applied them to him, and bandaged the wounds.

016 *pai sa tsatsułu-i anga a pasa vavaw tua lakuda nimadju, sa*
pai sa tsatsuîu-i anga a pa-sa va-vaw tua lakuda ni-madju sa
well and put-PF indeed C cause-go RED-above OBL camel of-3RD.PERS and

vaikan anga pasa kakasiułayan.
vaik-an anga pa-sa ka-ka-si-uîay-an
leave-LF indeed cause-go ?-?-IF-overnight-NOM
Then he put him on his camel, and went off with him to the inn.
[*tsatsułu-i*: could be *tsa-* RED + *tsułu*?]

017 *qau pai ka izua i kakasiułayan, "uza a paisu manu uri*
qau pai ka i-zua i ka-ka-si-uîay-an uza a paisu manu uri
so well after LOC-that LOC ?-?-IF-overnight-NOM here C money then will

sikasiułay nusa tiza.
si-ka-si-uîay nu-tsa ti-zua
IF-?-IF-overnight of-this F-that
And when he was there at the inn the person from Samaria said (to them): "Here is some money to pay for this person's stay.
[*sikasiułay*: could be *sika-* 'NUM'?]

018 *nu inika kamseng, ku vayi anga uta nutiaw," ayain nua*
nu ini-ka ka-meseng ku vay-i anga uta nu-tiaw aya-en nua
when not-after PAST-enough I give-PF indeed also when-one.day say-PF by

zua se Samalia a tsautsau.
zua se Samalia a tsau-tsau
that person.of Samaria C RED-being
If it isn't enough, I'll give more tomorrow."

019 *"qau pai tisun," ayatutsuin ni Yisu-sama aza maqatsuvutsuvung,*
qau pai ti-sun aya-tu-tsu-en ni Yisu-sama a-zua ma-qa-tsuvu-tsuvung
so well F-you(S) say-alike-this-PF by Jesus-H C-that STAT-?-RED-complete

"manu inu mana nakiłivak tua łaqediqedi?" ayain.
manu inu ma-avan-a na-ki-łivak tua ła-qedi-qedi aya-en
then where STAT-exact-? PAST-do-care.for OBL class-RED-boundary say-PF
"Now as for you," said Jesus to the young person, "which one loved his neighbour?" he said.

020 *"mavan aza sika masan tjeluł mana nakiłivak*
ma-avan a-zua sika ma-sane tjelu-ł ma-avan-a na-ki-łivak
STAT-exact C-that number STAT-make three-times STAT-exact-? PAST-do-care.for

tua łaqediqedi a napaseqełing," aya a temvela.
tua ła-qedi-qedi a na-pa-se-qełing aya a em=tevela
OBL class-RED-boundary C PAST-cause-INVOL-save say C AF=answer
"It was the third one, who showed love to his neighbour and saved him," he replied.

021 *"qau pai tisun sa-u aitaza-u uta, kiłivaku tua su*
qau pai ti-sun sa-u aya-ta-zua-u uta ki-łivak-u tua su
so well F-you(S) go-IMP be.thus-?-that-IMP also do-care.for-IMP OBL your(S)

łaqediqedi," ayain anga ni Yisu-sama.
ła-qedi-qedi aya-en anga ni Yisu-sama
class-RED-boundary say-PF indeed by Jesus-H
"Well you go and do the same; love your neighbours," Jesus said to him.

022 *pai aitsu nu kinemnem itjen a mapułat, aitsu a*
pai a-i-tsu nu kinemnem itjen a ma-pułat a-i-tsu a
well C-LOC-this when think F.we(INC) C NUM-all C-LOC-this C

łaqediqedi nu aya, aitsu a ti Yisu, inika manu amin
ła-qedi-qedi nu aya a-i-tsu a ti Yisu ini-ka manu amin
class-RED-boundary when say C-LOC-this C F.H Jesus not-after then no.more

a kipalinguł tua tja umaq, inika amin a mareka
a ki-pa-linguł tua tja umaq ini-ka amin a mareka
C do-cause-around OBL our(INC) house not-after no.more C many

tja qali a mareka tja kaka nu siayaya.
tja qali a mareka tja kaka nu si-ay-aya
our(INC) friend C many our(INC) sibling when IF-RED-say
Now when we all think about this, when we say neighbour, as for Jesus, it means not only those living round our house, not only our friends or our siblings.
[*inika amin*: was *inikamin*]

023 *aitsu a imaza i katsauan a mapułat, a senema a*
a-i-tsu a i-maza i ka-tsau-an a ma-pułat a se-nema a
C-LOC-this C LOC-here LOC main-being-NOM C NUM-all C person.of-what C

senema, nuka tsadja aravats, tjara tja łaqediqedi a
se-nema nuka tsadja a-ravats tjara tja łaqedi-qedi a
person.of-what even far C-true surely our(INC) class-RED-boundary C

mapułat.
ma-puîat
NUM-all
All the people here in the world, from here or there, even those a long way off, they are certainly all our neighbours.

024

saka	*titjen*	*a*	*mapułat,*	*aitsu*	*imaza*	*i*	*katsauan*	*a*
sa-ka	ti-tjen	a	ma-puîat	a-i-tsu	i-maza	i	ka-tsau-an	a
and-after	F-we(INC)	C	NUM-all	C-LOC-this	LOC-here	LOC	main-being-NOM	C

mapułat	*nia*	*łaqediqedi,*	*aya-i*	*a*	*mapułat.*
ma-puîat	nia	îa-qedi-qedi	aya-i	a	ma-puîat
NUM-all	our(EXC)	class-RED-boundary	say-HORT	C	NUM-all

So all of us let us all recognise that all the people in the world are our neighbours.

025

nu	*setsevung*	*itjen*	*tua*	*selapalapay,*	*nu*	*setsevung*	*itjen*
nu	se-tsevung	itjen	tua	se-lapa-lapay	nu	se-tsevung	itjen
when	INVOL-meet	F.we(INC)	OBL	INVOL-RED-severe	when	INVOL-meet	F.we(INC)

tua	*qemauqaung,*	*nu*	*setsevung*	*itjen*	*tua*	*nasemalimsim,*	*tja*
tua	em=qau-qaung	nu	se-tsevung	itjen	tua	na-em=al=simsim	tja
OBL	AF=RED-cry	when	INVOL-meet	F.we(INC)	OBL	PAST-AF=QAL=pity	we(INC)

paseqełingaw	*tja*	*tjiakaw*	*tja*	*pakavałutaw.*
pa-se-qeîing-aw	tja	tjiak-aw	tja	pa-ka-vaîut-aw
cause-INVOL-save-LF	we(INC)	hold.hand-LF	we(INC)	cause-STAT-alive-LF

If we meet those who are suffering, if we meet those who are crying, if we meet those who are in trouble, let us save, lead and help them.

026

aitsu	*a*	*ini*	*anan*	*ka*	*sekełang*	*tua*	*kai*	*nua*	*Tsemas,*	*tja*
a-i-tsu	a	ini	anan	ka	se-keîang	tua	kai	nua	Tsemas	tja
C-LOC-this	C	not	still	after	INVOL-know	OBL	speech	of	God	we(INC)

tjiakaw	*a*	*pasa*	*tjaiqayaw*	*tjai*	*Yisu-sama,*	*uła*
tjiak-aw	a	pa-sa	tjai-qayaw	tjai	Yisu-sama	uîa
hold.hand-LF	C	cause-go	OBL-front	OBL.H	Jesus-H	so.that

namapaseqełing	*tiamadju.*
na-ma-pa-se-qeîing	ti-a-madju
PAST-STAT-cause-INVOL-save	F-PL-3RD.PERS

Let us lead to Jesus those who do not yet know the word of God, so that they may be saved.

027

nu	*namayatutsu*	*itjen*	*mana*	*uri*	*napasusu*
nu	na-ma-aya-tu-tsu	itjen	ma-avan-a	uri	na-pa-susu
when	PAST-STAT-be.thus-alike-this	F.we(INC)	STAT-exact-?	will	PAST-cause-proceed

itjen	*tua*	*kai*	*ni*	*Yisu-sama.*
itjen	tua	kai	ni	Yisu-sama
F.we(INC)	OBL	speech	of	Jesus-H

If we do this we will fulfil the words of Jesus.

028 *kiɬivaku tua su ɬaqediqedi, aya tjanuitjen a mapuɬat.*
ki-ɬivak-u tua su ɬa-qedi-qedi aya tjanu-itjen a ma-puɬat
do-care.for-IMP OBL your(S) class-RED-boundary say OBL-we(INC) C NUM-all
Love your neighbours, he says to us all.

029 *amin.*
amin
no.more
The end.

030 *pai anema nia sitjumaɬ tjanusun a naqemati a Tsemas,*
pai a-nema nia si-tjumaɬ tjanu-sun a na-em=qati a Tsemas
well ?-what we(EXC) IF-discuss OBL-you(S) C PAST-AF=create C God

tjanusun a ti Yisu-sama?
tjanu-sun a ti Yisu-sama
OBL-you(S) C F.H Jesus-H
What are we to say to you, Creator God, to you, Jesus?

031 *maɬimaɬi aravats a su zukerin anga men a imaza i*
maɬimaɬi a-ravats a su zuker-en anga amen a i-maza i
thank.you C-true C you(S) arrive-PF indeed F.we(EXC) C LOC-here LOC

katsalisian, sa su kana paseqeɬiqeɬing anga tjanuamen.
ka-tsalisi-an sa su ka-na pa-se-qeɬi-qeɬing anga tjanu-amen
main-slope-NOM and you(S) after-then cause-INVOL-RED-save indeed OBL-we(EXC)
Thank you very much for your reaching us here the people of the mountains and saving us.

032 *anemanan nia sitjumaɬ tjanusun a ti Yisu-sama?*
a-nema-anan nia si-tjumaɬ tjanu-sun a ti Yisu-sama
?-what-still we(EXC) IF-discuss OBL-you(S) C F.H Jesus-H
And what are we to say to you, Jesus?

033 *pai aitsu a nasepasalisaliw a tiamen su ruram-en*
pai a-i-tsu a na-se-pa-sali-saliw a ti-amen su ruram-en
well C-LOC-this C PAST-INVOL-cause-RED-sin C F-we(EXC) you(S) come-PF

amen sa su pakeɬangi amen ta uri nia
amen sa su pa-keɬang-i amen ta uri nia
F.we(EXC) and you(S) cause-know-PF F.we(EXC) OBL will our(EXC)

pakazuanan.
pa-maka-zua-an-an
cause-via-that-NOM-NOM
You have come to(?) us who had sinned, and you have taught us the way we should go.

034 *anema nia sitjumaɬ?*
a-nema nia si-tjumaɬ
?-what we(EXC) IF-discuss
What are we to say?

035 *pai, Yisu-sama, aitsu a mareka imaza i gadu a mareka*
pai Yisu-sama a-i-tsu a mareka i-maza i gadu a mareka
well Jesus-H C-LOC-this C many LOC-here LOC mountain C many

tja kaka a katsalisian a namavilivilił a
tja kaka a ka-tsalisi-an a na-ma-vili-vilił a
our(INC) sibling C main-slope-NOM C PAST-STAT-RED-behind C

namavavutuvutu a sitsuayan, pai aitsu su łaluayi
na-ma-va-vutu-vutu a si-tsuay-an pai a-i-tsu su łaluay-i
PAST-STAT-RED-RED-enemy C IF-long.time-NOM well C-LOC-this you(S) clear-PF

anga men sa su tjautsikeli anga men ta uri nia
anga amen sa su tjautsikel-i anga amen ta uri nia
indeed F.we(EXC) and you(S) story-PF indeed F.we(EXC) OBL will we(EXC)

sikatsaquan a maqaqełiqełing a mareka kaka.
si-ka-tsaqu-an a ma-qa-qełi-qełing a mareka kaka
IF-STAT-able-NOM C STAT-?-RED-save C many sibling

We and our brothers and sisters here in the mountains, mountain people who were uncivilised and at enmity with one another in times past, you have made it clear to us and have told us how we should be able to help one another as brothers and sisters.
[*sikatsaquan*: *ka-tsaqu* from *ma-tsaqu* with *si-...-an*, indicating the circumstances of becoming skilled; hard to know whether *-an* is NOM or LF]

036 *saka pai aitsu nuka men a matsadjatsadja, nuka*
sa-ka pai a-i-tsu nuka amen a ma-tsadja-tsadja nuka
and-after well C-LOC-this even F.we(EXC) C STAT-RED-far even

namaqaqetsiqetsi a nia matjałałak, uła nia vetjek anga
na-ma-qa-qetsi-qetsi a nia matja-łałak uła nia vetjek anga
PAST-STAT-RED-RED-fight C our(EXC) NUM-child so.that our(EXC) sibling indeed

a mapułat.
a ma-pułat
C NUM-all

And so even though our parents lived far apart and fought one another, they are all to be our brothers and sisters.

037 *nu nakisusu anga men, nu napasusu anga*
nu na-ki-susu anga amen nu na-pa-susu anga
when PAST-do-proceed indeed F.we(EXC) when PAST-cause-proceed indeed

men ta su pazazekazekatj, uła men a
amen ta su pa-za-zeka-zekatj uła amen a
F.we(EXC) OBL your(S) cause-RED-RED-share so.that F.we(EXC) C

natjemiatjiak anga sema tjaiqayaw sakamaya tjanusun.
na-em=tjia-tjiak anga em=sa tjai-qayaw sakamaya tjanu-sun
PAST-AF=RED-hold.hand indeed AF=go OBL-front only OBL-you(S)

When we have become followers and fulfil your commands, may we lead them all to you.

038 *pai uła men a pitjakemłamłang anga, uła men*
pai uła amen a pi-tja-m=m=ła=kełang anga uła amen
well so.that F.we(EXC) C put-more-AF=AF=RED=know indeed so.that F.we(EXC)

a nakikakezeng anga sakamaya tjanusun.
a na-ki-ka-kezeng anga sakamaya tjanu-sun
C PAST-do-RED-be.firm indeed only OBL-you(S)
May we understand better, may we stand firm in reliance on you alone.

039 *tisun a naqemati a Tsemas, naqemati a Tsemas a*
ti-sun a na-em=qati a Tsemas na-em=qati a Tsemas a
F-you(S) C PAST-AF=create C God PAST-AF=create C God C

nakiłivak tjanuamen a napasa maza i katsauan,
na-ki-łivak tjanu-amen a na-pa-sa maza i ka-tsau-an
PAST-do-care.for OBL-we(EXC) C PAST-cause-go here LOC main-being-NOM

uła men a nayayanga sakamaya; saka mareka
uła amen a na-ay-aya-anga sakamaya sa-ka mareka
so.that F.we(EXC) C PAST-RED-say-indeed only and-after many

vetjevetjek itjen, uła men a naya.
vetje-vetjek itjen uła amen a na-aya
RED-sibling F.we(INC) so.that F.we(EXC) C PAST-say
You are the creator God, the creator God who loved us and came here to the world, is what we should say; and we should say that we are all brothers and sisters;

040 *uła ika men a nasemanvilił.*
uła ika amen a na-em=sane-vilił
so.that not F.we(EXC) C PAST-AF=make-behind
so that we don't hate anyone,

041 *kumałi a na nia vutu, uła nia tjiaken sakamaya.*
ku-małi a na nia vutu uła nia tjiak-en sakamaya
?-different C PAST our(EXC) enemy so.that we(EXC) hold.hand-PF only
even those who were our enemies, and so that we only lead them on.

042 *ayatutsu-i, uła tjen a sema tjaiqayaw tjai Yisu-sama*
aya-tu-tsu-i uła tjen a em=sa tjai-qayaw tjai Yisu-sama
say-alike-this-HORT so.that F.we(INC) C AF=go OBL-front OBL.H Jesus-H

uła namapaseqełing.
uła na-ma-pa-se-qełing
so.that PAST-STAT-cause-INVOL-save
Let us say this, so that we may come to Jesus so that we may be saved;

043 *uła vaik a semusu tua sinan djalan ni Yisu-sama a*
uła vaik a em=susu tua in=sane djalan ni Yisu-sama a
so.that leave C AF=proceed OBL PERF=make road by Jesus-H C

tja tamasi, uła men a nayanga sakamaya
tja tamasi uła amen a na-aya-anga sakamaya
our(INC) soul so.that F.we(EXC) C PAST-say-indeed only

marepaqaqeɬiqeɬing, *nu* *izua* *uri* *matsay* *i* *kadjalanan,* *nu*
mare-pa-qa-qeîi-qeîing nu i-zua uri m-patsay i ka-djalan-an nu
pair-cause-RED-RED-save when LOC-that will AF-die LOC main-road-NOM when

izua *matsuɬatsuɬa,* *aya* *ti* *Yisu-sama* *tazua* *tulu* *tjanuitjen.*
i-zua ma-tsuîa-tsuîa aya ti Yisu-sama ta-zua tulu tjanu-itjen
LOC-that STAT-RED-hungry say F.H Jesus-H OBL-that teach OBL-we(INC)
so that our souls may follow the way opened by Jesus, let us say and help one another. If there is someone dying at the roadside, if there are people hungry, says Jesus in his teaching for us,
[*tamasi*: Japanese]

044 *parepaseqeɬiqeɬingi,* *uɬa* *men* *a* *nayanga* *sakamaya*
pare-pa-se-qeîi-qeîing-i uîa amen a na-aya-anga sakamaya
pair-cause-INVOL-RED-save-HORT so.that F.we(EXC) C PAST-say-indeed only

nakikakezeng *sakamaya* *ta* *su* *pazazekazekatj.*
na-ki-ka-kezeng sakamaya ta su pa-za-zeka-zekatj
PAST-do-RED-be.firm only OBL your(S) cause-RED-RED-share
let us help one another, let us say, just relying on your commands.

045 *ʔaming.*
qaming
amen
Amen.

046 *pai* *tisun* *a* *nia* *Tsemas* *a* *ti* *Yisu-sama,* *maɬimaɬi* *aravats* *su*
pai ti-sun a nia Tsemas a ti Yisu-sama maîimaîi a-ravats su
well F-you(S) C our(EXC) God C F.H Jesus-H thank.you C-true you(S)

kinizangan *amen* *tusa* *nia* *sinukuban* *i* *tjaiqayaw*
in=ki-zang-an amen tu-tsa nia in=sukub-an i tjai-qayaw
PERF=do-guard-LF F.we(EXC) OBL-this we(EXC) PERF=bow.head-LF LOC OBL-front

tjanusun.
tjanu-sun
OBL-you(S)
Jesus our God, thank you very much for guarding us during our time of worship before you.

047 *pai* *a* *su* *pitsul* *a* *su* *garang* *a* *su* *kiɬivak* *a* *su*
pai a su pitsul a su garang a su ki-îivak a su
well C your(S) strong C your(S) scold C your(S) do-care.for C your(S)

valisakedan *a* *su* *rupazekatjan* *uɬa* *su*
valisaked-an a su ru-pa-zekatj-an uîa su
worry-NOM C your(S) many-cause-share-NOM so.that you(S)

sinipakizangan *tjanuamen* *a* *mapuɬat,* *a* *marevetjevetjek* *i*
in=si-pa-ki-zang-an tjanu-amen a ma-puîat a mare-vetje-vetjek i
PERF=IF-cause-do-guard-LF OBL-we(EXC) C NUM-all C pair-RED-sibling LOC

Igiris,	*a*	*tiamen*	*a*	*imaza*	*i*	*Tayuang*	*a*	*selizuk*		*a*
Igiris	a	ti-amen	a	i-maza	i	Tayuang	a	se-lizuk		a
England	C	F-we(EXC)	C	LOC-here	LOC	Taiwan	C	person.of-plain		C

katsalisian	*a*	*mapuɬat.*
ka-tsalisi-an	a	ma-puîat
main-slope-NOM	C	NUM-all

May your power, might, love, concern and forgiveness protect us all, our brothers and sisters in England and us here in Taiwan, all the plainspeople and mountain people.

048	*aitsu*	*a*	*nia*	*kiqaung*	*nia*	*pinaka*	*tjanusun*	*a*	*ti*
	a-i-tsu	a	nia	ki-qaung	nia	in=pa-maka	tjanu-sun	a	ti
	C-LOC-this	C	we(EXC)	do-cry	we(EXC)	PERF=cause-via	OBL-you(S)	C	F.H

Yisu-sama.
Yisu-sama
Jesus-H
We make our prayer through you, Jesus.

049 *?aming.*
qaming
amen
Amen.

Let us look at this passage here in the word of God. This writing here says Love your neighbours. Now there was a young person who went to Jesus. "Who is my neighbour?" he asked. And Jesus replied: "I will tell you. There was a person who went down from Jerusalem towards Jericho. And he met some robbers. And the robbers quickly beat him up, and were going to kill him, and took off his clothes and knocked him over and took everything, and left him. And as the man was lying there, a person who worked hard at the shrine passed by. He didn't look at him; he just made a detour and ignored him and passed on. A person from Levi also came. He looked at the person lying there, and also made a detour and went. The third person to come was a very good person from Samaria. He got down from the camel he was riding, and went and looked at the person lying there, and got out his medicines and applied them to him, and bandaged the wounds. Then he put him on his camel, and went off with him to the inn. And when he was there at the inn the person from Samaria said (to them): 'Here is some money to pay for this person's stay. If it isn't enough, I'll give more tomorrow.'"

"Now as for you," said Jesus to the young person, "which one loved his neighbour?" he said. "It was the third one, who showed love to his neighbour and saved him," he replied. "Well you go and do the same; love your neighbours," Jesus said to him. Now when we all think about this, when we say neighbour, as for Jesus, it means not only those living round our house, not only our friends or our siblings. All the people here in the world, from here or there, even those a long way off, they are certainly all our neighbours. So all of us let us all recognise that all the people in the world are our neighbours. If we meet those who are suffering, if we meet those who are crying, if we meet those who are in trouble, let us save, lead and help them. Let us lead to Jesus those who do not yet know the word of God, so that they may be saved. If we do this we will fulfil the words of Jesus. Love your neighbours, he says to us all. The end.

What are we to say to you, Creator God, to you, Jesus? Thank you very much for your reaching us here the people of the mountains and saving us. And what are we to say to you, Jesus? You have come to (?) us who had sinned, and you have taught us the way we should go. What are we to say? We and our brothers and sisters here in the mountains, mountain people who were uncivilised and at enmity with one another in times past, you have made it clear to us and have told us how we should be able to help one another as brothers and sisters. And so even though our parents lived far apart and fought one another, they are all to be our brothers and sisters. When we have become followers and fulfil your commands, may we lead them all to you. May we understand better, may we stand firm in reliance on you alone. You are the creator God, the creator God who loved us and came here to the world, is what we should say; and we should say that we are all brothers and sisters; so that we don't hate anyone, even those who were our enemies, and so that we only lead them on. Let us say this, so that we may come to Jesus so that we may be saved; so that our souls may follow the way opened by Jesus, let us say and help one another. If there is someone dying at the roadside, if there are people hungry, says Jesus in his teaching for us, let us help one another, let us say, just relying on your commands. Amen.

Jesus our God, thank you very much for guarding us during our time of worship before you. May your power, might, love, concern and forgiveness protect us all, our brothers and sisters in England and us here in Taiwan, all the plainspeople and mountain people. We make our prayer through you, Jesus. Amen.

097 FAREWELL MESSAGE (1)

Dialect not noted

001 *?aw anga sun, sinsi.*
kaw anga sun sinsi
oh indeed F.you(S) teacher
Greetings to you, teacher.

002 *ka vaivaik anga sun imaza i Hiitu ki sun a*
ka vai-vaik anga sun i-maza i Hiitu ki sun a
after RED-leave indeed F.you(S) LOC-here LOC (place) will F.you(S) C

nakemuda ta su valisakedan tjanuamen, łaʔua ʔi tja
na-em=kuda ta su valisaked-an tjanu-amen łakua ki tja
PAST-AF=do.what OBL your(S) worry-NOM OBL-we(EXC) but will we(INC)

ʔudain, masa tu matsatsadjatsadja itjen angata.
kuda-en ma-sa tu ma-tsa-tsadja-tsadja itjen anga-ta
do.what-PF STAT-maybe COMPL STAT-RED-RED-far F.we(INC) indeed-?
When you have left (us) here in Pingtung, how will you be in your concern for us? But what can be done, as we are so far apart.
[*łaʔua*: was *laʔua*, here and below]

003 *ka vaivaik sun itua kisia'an ramułu anga men aravats*
ka vai-vaik sun i-tua kisia-an ramułu anga amen a-ravats
after RED-leave F.you(S) LOC-OBL train-NOM sad indeed F.we(EXC) C-true

tjanusun a ti sinsi.
tjanu-sun a ti sinsi
OBL-you(S) C F.II teacher
When you left from the railway station we were very sad for you, teacher.

004 *łaʔua aitsu nu napasusu itjen tua tulu nimadju*
łakua aya-i-tsu nu na-pa-susu itjen tua tulu ni-madju
but be.thus-LOC-this when PAST-cause-proceed F.we(INC) OBL teach of-3RD.PERS

tua pazazekazekatj nimadju ʔa imaza i Tayuang, ki
tua pa-za-zeka-zekatj ni-madju ka i-maza i Tayuang ki
OBL cause-RED-RED-share of-3RD.PERS after LOC-here LOC Taiwan will

tjen a nametsevutsevung anga nu tsuay anga nu
tjen a na-me-tsevu-tsevung anga nu tsuay anga nu
F.we(INC) C PAST-AF-RED-meet indeed when long.time indeed when

tjaivilił anga itua naqemati a Tsemas, ayaya men
tja-i-vilił anga i-tua na-em=qati a Tsemas ay-aya amen
more-LOC-behind indeed LOC-OBL PAST-AF=create C God RED-say F.we(EXC)

a masalusalu.
a ma-salu-salu
C STAT-RED-believe
But we were convinced that if we all fulfil his teaching and his commands while he was in Taiwan, we will meet later on in the future in the place of the creator God.

005 *pai uta, sinsi, ka i vavaw sun tua varukur ki sun a*
pai uta sinsi ka i va-vaw sun tua varukur ki sun a
well also teacher after LOC RED-above F.you(S) OBL ship will F.you(S) C

nakemuda, ki sun a nasevalisakedan tjanuamen anga uta,
na-em=kuda ki sun a na-se-valisaked-an tjanu-amen anga uta
PAST-AF=do.what will F.you(S) C PAST-INVOL-worry-LF OBL-we(EXC) indeed also

saka ki sun a namalevaleva uta tua zemuker uta tua
sa-ka ki sun a na-ma-leva-leva uta tua em=zuker uta tua
and-after will F.you(S) C PAST-STAT-RED-pleased also OBL AF=arrive also OBL

mare?a tja kaka i Igiris.
mareka tja kaka i Igiris
many our(INC) sibling LOC England
And also, teacher, while you are on the ship how will you be in your concern for us too?
And you will be glad too to reach our brothers and sisters in England.

006 *saka tiamen anga uta, kalevanga ti sinsi a uri*
sa-ka ti-amen anga uta ka-leva-anga ti sinsi a uri
and-after F-we(EXC) indeed also STAT-pleased-indeed F.H teacher C will

djemaɬun tua mare?a a ?a?a, ayaya men.
em=djaîun tua mareka a kaka ay-aya amen
AF=arrive OBL many C sibling RED-say F.we(EXC)
And we too will say: Good for the teacher, he will reach our brothers and sisters.

007 *nu ?ana masa a demut, ?i men a nasaɬinga*
nu ka-na ma-sa a em=dut ki amen a na-sa-îinga
when after-then STAT-maybe C AF=approach will F.we(EXC) C PAST-want-desire

ta kidjadjalan tjanusun.
ta ki-dja-djalan tjanu-sun
OBL self-RED-road OBL-you(S)
If it was near we would want to go with you;
[*nu kana*: 'if only']

008 *ɬa?ua ?i tja kudain a matsatsadjatsadja itjen a ma?eɬang.*
îakua ki tja kuda-en a ma-tsa-tsadja-tsadja itjen a ma-keîang
but will we(INC) do.what-PF C STAT-RED-RED-far F.we(INC) C STAT-know
but what can we do as we are so far apart, as we know?

009 *ɬa?ua aitsu nu tjaɬuzuanga sun tua mare?a tja*
îakua aya-i-tsu nu tjaîu-zua-anga sun tua mareka tja
but be.thus-LOC-this when until-that-indeed F.you(S) OBL many our(INC)

kaka, ki sun a napaqeneqenetj anga tjanuamen.
kaka ki sun a na-pa-qene-qenetj anga tjanu-amen
sibling will F.you(S) C PAST-cause-RED-see indeed OBL-we(EXC)
But when you get there to our brothers and sisters, you will remember us;

010 *nu inulinuli sun ki su inulinulian amen uta.*
nu nuli=inuli sun ki su nuli=inuli-an amen uta
when RED=pray F.you(S) will you(S) RED=pray-LF F.we(EXC) also
and when you pray you will pray for us too.
[*inulinulian*: was *inulinuli*]

011 *saka tiamen uta uła zemangazangal ti sinsi, uła*
sa-ka ti-amen uta uîa em=zanga-zangal ti sinsi uîa
and-after F-we(EXC) also so.that AF=RED-hard F.H teacher so.that

padjalidjalim ti sinsi tu sipangtjez anga tjanuitjen nu
pa-djali-djalim ti sinsi tu si-pangetjez anga tjanu-itjen nu
cause-RED-win F.H teacher COMPL IF-come indeed OBL-we(INC) when

tjaivilił, ?i men a ayaya uta nu inuli amen.
tja-i-viliî ki amen a ay-aya uta nu inuli amen
more-LOC-behind will F.we(EXC) C RED-say also when pray F.we(EXC)
And when we pray we will say: May the teacher persevere, may the teacher be keen to come back to us later.

012 *sa?a aitsu, sinsi, a mare?a tja matjałałak i zua*
sa-ka aya-i-tsu sinsi a mareka tja matja-îaîak i zua
and-after be.thus-LOC-this teacher C many our(INC) NUM-child LOC that

mare?a tja kaka ?i navenala ?emuda nu djemałun
mareka tja kaka ki na-in=vala em=kuda nu em=djaîun
many our(INC) sibling will PAST-PERF=able AF=do.what when AF=arrive

sun.
sun
F.you(S)
And now, teacher, the parents there and our brothers and sisters, I hope they will be well when you reach them.
[*nu*: not in original text]

013 *aitsu nu mapaqeneqenetj ?i sun a ventsivetsik anga*
aya-i-tsu nu ma-pa-qene-qenetj ki sun a n=vetsi-vetsik anga
be.thus-LOC-this when STAT-cause-RED-see will F.you(S) C AF=RED-mark indeed

tjanuamen sa su pasemalamalavi anga men tu
tjanu-amen sa su pa-se-mala-malaw-i anga amen tu
OBL-we(EXC) and you(S) cause-INVOL-RED-tell-HORT indeed F.we(EXC) COMPL

ki nakemuda su zinukeran, tu ki sun a
ki na-em=kuda su in=zuker-an tu ki sun a
will PAST-AF=do.what your(S) PERF=arrive-NOM COMPL will F.you(S) C

nasułivatj ʔemuda i vavaw tua varukur.
na-suîivatj em=kuda i va-vaw tua varukur
PAST-peace AF=do.what LOC RED-above OBL ship
And when you think of us you will write to us and tell us about your arrival, whether you were all right on the ship.

014 *saka aitsu ʔi men a ʔałavałava uta tua su*
sa-ka aya-i-tsu ki amen a ka-îava-îava uta tua su
and-after be.thus-LOC-this will F.we(EXC) C ?-RED-wait also OBL your(S)

vetsik uta, sinsi.
vetsik uta sinsi
mark also teacher
And now we will await your letter, teacher.

015 *nu binkiukiu anga sun uta ʔi sun a pasemalamalaw*
nu kiu=binkiu anga sun uta ki sun a pa-se-mala-malaw
when RED=study indeed F.you(S) also will F.you(S) C cause-INVOL-RED-tell

uta tua uri su sipangtjezan anga tjanuamen nu tjaivilił
uta tua uri su si-pangetjez-an anga tjanu-amen nu tja-i-viliî
also OBL will your(S) IF-come-NOM indeed OBL-we(EXC) when more-LOC-behind

anga.
anga
indeed
When you have begun studying too you will tell us when you are going to come back to us in the future.

016 *saʔa tiaʔen uta, sinsi, tua naramałeng aʔen aravats aitsu*
sa-ka ti-aken uta sinsi tua na-ramaîeng aken a-ravats aya-i-tsu
and-after F-I also teacher OBL PAST-adult F.I C-true be.thus-LOC-this

nu mangtjez anga sun nu tjaivilił, nu lemaqets
nu m-pangetjez anga sun nu tja-i-viliî nu em=laqets
when AF-come indeed F.you(S) when more-LOC-behind when AF=delay

ʔi naneʔanga.
ki na-neka-anga
will PAST-no-indeed
And I too, teacher, as I am very old, when you come back in the future perhaps I will not be here (??).

017 *łaʔua nu pasusu anga ʔen, nu namakaya ken a*
îakua nu pa-susu anga aken nu na-ma-kaya aken a
but when cause-proceed indeed F.I when PAST-STAT-able F.I C

kitjałupatsay tua ʔu ʔinaimazan i ʔatsauan, nu
ki-tjaîu-patsay tua ku in=ka-i-maza-an i ka-tsau-an nu
do-until-die OBL my PERF=STAT-LOC-here-NOM LOC main-being-NOM when

ayain a tjaisangas anga tjanusun a sema tinkuku.
aya-en a tja-i-sangas anga tjanu-sun a em=sa tinkuku
say-PF C more-LOC-first indeed OBL-you(S) C AF=go heaven
But if I am faithful, if I can endure my time on earth, perhaps (?) I will go to heaven before you.
[*kitjaɬupatsay*: was *kitjarupatsay*, F405 has *tjalu*]

018 *ɬa?ua aitsu nu ini anan a pasusu a?en, ?asinu ?i*
îakua aya-i-tsu nu ini anan a pa-susu aken kasi-inu ki
but be.thus-LOC-this when not still C cause-proceed F.I from-where will

nazemuker tua ?ama i ?alevelevan.
na-em=zuker tua kama i ka-levelev-an
PAST-AF=arrive OBL father LOC main-dazzle-NOM
But if I am still not faithful, how can I reach our Father in heaven?

019 *ɬa?ua aitsu nu sekulukulung amen i maza, ?i*
îakua aya-i-tsu nu se-kulu-kulung amen i maza ki
but be.thus-LOC-this when INVOL-RED-awkward F.we(EXC) LOC here will

sun a napazekatj anga tjanuamen.
sun a na-pa-zekatj anga tjanu-amen
F.you(S) C PAST-cause-share indeed OBL-we(EXC)
But if we here are stupid, you will forgive us.

020 *?aw anga sun, sinsi.*
kaw anga sun sinsi
oh indeed F.you(S) teacher
Greetings, teacher.

021 *djavadjavay a su kipaula tjanuamen ?a imaza anan sun*
djava-djavay a su ki-pa-ula tjanu-amen ka i-maza anan sun
RED-do.much C your(S) do-cause-lack OBL-we(EXC) after LOC-here still F.you(S)

i Tayuang.
i Tayuang
LOC Taiwan
Thank you for your trouble on our behalf while you were still here in Taiwan.
[*Tayuang*: was *Tayuan*]
[*anan*: was *nan*]

022 *amin.*
amin
no.more
The end.

Greetings to you, teacher. When you have left (us) here in Pingtung, how will you be in your concern for us? But what can be done, as we are so far apart. When you left from the railway station we were very sad for you, teacher. But we were convinced that if we all fulfil his teaching and his commands while he was in Taiwan, we will meet later on in the future in the place of the creator God. And also, teacher, while you are on the ship how will you be in your concern for us

too? And you will be glad too to reach our brothers and sisters in England. And we too will say: Good for the teacher, he will reach our brothers and sisters. If it was near we would want to go with you; but what can we do as we are so far apart, as we know? But when you get there to our brothers and sisters, you will remember us; and when you pray you will pray for us too. And when we pray we will say: May the teacher persevere, may the teacher be keen to come back to us later. And now, teacher, the parents there and our brothers and sisters, I hope they will be well when you reach them. And when you think of us you will write to us and tell us about your arrival, whether you were all right on the ship. And now we will await your letter, teacher. When you have begun studying too you will tell us when you are going to come back to us in the future. And I too, teacher, as I am very old, when you come back in the future perhaps I will not be here (??). But if I am faithful, if I can endure my time on earth, perhaps (?) I will go to heaven before you. But if I am still not faithful, how can I reach our Father in heaven? But if we here are stupid, you will forgive us. Greetings, teacher. Thank you for your trouble on our behalf while you were still here in Taiwan. The end.

098 FAREWELL MESSAGE (2)

Kazazałan dialect

001 *pai, sinsi, qai anga sun.*
pai sinsi qai anga sun
well teacher oh indeed F.you(S)
We remember you with affection, teacher.

002 *ki sun a vaik anga i maza i Tayuang.*
ki sun a vaik anga i maza i Tayuang
will F.you(S) C leave indeed LOC here LOC Taiwan
So you are leaving (us) here in Taiwan,

003 *ki sun a djemałun itua mareka tja kaka i Igiris.*
ki sun a em=djałun i-tua mareka tja kaka i Igiris
will F.you(S) C AF=arrive LOC-OBL many our(INC) sibling LOC England
and are going to our brothers and sisters in England.

004 *pai nu vaik sun, pai kiqauqaungan amen uta tua tja*
pai nu vaik sun pai ki-qau-qaung-an amen uta tua tja
well when leave F.you(S) well do-RED-cry-LF F.we(EXC) also OBL our(INC)

kama Tsemas tusa nia saqetjuan uta.
kama Tsemas tu-tsa nia saqetju-an uta
father God OBL-this our(EXC) painful-NOM also
Well when you go pray for us too to our Father God because of our illnesses too.

005 *pai małimałi aravats, Uaitu sinsi, aitsu a su kinasi*
pai małimałi a-ravats Uaitu sinsi aya-i-tsu a su in=kasi
well thank.you C-true Whitehorn teacher be.thus-LOC-this C your(S) PERF=from

Tayuangan.
Tayuang-an
Taiwan-NOM
Thank you very much, teacher Whitehorn, during your time in Taiwan

006 *napadjałudjałun sun tjanuamen, nazemuker sun uta i*
na-pa-djału-djałun sun tjanu-amen na-em=zuker sun uta i
PAST-cause-RED-arrive F.you(S) OBL-we(EXC) PAST-AF=arrive F.you(S) also LOC

tjanuamen i Kazazałan.
tjanu-amen i Kazazałan
OBL-we(EXC) LOC (place)
you came to us, you also reached us in Kazazałan.

007 *pai małimałi aravats.*
pai małimałi a-ravats
well thank.you C-true
Thank you very much.

008 *malevaleva* *men* *aravats.*
ma-leva-leva amen a-ravats
STAT-RED-pleased F.we(EXC) C-true
We are very pleased.

009 *łakua* *pai* *aitsu,* *Uaitu* *sinsi,* *nu* *djemałun* *sun*
łakua pai aya-i-tsu Uaitu sinsi nu em=djałun sun
but well be.thus-LOC-this Whitehorn teacher when AF=arrive F.you(S)

itua *mareka* *tja* *kaka,* *qai* *anga* *tazua,* *ki* *sun* *aya* *anga*
i-tua mareka tja kaka qai anga ta-zua ki sun aya anga
LOC-OBL many our(INC) sibling oh indeed OBL-that will F.you(S) say indeed

uta *tjanuamen* *a* *mapułat* *a* *imaza* *i* *Tayuang.*
uta tjanu-amen a ma-pułat a i-maza i Tayuang
also OBL-we(EXC) C NUM-all C LOC-here LOC Taiwan
But now, teacher Whitehorn, when you reach our brothers and sisters, you will remember with affection all of us here in Taiwan.
[*łakua*: was *lakua*]

010 *pai* *nu* *izuanga* *sun* *uta* *itua* *mareka* *tja* *kaka,* *ki*
pai nu i-zua-anga sun uta i-tua mareka tja kaka ki
well when LOC-that-indeed F.you(S) also LOC-OBL many our(INC) sibling will

men *a* *su* *sikiqauqaungan* *uta* *sakamaya* *tua* *tja* *Kama* *i*
amen a su si-ki-qau-qaung-an uta sakamaya tua tja Kama i
F.we(EXC) C you(S) IF-do-RED-cry-LF also only OBL our(INC) father LOC

vavaw.
va-vaw
RED-above
And when you are there with our brothers and sisters, you will certainly pray for us to our Father above.

011 *pai* *nu* *ika* *men* *a* *sa* *makapidał* *uta,* *ki* *tjen* *a*
pai nu ika amen a sa maka-pida-ł uta ki tjen a
well when not F.we(EXC) C go NUM-how.many-times also will F.we(INC) C

metsevutsevung *anga* *i* *kalevelevan,* *nu* *napasusu*
me-tsevu-tsevung anga i ka-levelev-an nu na-pa-susu
AF-RED-meet indeed LOC main-dazzle-NOM when PAST-cause-proceed

amen *tua* *su* *tulu* *ta* *su* *pazazekazekatj.*
amen tua su tulu ta su pa-za-zeka-zekatj
F.we(EXC) OBL your(S) teach OBL your(S) cause-RED-RED-share
And if we don't last so many days, we will meet in heaven, if we fulfil your teaching and commands.

012 *pai* *amin* *a* *ʔu* *kai.*
pai amin a ku kai
well no.more C my speech
Well that's all I have to say.

013 *qai anga sun.*
qai anga sun
oh indeed F.you(S)
Greetings.

We remember you with affection, teacher. So you are leaving (us) here in Taiwan, and are going to our brothers and sisters in England. Well when you go pray for us too to our Father God because of our illnesses too. Thank you very much, teacher Whitehorn, during your time in Taiwan you came to us, you also reached us in Kazazałan. Thank you very much. We are very pleased. But now, teacher Whitehorn, when you reach our brothers and sisters, you will remember with affection all of us here in Taiwan. And when you are there with our brothers and sisters, you will certainly pray for us to our Father above. And if we don't last so many days, we will meet in heaven, if we fulfil your teaching and commands. Well that's all I have to say. Greetings.

099 FAREWELL MESSAGE (3)

Dialect not noted

001 *qai sun, sinsi.*
qai sun sinsi
oh F.you(S) teacher
We remember you with affection, teacher.

002 *małimałi aravats a kinuletj sun nua tja Tsemas i*
małimałi a-ravats a in=kuletj sun nua tja Tsemas i
thank.you C-true C PERF=supply F.you(S) by our(INC) God LOC

vavaw sa su pasamaza i Tayuangi, sa su sikanemanga
va-vaw sa su pa-sa-maza i Tayuang-i sa su si-ka-nema-anga
RED-above and you(S) cause-go-here LOC Taiwan-PF and you(S) IF-?-what-indeed

tua nia kai a katsalisian, sana ne kemłang anga.
tua nia kai a ka-tsalisi-an sa-na ne m=kełang anga
OBL our(EXC) speech C main-slope-NOM and-then we(EXC) AF=know indeed
Thank you very much that our God provided you and you were sent here to Taiwan, and you dealt with (?) the language of us people of the mountain slopes and we were able to understand.

003 *pai aitsu a mareka katsalisian nisun a tami.*
pai aya-i-tsu a mareka ka-tsalisi-an ni-sun a tami
well be.thus-LOC-this C many main-slope-NOM of-you(S) C people
And so the mountain people are your people.
[*katsalisian*: was *kinatsalisian*]

004 *pai kana ika sun a namangtjez qau kana men a*
pai ka-na ika sun a na-m-pangetjez qau ka-na amen a
well after-then not F.you(S) C PAST-AF-come so after-then F.we(EXC) C

kemłang tua nia vetsik a kinatsalisianan.
m=kełang tua nia vetsik a in=ka-tsalisi-an-an
AF=know OBL our(EXC) mark C PERF=main-slope-NOM-NOM
If you had not come how could (?) we have known the writing for our mountain language?
[*kinatsalisianan*: was *katsalisian*]

005 *selapay nu namalevaleva men aravats.*
se-lapay nu na-ma-leva-leva amen a-ravats
INVOL-severe of PAST-STAT-RED-pleased F.we(EXC) C-true
We are extremely glad about it.

006 *saka pai aitsu nu vaik sun uta uła men a*
sa-ka pai aya-i-tsu nu vaik sun uta uła amen a
and-after well be.thus-LOC-this when leave F.you(S) also so.that F.we(EXC) C

su	*sikainulinuli,*	*uła*	*men*	*a*	*temudutudur*	*sakamaya*	*tua*
su	si-ka-nuli=inuli	uîa	amen	a	em=tudu-tudur	sakamaya	tua
you(S)	IF-?-RED=pray	so.that	F.we(EXC)	C	AF=RED-progress	only	OBL

nia	*sinku*	*a*	*mareka*	*su*	*kaka*	*imaza*	*i*	*katsalisian,*
nia	sinku	a	mareka	su	kaka	i-maza	i	ka-tsalisi-an
our(EXC)	faith	C	many	your(S)	sibling	LOC-here	LOC	main-slope-NOM

sana	*ne*	*kana*	*inulinuli*	*uta*	*tjanusun.*
sa-na	ne	ka-na	nuli=inuli	uta	tjanu-sun
and-then	we(EXC)	after-then	RED=pray	also	OBL-you(S)

And now when you go may you pray for us, so that we your brothers and sisters here in the mountains may continue always in our faith and pray too for you.

007

nu	*vaik*	*anga*	*sun*	*nu*	*i*	*djalan*	*anga*	*sun,*	*uła*
nu	vaik	anga	sun	nu	i	djalan	anga	sun	uîa
when	leave	indeed	F.you(S)	when	LOC	road	indeed	F.you(S)	so.that

sun	*a*	*napupitsupitsul*	*anga*	*uta;*	*nu*	*i*	*djalan*	*anga*	*sun,*
sun	a	na-pu-pitsu-pitsul	anga	uta	nu	i	djalan	anga	sun
F.you(S)	C	PAST-have-RED-strong	indeed	also	when	LOC	road	indeed	F.you(S)

uła	*sun*	*a*	*namalevalevanga*	*a*	*mangtjez*	*itua*	*mareka*
uîa	sun	a	na-ma-leva-leva-anga	a	m-pangetjez	i-tua	mareka
so.that	F.you(S)	C	PAST-STAT-RED-pleased-indeed	C	AF-come	LOC-OBL	many

su	*matjałałak*	*a*	*mareka*	*su*	*kaka.*
su	matja-îaîak	a	mareka	su	kaka
your(S)	NUM-child	C	many	your(S)	sibling

When you go and are on your journey may you be in good health; and on your way may you be glad to reach your parents and brothers and sisters.

008

saka	*pai*	*aitsu*	*a*	*tiamen*	*a*	*uri*	*su*	*vinaikan*	*uła*
sa-ka	pai	aya-i-tsu	a	ti-amen	a	uri	su	in=vaik-an	uîa
and-after	well	be.thus-LOC-this	C	F-we(EXC)	C	will	you(S)	PERF=leave-LF	so.that

men	*a*	*su*	*kinipaqenetjan*	*sa*	*su*	*kainulinulian*	*amen,*
amen	a	su	in=ki-pa-qenetj-an	sa	su	ka-nuli=inuli-an	amen
F.we(EXC)	C	you(S)	PERF=do-cause-see-LF	and	you(S)	?-RED=pray-LF	F.we(EXC)

uła	*men*	*a*	*napasusu*	*tua*	*tulu*	*nua*	*Tsemas*	*tua*	*kai*	*nua*
uîa	amen	a	na-pa-susu	tua	tulu	nua	Tsemas	tua	kai	nua
so.that	F.we(EXC)	C	PAST-cause-proceed	OBL	teach	of	God	OBL	speech	of

tja	*kaka*	*ti*	*Yisu-sama,*	*uła*	*tjen*	*a*	*namakaya*
tja	kaka	ti	Yisu-sama	uîa	tjen	a	na-ma-kaya
our(INC)	sibling	F.H	Jesus-H	so.that	F.we(INC)	C	PAST-STAT-able

metsevutsevung	*i*	*tjarivavaw,*	*nu*	*namakapasusu*
me-tsevu-tsevung	i	tjari-va-vaw	nu	na-maka-pa-susu
AF-RED-meet	LOC	utmost-RED-above	when	PAST-finished-cause-proceed

itjen	*tua*	*tulu*	*nua*	*tja*	*Tsemas*	*i*	*vavaw.*
itjen	tua	tulu	nua	tja	Tsemas	i	va-vaw
F.we(INC)	OBL	teach	of	our(INC)	God	LOC	RED-above

And we whom you are leaving behind may you remember us and pray for us, so that we will keep the teaching of God and the words of our brother Jesus; may we be able to meet up above if we have fully kept the teaching of our God above.

009

saka	*amin*	*a*	*ku*	*kai.*
sa-ka	amin	a	ku	kai
and-after	no.more	C	my	speech

That's all I have to say.

We remember you with affection, teacher. Thank you very much that our God provided you and you were sent here to Taiwan, and you dealt with (?) the language of us people of the mountain slopes and we were able to understand. And so the mountain people are your people. If you had not come how could (?) we have known the writing for our mountain language? We are extremely glad about it. And now when you go may you pray for us, so that we your brothers and sisters here in the mountains may continue always in our faith and pray too for you. When you go and are on your journey may you be in good health; and on your way may you be glad to reach your parents and brothers and sisters. And we whom you are leaving behind may you remember us and pray for us, so that we will keep the teaching of God and the words of our brother Jesus; may we be able to meet up above if we have fully kept the teaching of our God above. That's all I have to say.

100 FAREWELL MESSAGE (4)

Vałulu dialect

001 *qai a siningelitan, sinsi.*
qai a in=singelit-an sinsi
oh C PERF=miss-LF teacher
How we miss you, teacher.

002 *aitsu tsuatsuay anga sun aravats a su vinaikan*
aya-i-tsu tsua-tsuay anga sun a-ravats a su in=vaik-an
be.thus-LOC-this RED-long.time indeed F.you(S) C-true C your(S) PERF=leave-LF

imaza i Tayuang.
i-maza i Tayuang
LOC-here LOC Taiwan
It is now a very long time since you left Taiwan.
[*vinaikan*: is *-an* LF or NOM?]

003 *tiamen singelitan amen aravats, talimuzamuzaw amen sakamaya*
ti-amen singelit-an amen a-ravats muza=talimuzaw amen sakamaya
F-we(EXC) miss-LF F.we(EXC) C-true RED=sad F.we(EXC) only

tjanusun.
tjanu-sun
OBL-you(S)
We miss you very much and just feel sad about you.

004 *aki kemudakuda ti sinsi, aki kisamułamuła, aki napupitsul,*
aki em=kuda-kuda ti sinsi aki ki-muła=samuła aki na-pu-pitsul
how AF=RED-do.what F.H teacher how do-RED=urgent how PAST-have-strong

ayaya men sakamaya.
ay-aya amen sakamaya
RED-say F.we(EXC) only
What is the teacher doing, is he working hard, is he well?, we keep saying.

005 *łakua nu nia kinemnemen kudain a pinazazekazekatj*
łakua nu nia kinemnem-en kuda-en a in=pa-za-zeka-zekatj
but when we(EXC) think-PF do.what-PF C PERF=cause-RED-RED-share

timadju nua Tsemas tu mana uri kiqutjela tjanuitjen a
ti-madju nua Tsemas tu ma-avan-a uri ki-qutjela tjanu-itjen a
F-3RD.PERS of God COMPL STAT-exact-? will do-busy OBL-we(INC) C

imaza i Tayuang a katsalisian numa.
i-maza i Tayuang a ka-tsalisi-an numa
LOC-here LOC Taiwan C main-slope-NOM indeed
But when we think about it, he was ordered by God wasn't he to be active for us mountain people here in Taiwan.
[*kiqutjela*: F237 has *qutela*]

006 *pai tutsu i tsadja timadju tjanuitjen, łakua ventsivetsik anan*
pai tu-tsu i tsadja ti-madju tjanu-itjen łakua n=vetsi-vetsik anan
well OBL-this LOC far F-3RD.PERS OBL-we(INC) but AF=RED-mark still

uta, kitulutulu anan uta tua kai nua Tsemas tua siłaluayan a
uta ki-tulu-tulu anan uta tua kai nua Tsemas tua si-łaluay-an a
also do-RED-teach still also OBL speech of God OBL IF-clear-NOM C

pasemalaw tjanuitjen a kematsalisianan uta tua kai nua
pa-em=salaw tjanu-itjen a em=ka-tsalisi-an-an uta tua kai nua
cause-AF=tell OBL-we(INC) C AF=main-slope-NOM-NOM also OBL speech of

Tsemas, nu aya men uta masasa men uta.
Tsemas nu aya amen uta ma-sasa amen uta
God when say F.we(EXC) also STAT-console F.we(EXC) also

Now he is far away from us, but he is still studying, he is still learning about the word of God so as to be able to tell us clearly in the mountain language the word of God; when we think of this we are comforted.

007 *pai aitsu titjen a tsautsau a mapułat tjara*
pai aya-i-tsu ti-tjen a tsau-tsau a ma-pułat tjara
well be.thus-LOC-this F-we(INC) C RED-being C NUM-all surely

pinazazekazekatj itjen nua Tsemas tua uri tja sengsengan
in=pa-za-zeka-zekatj itjen nua Tsemas tua uri tja sengseng-an
PERF=cause-RED-RED-share F.we(INC) by God OBL will our(INC) work-NOM

tusa tja kinaikatsauanan, tua mana uri
tu-tsa tja in=ka-i-ka-tsau-an-an tua ma-avan-a uri
OBL-this our(INC) PERF=?-LOC-main-being-NOM-NOM OBL STAT-exact-? will

tja djalan, tu uri pasainu itjen.
tja djalan tu uri pa-sa-inu itjen
our(INC) road COMPL will cause-go-where F.we(INC)

Well all we human beings get our orders from God about our work in our life, the way we should go, where we should go to.

008 *qau pai tisun a ti sinsi kudain a pinazazekazekatj anga*
qau pai ti-sun a ti sinsi kuda-en a in=pa-za-zeka-zekatj anga
so well F-you(S) C F.H teacher do.what-PF C PERF=cause-RED-RED-share indeed

sun nua Tsemas tua sema maza i Tayuang a hunyaku tua nia
sun nua Tsemas tua em=sa maza i Tayuang a hunyaku tua nia
F.you(S) by God OBL AF=go here LOC Taiwan C translate OBL our(EXC)

kai a Payuang zuku.
kai a Payuang zuku
speech C Paiwan tribe

And you, teacher, you have been ordered by God haven't you to come to Taiwan to translate into our language of the Paiwan tribe.

009 *tjara kipaqeneqenetji amen sakamaya.*
tjara ki-pa-qene-qenetj-i amen sakamaya
surely do-cause-RED-see-HORT F.we(EXC) only
Just remember us.

010 *pai nu i gaku sun tjara liaw aravats a su siselapay*
pai nu i gaku sun tjara liaw a-ravats a su si-se-lapay
well when LOC school F.you(S) surely many C-true C your(S) IF-INVOL-severe

a su sikaluɬay nua su qulu nua su kininemneman na
a su si-ka-luɬay nua su qulu nua su in=kinemnem-an na
C your(S) IF-become-tired of your(S) head of your(S) PERF=think-NOM of

su kinatsautsauan tua su kisamuɬa.
su in=ka-tsau-tsau-an tua su ki-samuɬa
your(S) PERF=main-RED-being-NOM OBL your(S) do-urgent
When you are in the school you will have a lot to put up with, you will be tired in your head, your thinking and your body because of working hard;

011 *ɬakua nuka ki sun a namaluɬaluɬay aravats, nuka ki sun*
ɬakua nuka ki sun a na-ma-luɬa-luɬay a-ravats nuka ki sun
but even will F.you(S) C PAST-STAT-RED-tired C-true even will F.you(S)

a namazeli aravats, ui ḍi, ua ku tazua i Tayuang a ku
a na-ma-zeli a-ravats ui ḍi ua ku ta-zua i Tayuang a ku
C PAST-STAT-weariness C-true yes oh hey I OBL-that LOC Taiwan C my

sengsengan a ku qinadju a liaw aravats a tjakaɬavaɬava tjanuaken
sengseng-an a ku in=adjuq a liaw a-ravats a tja-ka-ɬava-ɬava tjanu-aken
work-NOM C I PERF=leave C many C-true C more-?-RED-wait OBL-I

a namapalingzaɬ a namaparutsunuq anan, aya-u
a na-ma-pa-lingzaɬ a na-ma-ar=pu-tsunuq anan aya-u
C PAST-STAT-cause-incomplete C PAST-STAT-randomly=have-scree still say-IMP

uta a kinemnem, sa su kipapupitsupitsul sa su kiqaung
uta a kinemnem sa su ki-pa-pu-pitsu-pitsul sa su ki-qaung
also C think and you(S) do-cause-have-RED-strong and you(S) do-cry

uta tua Tsemas.
uta tua Tsemas
also OBL God
but even if you are very weak, even if you are very tired, think like this: Yes, there is in Taiwan a lot of work that I left that is waiting for me that is incomplete(?) and still in a muddle; and so get more strength and pray to God.
[*tazua*: was *tazu*]
[*namaparutsunuq*: could be *na-ma-pa-ru-tsunuq* PAST-STAT-cause-many-scree]

012 *pai tiamen uta aitsu a ḍusa tsavił a uri su vinaikan,*
pai ti-amen uta aya-i-tsu a ḍusa tsavił a uri su in=vaik-an
well F-we(EXC) also be.thus-LOC-this C two year C will your(S) PERF=leave-LF

palamu ki mangtjez, aya men.
pa-lamu ki m-pangetjez aya amen
cause-short.time will AF-come say F.we(EXC)
We too during these two years of your absence, we'll say: He'll soon come back.

013 *inika nia linaḍuq a kinemnem.*
ini-ka nia in=laḍuq a kinemnem
not-after we(EXC) PERF=long C think
We haven't made it longer in our thinking.

014 *kiqauqaung amen uta tua su sipupitsulan, tua su*
ki-qau-qaung amen uta tua su si-pu-pitsul-an tua su
do-RED-cry F.we(EXC) also OBL your(S) IF-have-strong-NOM OBL your(S)

sikitsepelivan anan a sema Tayuang, tua su siqatsuvungan tua
si-ki-tsepeliw-an anan a em=sa Tayuang tua su si-qa-tsuvung-an tua
IF-do-return-NOM still C AF=go Taiwan OBL your(S) IF-?-complete-NOM OBL

su sengsengan, tua mana uri nia sikełangan anga tua
su sengseng-an tua ma-avan-a uri nia si-kełang-an anga tua
your(S) work-NOM OBL STAT-exact-? will our(EXC) IF-know-NOM indeed OBL

kai nua Tsemas uta a łemaluay.
kai nua Tsemas uta a em=łaluay
speech of God also C AF=clear
And we pray too that you will be well, that you will return to Taiwan, that you will finish your work which will result in our understanding the word of God clearly.

015 *qau saka aitsu uła sun a napupitsupitsul a*
qau sa-ka aya-i-tsu uła sun a na-pu-pitsu-pitsul a
so and-after be.thus-LOC-this so.that F.you(S) C PAST-have-RED-strong C

palalaut, uła sun a kinizangan uta na Tsemas, ainu
pa-la-laut uła sun a in=ki-zang-an uta na Tsemas a-inu
cause-RED-able so.that F.you(S) C PERF=do-guard-LF also by God ?-where

ki nu kisamułamuła sun a ventsik uła sun a
ki nu ki-muła=samuła sun a m=vetsik uła sun a
will when do-RED=urgent F.you(S) C AF=mark so.that F.you(S) C

papuquluquluin nua Tsemas ta su kełangen a kirimu tua
pa-pu-qulu-qulu-en nua Tsemas ta su kełang-en a ki-rimu tua
cause-have-RED-head-PF by God OBL you(S) know-PF C do-quick OBL

kai nua Tsemas.
kai nua Tsemas
speech of God
And now may you be well always, may you be guarded by God. When you are studying hard may God make you clever so that you quickly understand the word of God.
[*saka aitsu.* was *sakaitsu*]
[*ta su.* was *a su*]
[*ki.* possible speech error]

016 *pai nu tjaivilił anga vetsivetsikan amen uta tua su*
pai nu tja-i-viliî anga vetsi-vetsik-an amen uta tua su
well when more-LOC-behind indeed RED-mark-LF F.we(EXC) also OBL your(S)

tigami tuki sun a kemudakudanga tuki sun a
tigami tu-ki sun a em=kuda-kuda-anga tu-ki sun a
letter COMPL-how F.you(S) C AF=RED-do.what-indeed COMPL-how F.you(S) C

paqenetj anan ta nia kai a kinatsalisianan.
pa-qenetj anan ta nia kai a in=ka-tsalisi-an-an
cause-see still OBL our(EXC) speech C PERF=main-slope-NOM-NOM
And in the future write us letters to tell us what you are doing and whether you still remember our mountain language.

017 *qau aitsu nu tjaivilił anga kitjen a*
qau aya-i-tsu nu tja-i-viliî anga ki-itjen a
so be.thus-LOC-this when more-LOC-behind indeed will-F.we(INC) C

metsevutsevung anan uta.
me-tsevu-tsevung anan uta
AF-RED-meet still also
And in the future we will all meet again.

018 *tiamen namalevaleva men namapuzangal amen tua*
ti-amen na-ma-leva-leva amen na-ma-pu-zangal amen tua
F-we(EXC) PAST-STAT-RED-pleased F.we(EXC) PAST-STAT-have-hope F.we(EXC) OBL

tja metsevutsevung nu tjaivilił.
tja me-tsevu-tsevung nu tja-i-viliî
our(INC) AF-RED-meet when more-LOC-behind
We are glad and hope for our meeting again in the future.

019 *uła tjen a laḍuq anan a tja nasi, uła tjen a*
uîa tjen a la÷uq anan a tja nasi uîa tjen a
so.that F.we(INC) C long still C our(INC) breath so.that F.we(INC) C

nasetsevung anan tjai sinsi, uła tjen a
na-se-tsevung anan tjai sinsi uîa tjen a
PAST-INVOL-meet still OBL.H teacher so.that F.we(INC) C

nakidjadjalan	*anan*	*a*	*kisamuła*	*tua*	*patjara*	*Tsemas,*	
na-ki-dja-djalan	anan	a	ki-samuîa	tua	pa-tjara	Tsemas,	
PAST-do-RED-road	still	C	do-urgent	OBL	cause-surely	God,	

ayaya	*men*	*uta*	*a*	*kiqauqaung*	*tua*	*Tsemas.*
ay-aya	amen	uta	a	ki-qau-qaung	tua	Tsemas
RED-say	F.we(EXC)	also	C	do-RED-cry	OBL	God

May our lives be long, so that we'll meet the teacher again, so that we can join in working for God, is what we say in prayer to God.

020

saka	*kimen*	*a*	*napupitsupitsul*	*uta,*	*kimen*	*a*	*kiqaung*
sa-ka	ki-amen	a	na-pu-pitsu-pitsul	uta	ki-amen	a	ki-qaung
and-after	will-F.we(EXC)	C	PAST-have-RED-strong	also	will-F.we(EXC)	C	do-cry

tjanusun.
tjanu-sun
OBL-you(S)
May we be well and we'll pray for you.

021

tisun	*uta*	*ki*	*sun*	*a*	*napupitsupitsul*	*uta*	*sa*	*su*
ti-sun	uta	ki	sun	a	na-pu-pitsu-pitsul	uta	sa	su
F-you(S)	also	will	F.you(S)	C	PAST-have-RED-strong	also	and	you(S)

kiqauqaungan	*amen*	*uta.*
ki-qau-qaung-an	amen	uta
do-RED-cry-LF	F.we(EXC)	also

And you too may you be well and pray for us too.

022

namatsatsadjatsadja	*itjen,*	*łakua*	*kitjen*	*a*	*namateveteveł*		*i*
na-ma-tsa-tsadja-tsadja	itjen	îakua	ki-itjen	a	na-ma-teve-teveî		i
PAST-STAT-RED-RED-far	F.we(INC)	but	will-F.we(INC)	C	PAST-STAT-RED-join		LOC

tjaiqayaw	*tua*	*Tsemas,*	*kitjen*	*a*	*tjara*	*natjadjaladjalan*	*sakamaya.*
tjai-qayaw	tua	Tsemas	ki-itjen	a	tjara	na-tja-djala-djalan	sakamaya
OBL-front	OBL	God	will-F.we(INC)	C	surely	PAST-more-RED-road	only

We are far apart, but we'll be together before God and we'll be united(?).
[*tjara natjadjaladjalan*: was *tjanatjadjaladjalan*]

023

saka	*aitsu*	*uri*	*amin*	*anga*	*nua*	*ku*	*kai.*
sa-ka	aya-i-tsu	uri	amin	anga	nua	ku	kai
and-after	be.thus-LOC-this	will	no.more	indeed	of	my	speech

And now this will be the end of my speech.
[*saka aitsu* was *sakaitsu*]

024

pakakiqauqaungi	*a*	*palalaut*	*a*	*pasa*	*tua*	*Tsemas*	*tua*	
pa-ka-ki-qau-qaung-i	a	pa-la-laut	a	pa-sa	tua	Tsemas	tua	
cause-?-do-RED-cry-HORT	C	cause-RED-able	C	cause-go	OBL	God	OBL	

tja	*siselapay.*
tja	si-se-lapay
our(INC)	IF-INVOL-severe

Let us pray for one another always to God in our troubles.

How we miss you, teacher. It is now a very long time since you left Taiwan. We miss you very much and just feel sad about you. What is the teacher doing, is he working hard, is he well?, we keep saying. But when we think about it, he was ordered by God wasn't he to be active for us mountain people here in Taiwan. Now he is far away from us, but he is still studying, he is still learning about the word of God so as to be able to tell us clearly in the mountain language the word of God; when we think of this we are comforted. Well all we human beings get our orders from God about our work in our life, the way we should go, where we should go to. And you, teacher, you have been ordered by God haven't you to come to Taiwan to translate into our language of the Paiwan tribe. Just remember us. When you are in the school you will have a lot to put up with, you will be tired in your head, your thinking and your body because of working hard; but even if you are very weak, even if you are very tired, think like this: Yes, there is in Taiwan a lot of work that I left that is waiting for me that is incomplete(?) and still in a muddle; and so get more strength and pray to God. We too during these two years of your absence, we'll say: He'll soon come back. We haven't made it longer in our thinking. And we pray too that you will be well, that you will return to Taiwan, that you will finish your work which will result in our understanding the word of God clearly.

And now may you be well always, may you,be guarded by God. When you are studying hard may God make you clever so that you quickly understand the word of God. And in the future write us letters to tell us what you are doing and whether you still remember our mountain language. And in the future we will all meet again. We are glad and hope for our meeting again in the future. May our lives be long, so that we'll meet the teacher again, so that we can join in working for God, is what we say in prayer to God. May we be well and we'll pray for you. And you too may you be well and pray for us too. We are far apart, but we'll be together before God and we'll be united(?). And now this will be the end of my speech. Let us pray for one another always to God in our troubles.

3 *Paiwan–English morpheme list and concordance*

This chapter lists all Paiwan forms that were identified at the morpheme level in the second line of the interlinear blocks of the texts. For each form, the gloss or glosses used in the third line are given, followed by any comments, in square brackets. These comments may indicate the source of the form if it has been identified as a borrowing, or give additional information, particularly where there is some doubt over the meaning. There is also a numerical count of occurrences of each form in the texts given in round brackets, and then an exhaustive listing of the references of each occurrence.

Note that this concordance is "form-based", rather than being truly morphemic. This means that where a form occur with more than one gloss, all the glosses are all listed together under the single citation of the form, but this is not to be taken as indicating anything about the semantic relationship of the glosses. Some of the glosses for a form may represent polysemy, while others may be simply a result of homonymy, but no attempt is made in the concordance listing to indicate these separately.

a C (2616) **001** 1 3 4 4 5 7 12 15 16 17 18 19 19 20 22 22 24 27 29 31 31 33 36 37 37 37 41 43 44 45 48 52 52 53 57 57 60 **002** 1 1 1 1 2 3 4 4 5 6 8 10 12 12 12 12 15 15 16 17 17 17 18 18 21 21 25 26 26 28 29 32 34 35 37 38 38 39 39 40 40 41 41 41 42 42 47 49 49 49 49 50 50 52 53 54 55 55 56 56 57 57 58 59 60 61 62 64 65 67 69 71 71 73 75 76 **003** 1 2 2 4 4 5 5 6 6 7 7 10 10 11 13 13 13 14 14 14 14 15 15 15 16 16 16 16 16 17 18 18 18 18 19 19 20 22 23 23 23 23 25 25 26 27 27 28 29 32 32 33 33 34 36 37 37 38 41 41 41 41 41 44 44 44 45 46 47 49 49 50 50 51 51 53 56 59 60 61 62 63 **004** 1 1 2 2 3 3 4 4 4 5 5 6 7 8 8 9 9 9 11 12 12 13 13 13 13 14 14 15 15 15 15 15 16 19 21 21 22 23 25 25 26 26 26 27 28 28 30 31 **005** 1 2 2 2 3 5 5 5 6 8 9 9 11 12 12 12 13 15 16 17 17 18 19 20 20 21 22 23 25 27 28 32 34 38 39 41 42 43 43 43 44 44 44 **006** 1 2 2 3 3 4 4 5 6 7 7 7 7 9 10 13 14 14 15 16 17 18 18 19 20 23 23 24 24 24 27 27 28 30 **007** 1 1 1 2 2 2 4 5 5 6 6 8 9 9 9 10 11 12 12 12 13 15 16 18 20 20 21 **008** 1 1 2 2 3 5 6 6 8 8 10 11 11 17 18 19 19 20 21 22 23 25 26 28 28 33 36 37 39 39 **009** 1 2 2 3 4 4 4 4 5 6 7 9 11 12 13 15 17 18 19 21 22 23 24 25 25 26 26 27 27 28 29 40 42 43 43 44 45 46 46 48 51 52 57 59 60 61 61 63 64 64 66 66 67 68 **010** 1 2 2 3 4 5 5 5 6 7 7 8 9 9 10 15 16 17 18 20 21 22 24 26 28 29 31 31 31 33 34 34 35 35 35 36 37 37 38 39 40 40 40 **011** 1 1 5 5 5 7 7 7 8 8 8 9 9 10 10 10 12 12 12 13 13 16 18 20 20 21 22 22 24 27 28 28 28 29 30 30 32 34 34 36 36 39 39 39 39 40 44 44 44 45 46 46

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51 53 54 57 57 58 58 60 60 62 63 64
64 65 67 68 68 69 69 70 70 71 73 73
73 74 74 75 76 76 78 80 81 82 83 85
012 1 2 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8 9 14 15 15 16
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014 1 1 2 3 3 3 7 8 9 10 12 13 14 15
015 1 1 3 3 4 4 8 9 10 11 11 11 11 11
016 1 1 2 2 2 2 3 4 4 5 5 5 5 5 8 8 8 10
10 12 13 14 15 15 16 17 17 17 17 18
19 21 21 23 23 23 25 28 28 29 31 31
33 33 34 34 35 36 37 37 38 38 41 42
42 46 46 47 49 51 51 52 55 **017** 1 1 2 2
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020 1 1 1 5 **021** 1 2 2 3 3 4 4 6 6 7 8 9
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25 25 26 26 28 28 29 29 29 29 30 **028**
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60 61 62 63 64 66 **051** 2 4 4 8 8 9 9 10
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87 88 88 89 89 89 89 90 91 92 93 95
98 98 100 102 103 105 108 109 110
111 111 117 117 **059** 16 16 20 25 31
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62 62 62 63 63 **072** 2 6 7 8 9 14 14 15
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17 17 19 19 22 22 24 24 24 **079** 4 4 5 5
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50 51 53 53 53 57 58 58 59 69 70 71
72 75 75 75 75 76 77 78 78 79 79 83
84 85 86 87 87 89 89 90 90 91 92 94
94 95 95 98 101 101 102 103 104 106
106 110 111 112 113 **080** 1 3 4 5 15 17
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16 17 17 17 17 **095** 1 1 2 2 2 2 3 3 4 4
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36 37 38 38 39 39 39 39 39 39 39 40
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47 47 47 47 47 47 47 47 48 48 **097** 2 3
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16 17 19 19 19 19 19 19 20 20 21 22
22 24 24

a- C (544) **001** 3 20 55 **002** 9 14 17 19 22 28
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48 49 49 51 52 54 59 60 64 65 66 68
70 72 72 74 77 78 **003** 3 4 11 17 18 20
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005 2 10 18 18 33 37 **006** 5 9 13 16 19
24 **007** 13 19 20 21 **008** 2 2 3 3 7 15 23
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32 34 35 46 65 65 **010** 1 9 10 12 14 15
16 18 19 27 30 32 35 36 **011** 5 12 18
19 20 22 23 27 28 28 30 31 32 33 36
37 38 38 39 42 44 45 45 46 47 47 49
50 57 57 58 60 63 63 65 68 69 71 76
78 79 84 **012** 1 3 6 9 11 **013** 2 5 9 17
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4 12 17 18 19 20 25 **038** 1 3 7 11 12 13
21 21 **039** 1 2 11 11 15 16 **040** 2 4 5 6
7 8 11 13 14 16 19 22 27 28 31 32 36
37 39 43 44 45 47 49 55 **041** 14 **042** 43
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say (710) **001** 5 13 14 16 18 36 40 42 44 50 56 **002** 8 13 16 20 23 26 40 41 46 49 56 58 58 62 67 69 **003** 4 5 13 14 18 23 24 27 28 34 34 36 38 42 49 50 51 57 59 **004** 3 4 14 15 25 27 **005** 11 16 34 38 **006** 7 8 10 18 19 21 24 26 29 30 30 **007** 9 16 20 **008** 4 14 15 23 25 28 28 30 31 33 36 **009** 4 13 20 23 25 27 28 29 30 34 36 37 38 39 41 42 43 44 45 47 48 50 51 53 55 64 66 **010** 14 18 21 28 31 **011** 3 5 10 12 19 20 25 34 36 43 45 46 47 51 54 55 60 63 64 68 75 78 82 **012** 4 8 9 14 15 **013** 9 19 25 27 28 35 42 **014** 3 4 9 12 15 **015** 5 7 12 **016** 6 8 10 21 40 44 46 52 **017** 3 6 8 10 13 **018** 3 4 5 8 12 14 15 19 19 **019** 2 4 **021** 6 10 **022** 2 2 3 5 5 **023** 3 11 12 13 15 **024** 1 4 9 10 **025** 7 10 11 18 19 19 22 23 23 **026** 1 3 **027** 4 7 14 17 18 19 22 24 26 27 29 30 **028** 2 4 **029** 2 3 4 7 **030** 2 4 5 7 **031** 11 14 **032** 7 8 9 12 15 16 **033** 2 5 6 9 13 17 20 **034** 4 5 6 9 10 13 17 20 27 29 31 **035** 2 11 15 **036** 1 9 11 15 **037** 1 12 14 18 20 22 24 25 28 30 31 32 33 **038** 1 4 5 8 9 11 19 20 21 **039** 1 2 3 6 11 14 17 19 21 21 **040** 1 6 10 13 19 22 24 24 30 32 33 35 39 42 42 44 45 47 51 61 62 63 **041** 1 6 8 10 12 13 14 16 17 **042** 2 9 11 26 30 32 36 42 44 **043** 2 7 15 18 **044** 10 12 16 17 **045** 1 **046** 6 8 **047** 4 7 12 14 16 22 23 23 23 25 28 **048** 2 **049** 12 18 24 **050** 10

11 17 18 19 30 34 39 41 43 47 48 51 52 52 54 61 62 65 **051** 2 14 **052** 4 7 **053** 12 15 18 27 33 **056** 2 6 7 11 14 15 19 21 23 24 27 32 36 40 41 43 49 49 50 51 **058** 8 10 33 36 42 44 47 49 50 53 59 73 75 76 105 108 **059** 32 **060** 1 2 3 4 8 **061** 1 2 3 4 7 9 12 13 21 22 **062** 2 7 19 21 **064** 2 **065** 7 12 **066** 7 9 **067** 2 3 4 5 **069** 2 3 8 8 **071** 26 50 52 53 55 57 57 58 63 **072** 12 20 26 **073** 8 32 38 38 40 43 44 45 48 49 55 58 **074** 15 39 52 63 67 68 **075** 2 3 8 9 11 11 12 12 13 14 16 19 20 22 22 23 23 24 25 27 28 30 31 34 35 43 44 45 46 49 50 53 53 55 56 57 58 60 61 62 63 66 68 74 **076** 2 11 13 19 23 26 29 30 33 36 37 **077** 11 20 25 28 **079** 40 44 56 65 66 69 73 75 96 107 **080** 3 6 7 8 10 12 15 16 19 21 26 **081** 4 7 9 10 13 15 17 20 20 21 **082** 3 4 **083** 3 8 9 **084** 2 3 6 7 8 11 12 13 16 17 18 22 25 27 **085** 1 10 15 16 17 18 21 **086** 2 2 2 **087** 3 4 5 6 7 9 11 12 15 17 21 25 27 29 30 34 38 40 42 44 **088** 2 3 19 **089** 3 4 23 25 **090** 1 3 4 **091** 1 1 1 2 4 4 6 7 7 8 9 10 10 12 13 14 14 15 15 17 17 18 19 22 23 23 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 **092** 9 10 12 17 19 24 44 44 46 47 52 53 **093** 4 7 **094** 10 **096** 2 4 18 19 20 21 22 22 24 28 39 39 42 43 43 44 **097** 4 6 11 17 **098** 9 **100** 4 6 11 12 19

aya- RED for *aya* (1) **089** 1

-aya be.thus (2) **092** 38 38
say (2) **089** 3 **092** 44

ba- RED for *bulay* (1) **017** 17

beluuk pass.wind [F63 has *beɬiq*] (2) **075** 53 58

bereq joke (1) **090** 4

berung hole (1) **012** 15

biɬung ambush? (1) **052** 10

binkiu study [Jap] (1) **097** 15

bua- RED for *buang* (1) **074** 8

buang hole (7) **072** 4 14 27 28 29 34 **074** 8

bula- RED for *bulay* (9) **002** 2 46 **004** 13 **007** 5 6 9 12 13 **013** 13

bulay beautiful (21) **002** 2 33 35 39 42 44 46 48 51 **004** 13 **007** 5 6 9 12 13 **013** 13 17 21 **016** 32 **017** 17

bungbung bamboo.tube (1) **011** 66

buru tell.lie (3) **082** 3 **084** 32 **089** 4

da- RED for *dut* (1) **040** 13

da= RED for *qadaw* (2) **063** 2 5

dadip grope (1) **051** 19

Dakudakuts (name) (1) **062** 1

dangdang cut.bush (2) **078** 1 6

dangiɬan apron (2) **001** 27 29

daringungu tree.sp [no form like this or *ar=dingungu* in F] (3) **065** 3 3 5

de- RED for *det* (4) **080** 27 **087** 13 18 **093** 10

denga= RED for *ladenga* (1) **016** 19

det near (6) **046** 12 **080** 25 27 **087** 13 18 **093** 10

Dinualan (place) (1) **032** 5

Dinukapan (place) (2) **065** 3 9

dja- RED for *djalan, djeli* (4) **089** 25 **092** 46 **097** 7 **100** 19

djadjas grab (7) **027** 7 8 **035** 13 **036** 3 **053** 4 **077** 15 **080** 22

djakadjak kick (1) **074** 59

djala- RED for *djalan* (5) **079** 71 **081** 6 **085** 2 25 **100** 22

djalan road (30) **002** 29 **011** 18 **032** 15 **038** 12 13 **058** 26 28 65 **059** 43 **077** 19 **079** 68 71 100 **081** 6 **085** 2 25 26 **087** 25 30 **088** 1 **089** 25 **090** 3 **096** 43 **097** 7 **099** 7 **100** 7 19 22

djali make.offering (1) **087** 13

djali- RED for *djalim* (1) **097** 11

djalim win (3) **052** 11 15 **097** 11

djalu peace (2) **080** 26 27

djalung well (1) **038** 13

Djaɬadjaɬay (place) (1) **079** 91

Djaɬalu (place) (1) **044** 5

djaɬaw quickly (1) **003** 62

djaɬep fit (4) **002** 46 **072** 15 26 **084** 13

djaɬiq torch? (1) **053** 13

djaɬu- RED for *djaɬun* (1) **098** 6

djaɬun arrive (31) **002** 32 **005** 4 30 42 **007** 3 14 17 **010** 25 **013** 33 41 44 **018** 9 16 **023** 14 **040** 9 48 **042** 3 **043** 8 **044** 11 **050** 40 **053** 16 **056** 29 **059** 34 **062** 8 **094** 5 10 **097** 6 12 **098** 3 6 9

djama morning (1) **009** 62

djama- RED for *djama* (1) **009** 62

djamay side.dish (12) **002** 71 72 **003** 53 55 57 62 63 64 **008** 20 **086** 5 6
djame- RED for *djameq* (1) **083** 2
djameq catch (11) **003** 19 **008** 12 20 **034** 15 **037** 3 **051** 9 10 **058** 114 117 **083** 1 2
djamuq blood (1) **045** 2
djanaw lake (1) **056** 21
djapeng overdone (1) **025** 4
djapes breathe (3) **071** 59 **085** 2 3
djaqu- RED for *djaqut* (1) **059** 10
djaqut cut.off (2) **059** 10 25
djarałap banyan (8) **001** 18 19 20 52 **004** 2 3 **007** 10 11
djauł call (5) **047** 24 **070** 4 **082** 4 **085** 4 19
djava- RED for *djavay* (6) **056** 50 **091** 14 16 **093** 8 10 **097** 21
djavats walk (7) **018** 12 **037** 5 10 12 13 **063** 4 **087** 6
djavay do.much (7) **052** 17 **056** 50 **091** 14 16 **093** 8 10 **097** 21
djaya- RED for *djayadjay* (1) **086** 5
djayadjay sticky (1) **086** 5
djekep catch (5) **036** 14 **047** 19 25 26 32
djekets alight (1) **053** 13
land.on (5) **002** 35 **014** 8 14 **017** 19 **055** 8
djela= RED for *qałidjelaw* (1) **051** 5
djelapał rock.bed [*djełapar* and *djerapał* in F] (1) **065** 3
djele simple (4) **088** 9 **092** 13 26 35
djele- RED for *djele* (2) **088** 9 **092** 35
djeli laugh (7) **001** 32 **003** 28 33 41 **072** 42 **081** 20 **092** 46
djeli- RED for *djeli* (6) **001** 32 **003** 28 33 41 **072** 42 **092** 46
djełep wall (3) **003** 19 **047** 6 **065** 11
djełeqi cliff (1) **038** 13
djila- RED for *djilay* (1) **009** 66
djilay spit (3) **009** 66 **031** 3 4
djilung jar (7) **010** 27 30 32 34 35 **069** 4 **088** 18
dju= RED for *ladju* (1) **010** 38
djui thorn (12) **008** 15 **010** 24 26 27 37 38 39 39 40 **050** 25 **065** 15 16
djui- RED for *djui* (1) **010** 24
djukel clay (1) **078** 3
djuku- RED for *djukul* (1) **079** 35
djukul beat (6) **078** 4 8 **079** 33 35 **085** 16 **096** 8
djulat step.on (2) **065** 5 9
djulis plant.sp (2) **078** 16 20
djulu ready (3) **092** 11 24 45
djułam expert (1) **081** 2
djułe settle? (3) **033** 4 6 16
djumak find (20) **001** 23 28 **002** 2 **005** 20 **008** 19 **011** 42 **027** 2 **036** 8 **042** 27 **049** 3 **051** 19 **053** 8 25 **061** 15 17 **062** 4 **068** 11 **073** 21 **076** 11 **079** 62
djunang earth (26) **022** 1 3 5 **023** 1 **025** 10 **034** 3 4 5 9 29 31 **037** 10 **040** 3 **053** 2 3 5 7 **058** 103 **061** 29 **068** 15 **078** 2 3 17 **088** 18 **092** 51 52
djungus close.to [?] (1) **050** 16
djurikuku fowl (12) **002** 58 59 61 64 65 67 70 **003** 14 19 23 25 **011** 40
du- RED for *dut* (2) **036** 3 5
dudu angry (3) **050** 9 **069** 7 **084** 22
dungdung near (1) **001** 8
dut approach (5) **036** 3 5 **038** 11 **040** 13 **097** 7
ḍa- RED for *ḍikitj* (2) **092** 40 53
ḍaakasi? [related to *ḍakasi*?] (4) **048** 4 4 6 6
Ḍaḍamelamen (name) (1) **061** 28
Ḍaḍengeraw (name) (3) **074** 13 61 66
ḍai- RED for *ḍail* (9) **042** 6 7 15 19 20 38 40 40 42
ḍail monkey (33) **042** 1 6 7 15 19 20 38 40 40 42 **056** 1 2 4 6 7 11 13 14 16 18 24 25 39 43 45 46 46 46 47 48 49 51 52
ḍakasi monster [?] (1) **048** 3
ḍali pregnant (1) **087** 10
ḍałuł waves (1) **042** 32
Ḍangaḍang (name) (1) **046** 1
Ḍaqaḍaqa (place) (1) **033** 11
ḍaqu- RED for *ḍaquł* (1) **087** 36
ḍaquł goitre (1) **087** 36
ḍasi dry (1) **002** 63
ḍava female.friend (13) **008** 1 3 10 11 **014** 1 3 4 5 7 8 9 11 **072** 24
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ḍeqer necklace (2) **088** 5 6
ḍi oh (10) **007** 7 **034** 19 **080** 11 **089** 16 **091** 14 15 17 25 25 **100** 11
ḍia correct (4) **066** 7 **067** 2 **092** 22 22

ḍiḍi pig (21) **020** 2 **028** 1 2 2 3 4 **040** 50 **047** 16 19 19 21 25 28 **049** 17 **050** 59 61 **051** 17 24 **054** 24 **075** 73 74
ḍiki- RED for *ḍikitj* (2) **092** 40 53
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ḍipung Japan [used for 'police'] (3) **079** 94 110 **092** 18
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ḍuɬi snail.sp (1) **086** 2
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ḍusa- RED for *ḍusa* (2) **007** 21 **091** 2
em= AF (867) **001** 2 5 7 7 18 19 19 20 32 34 36 37 39 40 41 42 43 45 45 50 52 57 **002** 1 2 12 19 20 28 32 37 49 50 57 58 60 62 63 64 68 71 71 73 75 76 **003** 3 6 22 28 28 31 32 33 37 41 44 44 47 48 49 50 50 52 53 55 62 **004** 9 17 22 23 25 26 26 28 28 **005** 2 2 4 12 15 17 30 32 42 44 **006** 5 7 9 12 13 23 30 **007** 2 3 4 8 12 14 17 20 20 **008** 5 9 11 28 29 30 **009** 4 13 18 23 24 25 26 27 29 31 33 40 43 44 52 57 68 **010** 2 5 15 17 25 26 34 **011** 3 5 7 25 29 36 41 46 47 49 51 59 60 64 64 68 69 73 75 75 75 76 84 **012** 2 4 6 7 8 11 11 **013** 3 9 9 9 10 14 14 16 17 19 21 24 29 32 33 37 41 42 44 44 45 45 **014** 6 10 10 11 **015** 1 3 9 11 11 **016** 2 4 5 5 10 10 11 14 17 21 23 23 30 35 36 37 38 42 51 54 55 **017** 7 18 19 22 22 23 **018** 2 3 3 6 7 9 12 13 13 16 21 21 **019** 1 2 4 **020** 1 **021** 3 **022** 4 5 **023** 14 **024** 7 8 9 10 11 **025** 1 2 10 12 13 15 16 23 **026** 1 4 **027** 6 6 9 11 **029** 2 **030** 2 4 **031** 2 4 7 8 10 **032** 1 3 10 10 10 11 14 **033** 1 4 8 9 11 12 15 16 17 18 **034** 1 7 19 20 21 26 **035** 3 6 7 8 9 10 13 **036** 3 3 5 6 6 7 10 12 13 14 **037** 1 2 3 3 5 5 15 16 19 21 21 28 32 33 **038** 2 2 3 6 12 13 13 **039** 4 7 7 8 11 20 **040** 8 9 12 12 13 16 16 17 18 23 26 38 38 38 42 42 42 48 **042** 3 5 9 30 39 40 **043** 2 2 9 **044** 4 11 21 22 **045** 1 **046** 1 1 6 8 9 10 10 12 **047** 3 5 **048** 8 **049** 1 2 4 5 6 8 10 20 22 23 23 **050** 3 4 5 7 20 32 32 32 40 41 60 63 66 66 **051** 10 19 **052** 7 9 11 15 17 **053** 5 8 13 16 18 19 25 27 27 **054** 4 6 8 9 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 17 18 19 21 21 22 23 24 25 25 27 **055** 2 6 6 7 9 **056** 15 19 20 21 29 36 48 48 **057** 4 6 7 8 **058** 4 4 5 11 19 19 20 42 51 52 53 61 62 69 70 78 87 89 96 98 100 105 109 111 111 113 117 **059** 10 25 25 34 **060** 4 5 10 **061** 15 16 17 19 22 25 **062** 3 4 4 4 8 8 15 15 16 17 19 21 **063** 4 **065** 10 16 16 **066** 2 4 9 11 **067** 4 5 6 7 **068** 6 8 8 **069** 8 9 **070** 1 4 6 6 7 7 9 12 12 14 **071** 2 4 6 9 12 15 24 30 31 32 33 36 37 39 40 43 46 49 51 53 62 62 **072** 6 7 21 29 41 43 **073** 7 12 12 14 23 27 36 36 37 39 41 52 53 54 56 58 58 **074** 2 7 8 9 26 28 32 33 40 44 49 50 52 53 54 55 58 58 58 59 65 67 67 68 **075** 5 6 7 8 26 27 29 39 42 44 52 53 60 64 **076** 3 6 8 12 13 15 16 23 25 26 26 27 34 **077** 1 2 3 14 14 14 15 19 20 21 22 24 **078** 1 4 6 13 14 15 17 24 **079** 5 7 12 17 25 25 28 35 36 37 43 44 59 63 70 71 71 73 78 78 79 79 83 85 89 89 89 90 91 92 94 94 94 95 98 111 113 **080** 1 4 4 6 10 13 19 21 22 24 **081** 5 6 9 10 13 15 17 **082** 3 4 4 4 5 7 7 **083** 1 2 7 7 8 10 11 **084** 2 4 11 17 18 19 **085** 10 12 14 19 21 25 26 26 28 28 **086** 5 9 **087** 2 6 10 13 15 16 16 18 19 22 30 30 30 32 33 37 39 39 41 **088** 4 10 12 13 14 15 **089** 2 5 **090** 1 1 5 7 9 9 12 **091** 4 6 10 10 15 16 17 18 19 20 23 24 26 27 29 **092** 1 2 7 7 17 17 33 38 41 54 55 **093** 2 5 5 9 9 11 11 12 12 **094** 5 5 6 8 8 12 14 14 17 17 **095** 1 2 4 4 5 5 6 **096** 3 6 8 9 11 11 20 25 25 30 37 37 39 39 40 42 43 **097** 2 4 5 5 6 7 11 12

12 13 13 16 17 18 **098** 3 6 9 **099** 6 **100** 4 6 6 8 14 14 16

-en PF (468) **001** 2 16 17 22 23 27 28 33 34 36 **002** 3 6 8 9 11 16 17 20 28 41 47 49 59 62 65 67 69 70 74 **003** 4 8 13 14 14 16 16 23 24 27 29 36 38 39 40 41 42 43 49 51 53 53 57 57 63 **004** 3 3 8 10 14 31 **005** 7 11 20 21 **006** 6 7 10 14 16 18 19 24 30 **007** 10 16 **008** 4 12 16 19 20 28 31 32 37 **009** 2 4 6 7 8 16 18 27 29 30 35 36 38 39 41 43 45 47 49 50 53 55 57 61 64 67 **010** 8 18 19 21 24 27 28 30 31 **011** 1 2 4 8 10 12 21 32 34 41 42 60 64 69 78 85 **012** 3 4 8 9 9 14 15 18 19 **013** 17 29 31 35 43 45 **014** 3 12 17 **015** 7 9 12 **016** 5 6 8 17 22 25 42 44 51 52 **017** 3 4 6 6 8 11 13 18 20 20 21 21 23 23 **018** 11 **019** 2 **021** 2 6 **022** 1 4 **023** 7 12 **024** 4 **025** 5 6 9 10 15 16 22 **026** 2 3 **027** 3 6 7 8 13 14 19 24 28 **028** 2 2 **031** 6 6 11 12 **032** 4 5 7 8 12 **034** 11 15 29 **036** 3 6 8 11 **037** 3 6 29 **038** 4 4 8 11 15 **040** 6 7 10 13 19 22 24 30 42 45 49 52 **041** 7 8 9 10 11 15 15 16 **042** 7 8 10 15 20 27 32 38 43 **043** 5 15 **044** 4 16 **045** 2 4 **047** 4 16 19 25 26 **049** 3 18 **050** 9 16 17 19 22 33 41 **051** 19 **052** 8 10 13 14 **053** 9 17 18 26 **054** 5 18 20 **055** 3 11 12 14 18 **056** 2 6 7 14 15 15 16 30 34 39 42 45 46 51 52 **057** 2 **059** 38 **061** 6 11 16 16 22 24 **062** 11 15 **065** 2 3 13 15 **066** 5 6 **068** 11 12 **069** 9 **070** 3 3 10 10 **071** 19 25 36 45 48 59 63 **072** 8 10 13 20 20 25 29 **073** 9 16 19 20 20 21 25 33 33 37 54 **074** 17 39 47 49 59 67 **075** 7 19 20 21 22 23 40 48 69 **076** 11 31 36 **078** 4 8 23 **079** 19 59 69 96 101 103 104 107 111 **080** 7 8 12 16 26 **081** 10 13 15 17 20 **082** 3 4 4 **083** 1 3 4 8 **084** 30 **085** 3 11 18 23 **086** 4 5 5 6 6 9 9 **087** 6 12 26 31 32 **088** 19 **089** 9 13 22 22 **090** 1 **091** 7 14 15 **092** 13 13 16 17 20 20 24 26 30 38 38 51 52 **093** 3 **094** 2 5 **096** 5 8 18 19 19 21 31 33 41 **097** 2 8 17 **100** 5 5 8 15 15

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ga- RED for *gula* (1) **092** 3

gade mountain [dialectal variant of *gadu*] (3) **005** 30 **013** 33 **068** 4

gade- RED for *gade* (2) **005** 30 **013** 33

gadu mountain (12) **023** 1 1 3 **035** 3 6 **037** 5 **091** 4 6 6 8 **093** 5 **096** 35

gagang crab (9) **042** 1 4 7 11 20 36 37 39 44

gagaz grass.sp (1) **053** 4

gaku school [Jap] (9) **079** 5 6 7 8 13 53 59 96 **100** 10

gałigał bed (1) **042** 37

gału slow (30) **002** 61 **006** 8 **011** 23 **016** 48 **022** 4 **025** 18 **027** 12 14 19 24 26 28 **034** 7 19 **050** 47 54 **051** 5 **053** 31 **055** 9 **059** 8 12 15 24 27 51 **080** 17 **081** 15 **083** 8 **085** 2 **094** 14

gału- RED for *gału* (1) **055** 9

gamuts headdress (1) **088** 5

gang crab (29) **009** 1 2 3 10 13 14 16 18 27 27 29 33 35 36 38 41 43 44 46 48 51 65 66 68 **056** 11 12 13 14 18

garang scold (5) **003** 41 **006** 22 **040** 60 **041** 13 **096** 47

gatsał stand (6) **011** 29 **052** 8 **061** 7 **081** 18 **084** 25 26

gatsu month [Jap] (10) **078** 13 14 15 18 19 19 19 21 22 23

gaugav → *gawgaw*

gava- RED for *gavagaw* (1) **027** 22

gavagaw wriggle (2) **027** 22 **033** 19

gawgaw accept (1) **058** 66

gedged repeat [?] (1) **085** 25

gemgem fist (2) **040** 2 41

ger= RED for *igerger* (1) **011** 56

geri- RED for *gerits* (1) **087** 25

gerits scream (2) **014** 20 **087** 25

gesges shake (1) **042** 7

getsel claw (2) **042** 8 38

Gił gił aw (name) (1) **079** 1

gugu shout (1) **025** 10

gula interrupt (1) **092** 3

gula- RED for *gula* (1) **092** 3
gung cow (2) **051** 17 24
gurugur bark (2) **017** 22 23
Guruɬan (place) (1) **017** 17
gutsal burst (2) **050** 26 31
ha aha (3) **009** 64 64 **084** 24
hi hee (4) **002** 58 58 58 58
Hiitu (place) (1) **097** 2
hunyaku translate [Jap] (1) **100** 8
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which (7) **042** 19 **044** 12 **059** 32 **065** 16 **074** 13 66 **084** 18
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Karinku (place) (1) **079** 89

kasał rice.with.husk (2) **002** 63 68

kasi from (42) **002** 55 **004** 3 **010** 10 **016** 34 **018** 7 20 **019** 1 4 **036** 4 **037** 1 2 12 **040** 37 39 **041** 11 **047** 20 **049** 4 5 26 **052** 7 17 **053** 19 **054** 16 **055** 4 **058** 113 **078** 15 **079** 53 89 91 91 95 96 **084** 6 8 **092**

7 24 **094** 5 8 **095** 5 **096** 6 **097** 18 **098** 5

kasi- from (1) **040** 19

kasiv → *kasiw*

kasiw tree (46) **003** 4 5 6 10 11 15 20 21 **004** 17 **013** 39 **027** 10 12 **035** 8 **038** 4 9 14 16 **042** 3 20 **043** 3 **049** 19 22 **050** 9 **052** 12 14 **055** 8 **056** 2 3 4 5 6 7 44 **059** 39 **068** 11 **069** 10 12 **075** 16 17 18 19 **076** 2 **087** 35 **091** 7 8

kats bite (14) **002** 8 16 20 **017** 18 22 23 **021** 2 **036** 8 10 **052** 13 14 **053** 13 **061** 6 **081** 5

katsing leggings (1) **032** 10

katsu carry (45) **001** 57 **002** 14 17 28 59 **003** 6 9 10 12 **006** 6 **008** 20 **009** 2 61 **011** 19 19 20 21 **016** 5 17 38 49 **017** 21 **019** 1 **027** 6 **036** 4 **049** 15 17 **050** 3 66 **053** 13 17 **054** 5 20 24 **055** 16 **059** 25 **062** 15 **070** 6 **071** 23 38 49 **074** 23 28 37 **092** 17

katsu- RED for katsu (3) **053** 13 **055** 16 **092** 17

kaumaya perhaps [constituency uncertain: *ka- u- m- aya* or *ka- uma- aya*?] (6) **076** 26 **079** 56 **089** 25 **090** 5 **092** 8 16

kauvu tangled (1) **016** 47

kava clothing (5) **040** 30 38 **046** 3 **088** 6 **096** 8

kava- RED for kava (1) **046** 3

kavakav swim (1) **013** 43

kavaruk swear [?; or 'change to, ie. cast a spell on'] (1) **040** 51

kavatjes rattan.basket (1) **050** 66

kavayan bamboo.sp (3) **005** 8 20 **077** 4

Kaviangan (place) (1) **061** 33

kavits carry.on.back (2) **073** 34 37

Kavulungan (place) (12) **037** 15 16 21 **059** 57 **067** 1 3 4 5 6 7 8 **068** 5

kaw oh (2) **097** 1 20

kaya able (17) **063** 2 3 4 5 **066** 6 **074** 44 **076** 12 16 37 **079** 11 25 **081** 6 10 **085** 19 23 **097** 17 **099** 8

Kazazałan (place) (1) **098** 6

kazełu tax (2) **070** 11 13

ke I [variant of *ku*?] (5) **079** 67 69 72 75 78

ke- consume (9) **005** 44 **010** 28 28 31 **011** 14 15 22 37 39

kebung lie.flat (2) **062** 11 **083** 6

keduts startle (1) **065** 12

kẹdi small (69) **001** 28 **003** 14 16 17 18 18 27 33 40 41 **006** 5 9 13 18 19 24 **012** 3 6 9 18 **016** 10 10 13 14 31 31 35 40 45 **023** 1 **027** 6 8 9 17 20 22 22 25 26 **036** 6 **037** 20 **040** 3 15 53 **042** 8 **053** 14 **054** 23 27 **056** 34 **058** 16 30 81 **068** 4 10 **077** 8 8 12 **079** 11 23 **081** 4 9 21 **082** 3 3 6 7 **086** 8 9 **092** 37

kẹdi- RED for kẹdi (30) **003** 14 16 17 18 18 27 33 40 41 **006** 5 9 **016** 10 10 13 14 31 31 35 40 45 **023** 1 **027** 22 **036** 6 **056** 34 **068** 4 **077** 8 8 12 **086** 8 **092** 37

kelay hang (8) **003** 19 24 **007** 10 **023** 3 5 7 **068** 11 **069** 6

kelu fall (4) **064** 6 **069** 9 **074** 8 **081** 19

keł come (14) **043** 15 **050** 27 **060** 4 8 **069** 3 8 **070** 5 **072** 9 9 12 **076** 36 **081** 7 **091** 20 21

kełа- RED for *kełang* (2) **082** 5 7

kełang know (69) **005** 15 **009** 65 **010** 10 **011** 13 28 64 73 75 84 **013** 32 **016** 33 41 54 **017** 4 9 10 13 15 20 **026** 2 **032** 4 **040** 27 41 **044** 8 **050** 38 48 **053** 33 **055** 17 **058** 104 **061** 21 **074** 12 15 68 **079** 38 72 75 80 81 **081** 14 **082** 2 5 7 **083** 1 3 10 10 11 **084** 30 **089** 22 **091** 23 23 25 25 **092** 11 13 13 16 **093** 1 2 3 **094** 4 **096** 26 33 38 **097** 8 **099** 2 4 **100** 14 15

kełis bird.sp (1) **087** 24

Kemay (name) (1) **089** 15

ken- consume [F19 has *ken(e)-* consume, but F402 suggests it is *in=ke*] (5) **032** 9 10 13 **040** 12 **054** 11

ken → *aken*

kenama breakfast (1) **061** 7

kesa food (31) **023** 9 **025** 13 14 14 15 15 16 18 20 22 **039** 14 **040** 52 **042** 40 41 **051** 5 6 **059** 13 16 **066** 4 5 6 9 11 **068** 9 **071** 35 36 **072** 6 20 **073** 38 39 077 6

kevi- RED for *keving* (1) **015** 11

keving itch (6) **013** 2 9 11 12 28 **015** 11

kezeng be.firm (2) **096** 38 44

kezkez nail (2) **079** 115 **087** 43

ki do (5) **041** 15 **050** 48 **083** 11 **089** 2 **093** 7

how (26) **027** 22 26 **040** 39 **041** 6 16 **042** 9 28 **043** 13 **044** 18 **050** 36 38 **056** 35

059 43 **071** 31 **073** 42 **082** 2 5 7 **084** 17 **092** 2 2 **093** 2 2 9 **100** 16 16
will (63) **004** 27 **011** 68 **015** 5 **016** 51 **022** 2 **024** 9 **025** 19 **049** 12 **058** 11 26 26 61 65 65 89 98 **059** 42 **074** 63 **075** 52 **090** 3 8 10 **091** 15 16 **092** 13 17 19 19 45 45 53 **093** 9 12 **097** 2 2 4 5 5 5 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 13 13 14 15 16 18 19 **098** 2 3 9 10 11 **100** 11 11 12 15 21
ki- do (432) **001** 8 12 13 14 14 17 31 36 40 40 43 47 56 57 **002** 3 4 6 12 17 35 42 42 43 47 49 49 50 54 55 69 **003** 4 5 6 11 15 20 23 27 27 29 32 34 46 49 51 **004** 2 4 5 9 13 15 25 **005** 1 3 5 10 12 13 16 17 18 22 26 27 43 **006** 4 7 8 13 15 17 18 20 21 **007** 4 9 12 14 19 **008** 13 28 37 **009** 2 3 21 46 57 60 **010** 18 19 20 22 34 **011** 4 10 24 26 36 39 46 47 48 51 65 70 74 78 **012** 4 18 20 **013** 3 8 14 20 29 **014** 3 8 14 **016** 5 8 15 21 22 34 45 **017** 6 6 18 **018** 9 **021** 2 **025** 2 **027** 14 15 16 19 24 25 28 **028** 2 **031** 6 **032** 16 16 **035** 15 **036** 1 **037** 22 30 **038** 10 11 14 17 18 18 18 19 **039** 5 11 12 14 **040** 4 6 9 11 13 31 33 35 54 **041** 16 **042** 2 7 8 13 32 35 36 37 **044** 4 **046** 6 6 **047** 30 **048** 2 4 6 6 **049** 6 8 9 11 25 26 **050** 3 3 4 17 25 41 **051** 8 **052** 3 **053** 4 26 **054** 3 27 **055** 8 **056** 2 3 4 5 6 6 7 7 8 11 12 13 14 14 18 50 50 **057** 5 **058** 3 5 11 13 38 46 48 53 55 70 77 79 85 102 108 108 109 **059** 1 9 19 21 34 35 36 37 38 49 **061** 9 **062** 15 **063** 4 **065** 3 5 9 **067** 6 **068** 8 **069** 8 **070** 11 13 14 **071** 7 8 10 25 63 **072** 6 42 **073** 6 14 57 **074** 9 10 13 14 30 38 46 **075** 2 4 16 17 19 38 39 64 66 73 **076** 2 17 **077** 3 **078** 18 21 23 **079** 13 20 20 21 26 37 38 39 40 45 46 54 60 65 66 69 71 72 72 75 75 76 77 77 77 78 82 88 101 109 109 115 **080** 1 3 6 7 **081** 3 3 15 21 **082** 4 **083** 2 6 10 **084** 23 **085** 8 8 8 12 19 20 27 27 **087** 4 5 6 10 11 14 19 **088** 14 15 15 17 **089** 25 25 26 **090** 7 **091** 5 17 23 23 25 25 26 28 29 **092** 8 9 13 13 13 18 32 45 **093** 1 1 1 12 12 **094** 4 9 11 12 16 **095** 3 5 6 7 **096** 2 4 8 9 19 20 21 22 28 37 38 39 44 46 47 47 48 **097** 17 21 **098** 4 10 **099** 8 **100** 4 5 6 9 10 11 11 14 14 15 15 15 19 19 19 20 21 24
RED for *kim* (1) **076** 34
self (32) **013** 23 47 **018** 15 **020** 1 **027** 3 **031** 7 **039** 2 **042** 44 **043** 7 **050** 8 **053** 24 **057** 8 **058** 105 **059** 44 **062** 9 18 21 **066** 3 **071** 49 54 **074** 46 65 **079** 25 53 **080** 2 **084** 2 4 **088** 13 **089** 22 **092** 24 **093** 11 **097** 7
will (9) **030** 4 **033** 2 **092** 40 54 **100** 17 20 20 22 22
kian join (1) **080** 12
Kidadaw (name) (12) **008** 9 12 13 14 16 17 24 25 28 30 34 39
kiḍi Miss (1) **084** 6
kii ow (3) **059** 53 53 53
kim search (18) **002** 59 **006** 16 **016** 25 **042** 26 **047** 4 **053** 27 **055** 7 **057** 3 6 **062** 3 **071** 14 21 **074** 7 **076** 17 27 34 **080** 13 **092** 24
kin- → *ken-*
kina mother (118) **001** 24 31 **003** 3 4 **005** 10 11 12 17 **006** 2 4 6 7 8 10 16 18 21 22 **007** 19 20 **012** 2 4 5 15 17 **016** 3 5 5 6 8 19 21 24 28 29 41 55 **017** 19 19 **018** 1 2 5 8 14 15 **021** 6 **040** 1 **043** 17 **044** 21 22 **047** 5 7 9 15 17 20 **050** 2 34 35 36 37 37 39 40 44 **057** 1 **058** 49 118 **059** 3 5 7 11 17 22 23 26 32 33 48 **061** 17 **071** 1 **072** 9 12 13 25 29 35 41 42 **073** 31 32 38 42 50 55 57 **074** 2 68 **076** 18 **079** 7 10 12 14 19 20 28 31 33 38 39 **080** 23 **088** 4 7 **089** 12 20 25 **090** 1 **092** 28
kinarasingan ? (1) **058** 63
kinemnem think (34) **001** 16 **002** 41 56 **005** 16 **017** 3 3 6 11 **071** 63 **077** 17 **079** 57 75 78 115 **085** 32 **092** 9 16 16 17 17 24 35 36 40 45 45 46 52 **094** 16 **096** 22 **100** 5 10 11 13
kintał once (1) **007** 21
kisia train [Jap] (1) **097** 3
kitj slice (1) **056** 46
kiu= RED for *binkiu* (1) **097** 15
kiukai church [Jap] (1) **094** 7
kivakini ? (1) **091** 16

kivinkatan touch.herbage? (1) **087** 4
kizing spoon (2) **037** 16 **088** 17
ku I (108) **002** 8 16 41 69 **003** 11 18 24 28 56 57 **004** 2 4 26 26 **008** 14 **011** 19 20 25 36 81 82 **012** 8 **013** 9 28 34 **015** 7 **016** 21 36 36 37 49 50 51 52 **017** 8 9 16 17 **018** 5 **022** 2 **025** 18 **032** 8 **037** 17 25 **040** 47 **042** 8 11 26 28 32 **043** 7 **044** 13 **047** 12 14 28 **050** 17 21 52 59 61 65 **051** 5 5 24 **055** 11 14 **058** 38 **059** 4 6 10 16 25 30 31 44 **071** 5 **072** 23 **073** 48 49 51 55 **074** 67 **075** 11 22 **079** 13 20 27 28 33 51 59 59 65 66 66 69 69 70 **082** 4 **090** 1 **091** 15 22 22 25 **096** 5 18 **100** 11 11
my (95) **002** 6 56 58 67 **005** 10 11 **007** 20 20 **009** 66 **011** 12 63 **013** 9 34 **015** 7 **016** 52 **017** 8 **018** 3 4 11 **032** 7 **034** 20 **037** 22 22 **040** 44 **041** 14 **042** 8 16 21 26 28 30 43 **043** 17 **050** 28 30 47 **056** 50 **059** 20 45 **072** 9 26 **073** 43 44 **074** 6 10 18 28 37 57 **075** 11 22 **079** 11 14 17 19 20 22 23 27 28 28 30 30 33 35 39 40 49 51 57 58 71 76 78 78 81 87 93 101 109 109 112 **080** 10 10 **089** 11 12 **091** 1 **092** 9 29 **096** 4 **097** 17 **098** 12 **099** 9 **100** 11 23
well (4) **081** 4 21 **091** 14 **092** 52
ku- ? (1) **096** 41
kuang firearm (13) **001** 14 **005** 12 17 **037** 3 6 **044** 11 **051** 4 **052** 1 **058** 22 92 **076** 30 **088** 5 18
kuaping soldier [Min] (3) **079** 9 20 21
kuda do.what (114) **001** 16 47 **002** 12 **005** 2 22 24 26 **007** 16 **008** 35 **009** 67 **011** 3 8 12 59 60 64 **013** 9 17 29 32 **015** 6 **016** 1 3 6 10 11 21 **017** 3 4 8 **021** 5 **029** 2 **030** 2 **032** 4 **036** 11 **038** 9 **039** 12 **041** 16 **042** 9 16 17 21 22 28 30 **043** 7 **044** 13 23 **053** 27 **056** 6 14 **058** 5 70 109 **061** 9 13 **064** 4 **070** 3 7 **071** 12 19 20 31 33 36 36 53 **072** 36 41 **073** 16 **074** 43 44 52 **075** 7 19 **076** 13 **079** 17 51 55 72 73 **080** 6 8 **081** 10 **082** 7 **083** 10 **084** 15 17 **085** 8 11 32 **088** 16 **089** 5 6 10 10 13 **091** 15 23 **092** 17 17 30 31 **097** 2 2 5 8 12 13 13 **100** 4 5 8 16
kuda- RED for *kuda* (14) **001** 16 **016** 1 3 21 **058** 5 70 **070** 7 **071** 31 33 **074** 44 **091** 15 **092** 31 **100** 4 16
kuḍa- RED for *kuḍal* (8) **027** 26 **056** 30 33 35 36 **075** 6 40 **077** 13
kuḍal fat (13) **027** 26 29 **056** 30 33 35 36 36 38 **074** 55 **075** 6 40 41 **077** 13
kuḍesul hard (2) **009** 58 **092** 50
kuidi hat (2) **018** 13 17
kuka chicken (2) **062** 2 **084** 24
kuku pet (7) **017** 21 22 **036** 14 **044** 3 12 **091** 10 12
kula foot (10) **001** 40 41 41 **016** 42 **030** 3 5 **037** 5 **065** 9 **071** 49 **075** 33
kula- RED for *kula* (3) **001** 40 41 41
kulasu fall (1) **065** 5
kulat frisk (1) **050** 25
kuletj supply (4) **086** 9 **090** 12 **092** 9 **099** 2
kulił trip (2) **032** 2 **087** 15
kulits penis (17) **010** 3 5 7 9 12 14 15 16 18 19 22 24 26 **021** 2 **065** 11 14 15
kulu- RED for *kulung* (2) **002** 56 **097** 19
Kului (name) (7) **041** 1 5 8 11 12 13 14
kulung awkward (3) **002** 56 **047** 31 **097** 19
kuław roast (1) **080** 23
Kułe- (name) (1) **091** 25
Kułełełełe (name) (3) **091** 1 14 17
Kułełułełu (name) (26) **040** 4 6 **043** 11 **047** 4 16 **050** 1 3 5 6 12 13 14 18 29 31 **058** 1 110 111 116 **061** 3 6 11 14 22 25 26
kułi dry (3) **023** 4 **040** 51 52
kułup jacket? (1) **032** 10
kun skirt (1) **088** 6
kungkuan police.station [Min?] (1) **092** 18
kura- RED for *kurap* (1) **015** 11
kurap scaly (1) **015** 11
kurił dried.food (1) **007** 1
kutji vagina (16) **014** 14 15 19 **021** 2 6 **051** 19 20 23 **061** 4 6 21 24 30 **072** 4 14 **073** 4
kuts shout? (1) **040** 21
kuts- RED for *kuts* (1) **040** 21
kutsu louse (5) **029** 1 3 4 6 **066** 3
kuvuł meadow (2) **060** 4 5
kuya bad (35) **001** 58 **005** 2 **006** 13 **009** 21 **013** 8 **022** 5 **034** 25 **039** 3 **040** 9 30 **046** 5 **047** 23 27 29 **049** 24 **050** 15 59 61

051 12 **057** 3 **058** 45 **062** 19 **077** 13 24 **079** 32 34 61 62 63 64 **082** 4 **086** 3 **090** 9 **092** 43 45
kuya- RED for *kuya* (2) **057** 3 **086** 3
l- RED for *alap* (1) **009** 16
la- RED for *laing* (2) **078** 12 **092** 21
RED for *langaw* (2) **002** 35 **062** 2
RED for *laut* (5) **062** 20 **070** 1 **092** 50 **100** 15 24
RED for *lidjam* (1) **086** 7
RED for *luqem* (1) **092** 19
lada ritual (9) **049** 9 **085** 1 3 4 13 19 24 25 28
ladenga hear (2) **016** 14 19
laḍuq long (7) **003** 6 **010** 1 15 **038** 18 **065** 15 **100** 13 19
lagaw avoid (2) **096** 11 13
lai- RED for *laing* (3) **010** 5 **052** 10 **078** 12
laing follow (14) **008** 12 **010** 5 **013** 31 45 **021** 1 **052** 9 10 **070** 14 **078** 12 **080** 20 22 **085** 14 **092** 11 21
laketsuł step.over (1) **087** 33
laku waterwell (4) **002** 49 50 53 57
lakuda camel [Jap] (2) **096** 15 16
łała heat (7) **003** 14 16 **047** 16 18 19 22 23
lami staple.food (6) **004** 24 **062** 10 **068** 12 **071** 60 **077** 11 **085** 7
lami- RED for *lami* (1) **077** 11
lamu short.time (2) **080** 16 **100** 12
lamud leaf.sp (2) **025** 17 20
lanaw decide? (2) **092** 9 17
lang= RED for *vungelay* (1) **043** 11
langaw fly (2) **002** 35 **062** 2
langda → *langeda*
langeda hear (20) **004** 25 25 **005** 32 36 **012** 7 **034** 14 18 **040** 11 **042** 25 **049** 9 **050** 17 **067** 6 **074** 46 **079** 36 54 **081** 8 17 **082** 4 **092** 45 **094** 17
lapa- RED for *lapay* (1) **096** 25
lapay severe (17) **067** 1 **070** 5 **079** 16 112 113 115 115 **085** 4 9 **086** 3 **087** 21 **091** 2 28 **096** 25 **099** 5 **100** 10 24
laput slip (1) **042** 5
laqets delay? (1) **097** 16
laqut lazy (1) **008** 25
latip bracelet (1) **024** 6
latjak hurry (1) **016** 6
lau- RED for *lauz* (2) **007** 4 **038** 3
laukung attic [Min] (2) **011** 49 51
łauł remainder (1) **023** 1
laut able (7) **042** 5 **059** 31 **062** 20 **070** 1 **092** 50 **100** 15 24
lauz down (4) **007** 4 **038** 3 **050** 9 **096** 6
lava wide (1) **038** 18
lavu chaff (2) **027** 13 **072** 24
Lavułian (name) (4) **050** 50 55 60 63
Lavułivułian (name) (1) **050** 49
lavut lose? (1) **077** 15
lay- RED for *laylay* (1) **087** 23
layap fly (10) **001** 5 **006** 15 17 23 24 27 **010** 35 **024** 10 **058** 108 **059** 56
laylay take.time (1) **087** 23
layu store (3) **010** 16 **011** 10 36
layu- RED for *layu* (3) **010** 16 **011** 10 36
lede- RED for *ledep* (1) **056** 23
ledeled belt (1) **088** 5
ledep descend (9) **006** 24 **032** 5 6 **056** 23 25 28 **075** 32 36 **094** 5
legleg shake (5) **004** 3 4 5 9 10
leklek twine (1) **027** 6
lema= RED for *sulem* (2) **011** 26 39
lemek might (3) **022** 4 **053** 6 13
lengleng buzz (1) **032** 3
lepets headcloth (1) **046** 2
lesles line (1) **081** 6
leva pleased (35) **003** 18 **005** 43 **017** 14 **050** 31 **054** 20 25 **070** 10 **072** 44 **073** 59 **079** 29 31 **091** 28 29 29 **092** 7 **093** 7 12 **094** 1 3 9 10 11 15 16 17 **095** 1 2 3 7 **097** 5 6 **098** 8 **099** 5 7 **100** 18
leva- RED (16) **003** 18 **054** 25 **072** 44 **091** 28 29 **093** 7 **094** 9 10 15 16 **095** 3 **097** 5 **098** 8 **099** 5 7 **100** 18
levelev dazzle (11) **008** 2 8 **016** 17 38 50 **064** 1 2 6 6 **097** 18 **098** 11
levut white.pig (2) **050** 59 61
li- QAL (21) **001** 3 **002** 52 65 72 77 **003** 26 **004** 7 18 19 30 **005** 3 **007** 2 **008** 39 **031** 7 **060** 7 **062** 7 **072** 5 6 15 40 **074** 42
li= RED for *salim* (1) **079** 104
lia- RED for *liaw* (4) **008** 19 **009** 19 **057** 5 **086** 5
liaw many (26) **003** 11 **007** 11 **008** 19 **009** 19 **012** 5 **016** 51 **017** 17 **037** 10 14 20 **057** 5 7 **066** 10 11 **073** 22 **074** 33 40 **086** 5

9 **087** 1 **092** 24 39 **094** 7 13 **100** 10 11
lidi revolve (2) **018** 17 17
lidjam tongue (1) **086** 7
lidu=RED for *talidu* (1) **091** 13
ligi- RED for *ligił* (1) **092** 19
ligił deceive (3) **083** 5 **092** 19 20
ligu reputed (3) **058** 52 **061** 2 **079** 75
ligu- RED for *ligu* (1) **079** 75
likezał fireplace (1) **013** 9
likuz back (6) **001** 5 19 **008** 11 **013** 9 **054** 6 7
lililili=RED for *tseliq* (1) **075** 56
liław cloth (1) **077** 25
liłing shelter (3) **004** 2 4 5
lima five (16) **005** 5 40 **011** 19 **021** 3 **043** 11 **049** 8 9 25 **050** 59 61 **052** 6 **054** 1 17 28 **073** 39 **079** 22
hand (20) **003** 56 61 **012** 15 16 17 20 **016** 42 **038** 15 **056** 15 16 **075** 9 10 11 12 12 20 21 22 23 23
limu cover (2) **068** 4 5
linga- RED for *lingaw* (1) **049** 11
lingaw know (10) **017** 2 **047** 24 32 **049** 8 11 24 25 **072** 30 **075** 66 **083** 10
lingdjeł stand.on.end (1) **094** 8
linge- RED for *lingetj* (5) **013** 2 **023** 1 **034** 22 **037** 10 **090** 4
linged nose.flute (1) **073** 46
lingeł surround (2) **036** 3 5
lingetj entire (5) **013** 2 **023** 1 **034** 22 **037** 10 **090** 4
lingu perhaps (1) **042** 8
lingu- RED for *linguł* (1) **054** 27
linguł around (8) **005** 40 **027** 9 **054** 27 **071** 25 **072** 6 **087** 14 **091** 5 **096** 22
Lingutjał (place) (1) **049** 2
lingzał incomplete [?] (1) **100** 11
lipat disappear (6) **034** 23 **041** 10 **050** 9 **068** 1 **075** 33 64
liqu neck (1) **003** 19
lisi bride.price (9) **043** 19 **051** 17 24 **058** 5 6 9 70 71 74
lisi=RED for *palisi* (2) **085** 4 **087** 11
litseng quiet (2) **071** 11 **081** 11
liva=RED for *tsalivat* (1) **090** 1
livay go.aside (1) **096** 11
livu invade (1) **065** 2
Livulivuan (place) (1) **049** 22
lizuk plain (3) **091** 4 6 **096** 47
lu- RED for *lutjuk* (4) **011** 7 **076** 4 **077** 6 **091** 8
lua=RED for *łaluay* (1) **093** 1
luḍay roll (2) **056** 7 8
luku find.game (1) **001** 11
lukuł box (1) **040** 28
luła- RED for *łułay* (4) **087** 23 **093** 5 7 **100** 11
łułay tired (8) **013** 33 **079** 18 24 **087** 23 **093** 5 7 **100** 10 11
lum ripe (10) **009** 7 8 13 17 **042** 7 **076** 4 **077** 6 6 **091** 8 **092** 32
lumał ashamed (1) **092** 32
lumamad infant (2) **006** 2 **079** 10
lunay out.of.action (1) **092** 32
luni earthquake (1) **073** 56
lunung crumb (2) **059** 19 21
Lunguan (place) (1) **037** 1
lungulungu put.beside [?] (1) **092** 9
luqe- RED for *luqem* (1) **092** 19
luqem fortune (2) **085** 8 **092** 19
luslus prod (1) **014** 17
lutjuk bad (3) **011** 7 **037** 29 **047** 31
rabbit (35) **075** 1 2 3 5 8 11 11 13 16 18 19 22 22 24 28 30 31 32 34 38 43 45 50 55 56 60 61 62 66 67 68 70 72 73 74
lutud painful (1) **030** 4
luvang grave (1) **077** 22
Luvaniaw (name) (2) **025** 10 12
luvluv mix (1) **036** 12
Luvutsi (name) (1) **018** 1
-ł times (42) **005** 40 **016** 8 **022** 3 **035** 6 **038** 16 17 **043** 11 **046** 3 **053** 31 32 **056** 9 **058** 4 6 9 29 68 71 74 78 99 **078** 5 5 7 7 10 **079** 67 81 83 84 84 109 109 **088** 14 **092** 36 36 40 54 **094** 8 11 **096** 14 20 **098** 11
ła class (23) **011** 43 **025** 10 12 **034** 2 10 18 27 **039** 1 **048** 4 **050** 41 **051** 7 **055** 1 **058** 11 23 30 30 59 94 **062** 1 **066** 1 **074** 6 **076** 19 19
oh (17) **050** 47 **058** 116 116 **059** 1 **071** 14 22 24 33 39 46 49 **072** 23 **084** 6 **089** 13 **090** 4 **091** 20 25

really (6) **040** 35 **042** 17 22 **043** 17 **044** 18 23
ła- class (24) **009** 25 26 35 45 46 **039** 3 **051** 4 **053** 4 **056** 8 **058** 15 80 **063** 1 **065** 15 16 **079** 65 **096** 2 4 19 20 21 22 23 24 28
really (2) **008** 2 **085** 21
RED for *ła-* (1) **063** 1
RED for *łakay* (1) **088** 19
RED for *łama* (3) **042** 14 **056** 40 **075** 61
RED for *łaung* (1) **092** 13
RED for *łava* (3) **058** 43 **075** 38 **092** 13
RED for *łungu-* (1) **092** 52
ła= RED for *kełang* (1) **096** 38
ładje- RED for *ładjek* (1) **087** 7
ładjek dew (1) **087** 7
ładju tree.sp (1) **010** 38
łailiman millet.sp (1) **049** 15
Łaitaw (place) (1) **038** 2
łaka- RED for *łakay* (1) **077** 3
łakaraw flower.sp (1) **073** 35
łakay swing (2) **077** 3 **088** 19
łakua but (133) **002** 10 48 51 **003** 9 **004** 17 **005** 6 12 13 **006** 8 11 20 **008** 12 16 **009** 67 **010** 8 10 **011** 61 75 **012** 10 **013** 15 17 26 29 31 36 45 46 **014** 10 16 18 **016** 8 9 26 32 39 45 49 52 **017** 4 9 12 18 19 **018** 3 **032** 16 **037** 27 30 **038** 10 15 **039** 8 **041** 16 **053** 10 **056** 17 **057** 5 7 **058** 56 **059** 14 43 48 **065** 8 **073** 4 4 **077** 13 **078** 3 7 **079** 19 32 35 51 70 71 77 80 87 98 114 **080** 20 25 **081** 11 **082** 3 **083** 10 **084** 10 29 **085** 2 29 31 32 **086** 4 6 **087** 1 19 31 **088** 8 17 **089** 25 **090** 8 12 **091** 14 16 17 **092** 4 9 12 16 17 20 23 24 26 27 29 32 36 43 45 47 50 50 **093** 3 7 **094** 16 **097** 2 4 8 9 17 18 19 **098** 9 **100** 5 6 11 22
łaluay clear (9) **093** 1 3 12 **094** 14 14 **095** 5 **096** 35 **100** 6 14
łałak child (35) **002** 21 **004** 2 8 9 13 19 21 **006** 24 30 **012** 1 **016** 2 5 17 18 23 44 **050** 57 61 **055** 3 **061** 9 21 **073** 57 **074** 67 **076** 17 23 24 25 **079** 60 **081** 3 **092** 37 37 42 **096** 36 **097** 12 **099** 7
łałegean mouth.organ (1) **073** 47
łałeqer cold (1) **079** 101
łałuvur wasp.sp (1) **010** 40
łama burn (19) **009** 25 35 49 **020** 5 6 **027** 13 **042** 14 15 20 **056** 40 42 45 **060** 5 6 **075** 61 69 **078** 1 4 6
łamłam ginger (1) **051** 19
łanga- RED for *łangaw* (3) **058** 13 19 88
łangav → *łangaw*
łangaw plant.sp (7) **058** 11 13 19 77 79 85 88
łangga sesame? (3) **078** 20 22 **090** 6
łangi trunk (6) **061** 13 13 15 17 **073** 19 24
łangu- RED for *łanguy* (1) **091** 10
łanguy swim (4) **068** 8 **075** 27 29 **091** 10
łapanay maize (3) **078** 17 20 22
łapiłapi nearby (4) **052** 5 6 **054** 15 **061** 2
łaqa hey (1) **031** 10
łau- RED for *łaułau* (1) **001** 18
RED for *łaung* (1) **091** 7
łaugiu shallot [? Min] (4) **004** 21 25 26 28
łaułav → *łaułau*
łauław stretch (3) **001** 18 19 52
łaung shade (3) **079** 106 **091** 7 **092** 13
Łautu (name) (1) **070** 13
łava wait (6) **058** 43 **070** 9 **075** 38 **092** 13 **097** 14 **100** 11
łava- RED for *łava* (2) **097** 14 **100** 11
łavak present.at (1) **077** 16
łavar speak (57) **001** 8 14 14 40 40 43 56 57 **002** 42 49 69 **003** 32 34 **004** 2 9 13 15 **005** 26 27 **006** 7 18 21 24 26 29 **007** 7 **008** 3 13 28 **009** 3 23 **010** 18 **011** 10 36 65 68 **012** 4 **014** 3 **016** 5 8 **024** 3 **029** 2 **030** 2 4 **032** 9 9 **033** 17 **034** 3 6 9 13 17 **037** 20 **043** 13 **050** 48 **056** 40 **062** 7
łavek sea (15) **001** 5 8 15 19 26 54 **013** 40 41 43 **018** 16 16 20 21 **037** 1 2
łavi- RED for *łaving* (3) **001** 43 43 54
łavilu tree.sp (2) **023** 3 7
łaving side (6) **001** 42 43 43 54 **076** 29 **094** 9
łavingan monkey (1) **076** 33
ławław oil (2) **055** 10 **086** 5
łayłay eagle.feather (1) **032** 10
łayuz love.song (2) **088** 11 12
łazuk plains (2) **050** 18 19
łe- go.to (53) **001** 3 4 22 31 **002** 36 53 **003** 53 **004** 14 **005** 21 **008** 8 **009** 4 5 6 10 17 32 42 **010** 30 **011** 37 58 70 72 81 85

013 20 39 **016** 12 35 **025** 16 **032** 10 **035** 8 **042** 4 6 20 40 **043** 4 **049** 2 **052** 12 14 **056** 29 44 **058** 7 10 72 75 **059** 22 39 **064** 6 **076** 7 **082** 4 **086** 9 **096** 6 15

Łemud (name) (6) **049** 3 11 12 20 21 25

łeng look.at (10) **007** 5 **011** 81 83 **013** 22 **017** 17 **035** 10 **041** 3 **043** 5 **050** 32 33

łeng- RED for *łeng* (10) **007** 5 **011** 81 83 **013** 22 **017** 17 **035** 10 **041** 3 **043** 5 **050** 32 33

łengis scorch (1) **075** 70

łeqa- RED for *łeqad* (1) **002** 76

łeqad wobble (1) **002** 76

łequ owl.sp (6) **082** 1 1 2 2 4 5

łetu mature (1) **073** 13

łev- RED for *łeveq* (1) **049** 18

łeve- RED for *łevetj* (1) **059** 6

łeveq festival.type [F has *łevuq*] (5) **049** 18 19 26 **054** 1 4

łevuq → *łeveq*

łevetj level (1) **059** 6

łia dawn (15) **001** 53 **011** 73 **040** 37 **042** 13 **046** 4 **047** 15 **049** 12 **050** 5 **056** 11 **061** 7 **071** 7 **076** 27 **077** 1 **088** 11 13

łia- be.in (5) **046** 12 **075** 65 67 **080** 25 27
RED for *łia* (1) **077** 1

Łibi Levi (name) (1) **096** 12

łigim needle (1) **072** 28

łiłav → *łiław*

łiław inspect? (6) **071** 31 32 **073** 6 7 12 58

łiłi visit (5) **035** 12 **037** 25 **050** 36 49 52

łime- RED for *łimek* (1) **077** 9

łimek unclear (1) **077** 9

Łinasalas (place) (5) **043** 1 15 **044** 7 **051** 2 18

łinay hat (2) **013** 34 36

łinga desire (8) **002** 40 **035** 2 **036** 9 **037** 17 **092** 8 24 31 **097** 7

łinga- RED for *łinga* (1) **092** 31

łita one (1) **091** 27

łita- RED for *łita* (1) **091** 27

łitsaq mud (1) **027** 2

łiv cave (5) **015** 3 9 11 **073** 20 23

łiva- RED for *łivak* (1) **079** 66

łivak care.for (22) **079** 38 60 65 66 78 **091** 23 23 25 28 **092** 8 9 **093** 1 1 **094** 4 **095** 6 **096** 2 19 20 21 28 39 47

łiza- RED for *łizaw* (1) **013** 16

łizav → *łizaw*

łizaw look (7) **013** 16 39 **035** 8 **062** 17 **091** 14 15 18

łu- RED for *ału* (1) **077** 21

łuan example (1) **057** 8

łudjełudje thorn.plant (1) **051** 4

łui gourd (7) **071** 21 23 28 29 42 44 47

łules continue (1) **079** 85

łułu gather (7) **009** 7 **039** 15 **042** 7 11 42 **059** 21 **071** 15

łułu- RED for łułu (1) **009** 7

łumay millet.sp (3) **078** 20 **085** 27 **090** 6

łungpav → *łungpaw*

łungpaw robe (1) **050** 31

łungu alongside (1) **092** 52

łungu- RED for *łungu* (1) **092** 52

łupetj plug (3) **051** 8 **068** 2 10

łuvaq compete (1) **010** 34

łuvu- RED for *łuvung* (1) **073** 54

łuvung resting.place [see F148] (1) **073** 54

m- AF (228) **001** 4 55 **002** 5 25 38 55 66 75 **003** 13 17 18 20 25 28 30 34 37 42 **004** 21 **005** 43 **008** 1 **009** 58 **010** 2 9 10 12 29 **011** 14 18 27 28 30 56 71 73 **013** 35 36 **014** 1 2 3 5 8 12 13 14 **015** 10 **016** 15 31 38 47 51 51 52 **017** 2 5 22 23 **018** 6 **020** 3 **021** 2 3 4 **023** 2 **025** 3 **026** 2 **027** 12 16 21 25 **031** 2 9 13 **032** 4 13 **037** 1 3 7 8 **038** 11 **039** 2 5 18 21 **040** 4 27 28 35 37 53 55 **041** 11 **042** 27 **043** 16 **044** 11 15 17 18 20 **046** 2 3 4 6 7 11 11 **047** 11 22 **048** 5 7 10 **049** 9 21 22 **050** 7 14 29 44 50 51 56 **051** 9 11 16 **052** 7 17 **053** 13 **054** 18 21 **055** 4 15 **056** 42 45 46 **058** 34 41 101 104 **059** 33 42 **060** 5 5 9 **061** 8 9 11 11 16 25 26 **062** 2 10 13 14 15 16 18 19 **064** 5 **065** 4 6 8 8 **068** 8 **069** 9 12 **070** 7 8 10 **071** 10 33 **072** 22 29 31 **073** 8 15 16 44 49 57 **074** 4 24 33 34 56 60 63 68 **075** 41 **076** 22 26 **077** 10 14 18 19 22 23 26 **078** 10 **079** 8 20 21 23 44 53 67 69 89 **080** 25 **081** 4 17 **083** 6 **086** 8 **087** 15 16 **088** 14 **089** 1 1 8 14 **092** 2 **093** 12 **096** 12 14 43 **097** 16 **099** 4 7 **100** 12

m= AF (59) **009** 65 **016** 10 **017** 10 13 15 **026** 3 **032** 6 **040** 27 41 **044** 8 **050** 38 **054** 20

24 **056** 25 28 **058** 102 **059** 13 **062** 7 11 **068** 9 **070** 13 **072** 6 **073** 13 **074** 12 15 19 40 41 68 **075** 32 36 **079** 5 38 61 75 80 81 89 **081** 10 14 **083** 1 6 7 10 11 **087** 30 39 43 **091** 25 **092** 13 38 **093** 2 3 **094** 4 **096** 38 38 **099** 2 4 **100** 15

ma well (1) **092** 15

ma- NUM (117) **001** 53 60 **002** 29 32 43 **004** 1 **005** 39 43 **006** 1 14 27 **008** 4 **009** 22 **010** 36 **011** 13 39 39 70 85 **012** 1 3 **015** 5 7 10 **016** 44 **019** 2 3 4 **021** 3 **023** 2 3 10 **025** 23 **027** 10 **033** 7 18 **034** 8 **036** 3 6 7 8 **039** 19 **040** 7 10 11 13 22 24 37 44 45 48 **042** 2 **047** 1 **048** 4 9 9 **050** 7 41 **051** 9 **052** 7 **053** 4 5 14 17 18 20 22 27 **054** 14 23 **055** 1 **056** 36 **062** 18 **070** 6 14 **071** 1 **072** 20 39 44 **073** 58 **074** 11 42 60 **076** 28 31 **079** 11 39 **081** 15 17 21 **083** 1 3 **085** 30 **091** 2 25 **092** 36 37 52 **093** 1 4 **094** 2 2 9 17 **096** 22 23 23 24 24 24 28 36 47 47 **098** 9 **100** 7

STAT (858) **001** 1 4 6 25 30 34 39 41 43 47 50 53 59 **002** 11 14 18 20 20 22 30 31 36 36 46 76 **003** 18 18 28 40 41 41 44 44 54 61 **004** 3 4 6 8 11 12 15 22 22 23 23 23 23 26 26 27 27 28 28 30 30 **005** 6 12 12 16 22 23 34 38 40 42 45 45 **006** 18 21 21 23 24 25 25 25 27 29 **007** 1 2 6 7 11 14 **008** 3 6 10 11 15 24 25 26 29 34 35 **009** 7 8 13 17 20 23 44 45 46 **010** 7 11 31 33 36 **011** 2 4 5 10 11 13 20 28 36 38 38 42 44 48 53 55 55 57 59 60 60 65 68 71 73 73 73 75 76 76 80 84 84 **012** 4 18 19 **013** 2 4 7 12 17 19 21 26 28 30 33 36 40 43 **014** 2 10 19 **015** 12 **016** 6 8 8 10 24 29 40 42 47 48 51 54 **017** 2 12 14 15 17 18 19 **018** 2 7 8 10 12 17 17 18 19 20 21 **019** 2 **020** 1 3 3 4 5 **021** 4 4 5 **022** 2 3 **023** 1 1 4 8 11 11 11 12 12 12 13 13 13 13 13 13 15 15 15 15 **024** 3 6 9 10 11 11 **025** 4 10 15 16 17 21 **027** 2 10 30 **028** 3 **029** 1 2 3 5 6 6 6 **030** 1 2 3 4 4 **031** 11 15 **032** 3 9 9 11 14 15 **033** 1 5 6 9 13 16 17 17 20 **034** 3 4 5 6 6 8 14 18 23 26 **035** 4 5 6 11 **037** 5 9 14 19 20 **038** 3 3 5 6 8 8 8 9 11 13 13 18 18 19 20 21 **039** 1 3 10 13 13 15 15 20 **040** 6 8 9 13 26 37 51 52 59 **041** 2 10 15 17 **042** 7 13 17 22 24 25 34 **043** 13 18 **044** 2 10 23 **046** 3 4 6 6 8 9 **047** 27 **048** 5 7 10 **049** 2 9 12 18 26 **050** 5 9 9 15 18 19 26 31 32 42 46 47 48 48 48 54 **051** 4 4 8 8 10 15 23 **052** 2 2 5 8 9 17 **053** 2 19 29 30 30 30 31 31 32 32 32 33 **054** 1 2 4 4 4 8 15 15 19 20 21 21 21 23 23 23 25 **055** 5 17 17 **056** 4 5 7 11 13 18 21 22 24 40 **057** 7 **058** 6 6 9 9 13 19 19 21 22 22 26 26 28 28 30 37 52 55 65 65 67 67 71 71 74 74 79 84 87 88 90 92 92 93 96 104 **059** 3 5 7 14 23 26 50 **060** 3 6 **061** 5 7 12 21 26 27 **062** 3 6 7 14 **063** 1 2 2 2 3 3 4 5 5 **064** 2 3 6 6 **065** 2 6 14 15 15 **066** 2 5 6 6 **068** 2 3 4 5 10 10 11 11 11 12 12 13 15 15 **069** 1 1 2 5 7 7 12 13 **070** 2 5 10 14 **071** 1 7 10 11 12 35 36 41 42 58 62 **072** 2 3 7 14 18 20 21 24 24 27 28 30 32 32 33 36 37 39 39 40 42 42 44 **073** 4 16 22 27 32 43 48 49 59 **074** 5 6 8 35 44 46 63 67 69 **075** 5 8 33 38 52 70 **076** 4 9 10 11 12 14 16 16 18 27 31 37 **077** 1 2 4 4 6 6 7 15 16 17 17 27 28 **078** 6 7 7 7 7 8 10 12 19 19 **079** 11 11 13 15 17 18 19 20 22 22 22 24 25 26 29 31 42 48 50 52 67 70 74 75 92 92 93 99 100 101 105 105 109 112 **081** 3 3 4 5 5 6 6 11 18 19 21 21 **082** 3 4 **083** 1 5 10 11 **084** 9 11 15 17 **085** 1 3 4 11 11 13 14 19 19 23 24 25 28 28 **087** 1 3 9 15 18 19 21 23 29 29 33 33 37 38 **088** 1 1 2 2 4 4 8 9 9 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 18 **089** 4 6 6 10 10 17 17 19 19 22 **090** 3 6 6 6 6 9 9 11 **091** 4 7 8 8 10 24 28 28 28 28 29 **092** 1 1 2 2 2 3 3 4 6 7 10 10 13 15 16 17 17 21 21 24 24 24 24 24 25 25 29 32 32 32 33 35 36 36 37 38 39 40 40 46 50 51 53 54 54 **093** 2 7 7 **094** 3 9 9 10 11 15 16 17 **095** 1 2 2 3 4 5 **096** 3 4 6 9 14 19 19 20 20 20 26 27 27 35 35 35 36 36 42 43 **097** 2 2 4 5 7 8 8 13 17 **098** 8 **099** 5 7 8 **100** 5 6 7 11 11 11 11 14 18 18 22 22

ma=RED for *amaw* (1) **087** 1

madju 3RD.PERS (253) **001** 15 53 **002** 28 29 32 40 41 43 50 56 57 **003** 37 43 46 **004** 10 20 25 27 **005** 17 21 22 29 39 41 42 43 **006** 14 15 24 25 26 27 28 28 29 **007** 3 6 7 9 12 15 16 18 **008** 20 21 28 29 36 39 **009** 5 8 20 21 22 23 23 32 42 63 64 65 67 **010** 1 17 23 35 **011** 3 13 14 15 17 21 25 25 37 43 46 47 64 68 68 **013** 8 11 **014** 2 **015** 9 10 11 **016** 10 34 41 47 **017** 2 3 3 4 6 7 **023** 10 12 13 **024** 3 **025** 11 **032** 9 **033** 2 **034** 5 **039** 3 10 13 **052** 5 8 10 **053** 9 11 16 20 27 29 **056** 10 19 23 29 36 37 40 48 52 52 **062** 11 11 **065** 15 **067** 2 **068** 15 **069** 2 9 9 10 **070** 6 9 10 12 14 14 **071** 1 30 32 37 43 58 59 62 63 **072** 44 **073** 23 36 38 42 57 58 59 **074** 3 7 9 9 10 15 25 29 32 40 47 54 59 67 68 **075** 10 21 39 64 73 **076** 2 9 13 20 30 **080** 1 2 3 4 5 13 17 23 24 25 **081** 5 6 7 14 15 16 17 18 21 **082** 5 6 7 **083** 6 6 7 7 7 8 **084** 6 16 28 30 **085** 1 3 4 4 4 5 14 25 31 32 32 **091** 4 6 10 13 22 23 **092** 4 5 19 54 **094** 2 **096** 4 8 8 11 13 15 15 16 26 **097** 4 4 **100** 5 6

mai oh (1) **091** 3

maka finished (7) **008** 21 27 **009** 32 34 **010** 20 **011** 15 **055** 13

via (17) **001** 26 **006** 24 24 **010** 24 **042** 37 41 **048** 9 9 **050** 13 25 **056** 8 **074** 8 9 **079** 94 **091** 19 **095** 7 **096** 48

maka- finished (15) **036** 4 **040** 17 **047** 19 **051** 6 **056** 35 **059** 22 **071** 22 **075** 27 41 65 **080** 22 **085** 27 27 **089** 6 **099** 8

NUM (8) **038** 16 17 **043** 11 **077** 25 **079** 83 84 84 **098** 11

via (6) **001** 8 9 **071** 29 29 **081** 14 **096** 33

Makalaulauz (place) (8) **043** 1 5 **058** 2 20 31 53 89 93

Makazayazaya (place) (14) **040** 4 **058** 1 4 24 61 98 100 111 **079** 79 83 84 89 92 94

Makułułu (name) (1) **073** 2

makuzan ear.of.millet (1) **066** 6

mala- RED for *malaw* (6) **079** 78 84 85 **093** 11 **097** 13 15

malav → *malaw*

malaw tell (11) **026** 2 **079** 49 78 84 85 **091** 22 **093** 3 11 **096** 5 **097** 13 15

małe NUM (2) **049** 25 **051** 14

małe- NUM (4) **019** 2 **021** 3 **037** 33 **076** 12

małe= RED for *ramałeng* (8) **040** 53 **058** 14 19 19 30 79 87 88

mali different (13) **010** 15 **052** 16 **078** 11 **085** 1 **086** 1 **087** 1 **088** 15 15 **089** 17 **091** 7 **092** 13 17 **096** 41

mali- RED (5) **078** 11 **085** 1 **086** 1 **087** 1 **091** 7

małimali thank.you (8) **090** 5 **092** 8 **093** 1 **096** 31 46 **098** 5 7 **099** 2

Małipa (place) (1) **025** 10

man NUM [northwest dialect for *ma-*] (2) **079** 86 88

manu then (258) **001** 5 10 23 35 51 **002** 2 4 18 29 37 44 55 57 58 58 60 63 64 **003** 7 21 41 45 47 60 **004** 6 23 23 25 29 **005** 9 13 14 **006** 5 **007** 2 5 14 15 17 **008** 2 9 19 24 27 **009** 31 **010** 17 20 35 **011** 7 18 28 40 41 48 57 73 76 **012** 2 5 7 **013** 2 **015** 2 4 5 8 **016** 4 6 14 38 **017** 2 5 11 **018** 4 6 **019** 2 **020** 4 **021** 5 7 **023** 1 11 **024** 5 **025** 5 18 **027** 2 5 29 **031** 13 **032** 2 3 6 **033** 3 **034** 5 **035** 5 6 9 13 **036** 7 8 11 **037** 11 20 23 32 **038** 2 4 9 **039** 5 15 16 18 18 **040** 11 16 23 24 27 34 37 43 45 46 53 54 59 62 **041** 6 9 14 **042** 5 7 13 25 27 31 37 38 39 **043** 3 4 5 6 8 9 14 16 18 **044** 5 6 7 8 11 11 14 **046** 2 **047** 26 **048** 9 **050** 25 26 26 29 31 33 37 42 **051** 2 19 19 **058** 47 109 **059** 50 **061** 4 6 8 20 **062** 12 18 **068** 2 **069** 4 **072** 3 5 27 41 **073** 24 26 42 43 53 56 58 **074** 5 8 16 24 30 33 40 47 60 62 64 **075** 12 18 23 39 **076** 5 6 12 18 25 28 33 35 **079** 73 108 109 109 110 **080** 2 5 7 13 17 23 **081** 3 6 8 16 **083** 3 **084** 13 21 23 28 29 **089** 19 22 24 25 **090** 4 **091** 5 8 10 10 11 15 19 20 23 28 28 **092** 46 **093** 4 10 **096** 5 7 10 12 17 19 22

mare pair (1) **073** 1

mare- pair [or reciprocal relationship, e.g. of grandparent and grandchild] (105) **003** 1 **004** 1 **006** 1 **008** 1 3 10 11 **011** 1 9 62 **012** 1 **013** 1 **014** 1 1 3 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11 12 13 14 15 19 20 **016** 1 33 52 **023** 5 10 13 14 **031** 7 9 12 14 **036** 7 **037** 17

19 24 28 31 **046** 10 **049** 25 **050** 5 48 **053** 4 29 **055** 1 **056** 1 **057** 5 **058** 58 **061** 1 **071** 1 4 7 10 **075** 1 4 15 17 26 29 47 54 **076** 1 5 7 11 15 18 23 24 26 36 37 **078** 11 **080** 23 **084** 1 4 5 **085** 1 **086** 1 **087** 1 **088** 1 11 **091** 1 4 7 10 **092** 1 2 3 4 9 31 **093** 2 3 4 **096** 43 47

mareka many [is *mare-ka* in F21] (52) **016** 26 **076** 21 **079** 14 19 20 28 58 70 **081** 3 21 **082** 3 4 **083** 7 7 8 **085** 11 13 13 13 **091** 7 **092** 7 7 9 16 22 28 31 31 52 **093** 9 11 **094** 1 10 **096** 15 22 22 35 35 35 39 **097** 5 6 9 12 12 **098** 3 9 10 **099** 3 6 7 7

marepalikuz wedding.type (1) **088** 3

marepaukuz wedding.type (2) **088** 2 10

marka PL (19) **001** 2 11 **002** 3 20 **004** 6 6 6 11 24 **005** 2 44 **020** 2 **023** 11 11 14 **027** 29 29 29 **059** 45

marutsiqełap fish.sp (2) **075** 42 44

masi carry (11) **038** 16 **071** 15 **074** 22 27 31 36 39 **087** 2 2 8 8

from (8) **020** 1 **023** 15 **027** 30 **028** 4 **030** 7 **033** 20 **038** 15 15

masi- source (1) **080** 4

Masilid (place) (1) **079** 91

masudj tidy (2) **031** 7 **089** 21

matja- NUM (18) **038** 1 **061** 9 21 **073** 57 **074** 67 **076** 17 23 24 25 **079** 60 **081** 1 3 **092** 37 37 42 **096** 36 **097** 12 **099** 7

matjaq unripe (2) **009** 9 12

matsa eye (3) **062** 18 **063** 4 5

matsul? (1) **092** 30

mau NUM (1) **058** 110

mau- NUM (1) **048** 3

maya don't (32) **001** 41 43 59 **002** 62 **003** 55 **007** 8 **009** 30 **012** 4 **016** 10 36 43 **017** 12 **018** 3 14 14 **024** 8 **034** 12 16 **038** 11 **040** 34 45 **044** 22 **046** 8 **073** 27 **074** 30 38 **075** 63 **080** 19 21 21 **090** 4 **091** 17

maza here (74) **001** 8 56 57 **003** 38 **006** 24 **009** 3 28 37 39 42 51 **011** 24 34 45 50 54 55 **016** 44 **019** 3 **020** 3 **026** 4 **033** 2 9 13 16 16 **037** 13 **044** 9 **050** 52 **055** 13 **058** 57 **059** 29 56 **068** 8 **070** 11 **073** 22 30 **074** 18 20 51 67 **081** 7 **091** 17 **092** 18 **093** 12 **094** 2 5 6 7 11 12 16 17 **095** 4 **096** 1 2 23 24 31 35 39 47 **097** 2 4 17 19 21 **098** 2 9 **099** 2 6 **100** 2 5 8

maza- RED for *maza* (3) **055** 13 **058** 57 **059** 29

me- AF (49) **002** 74 **005** 10 28 **006** 26 28 **009** 22 **015** 4 **017** 22 **018** 7 **023** 5 **027** 4 5 **031** 5 **034** 2 6 7 **037** 11 27 **038** 18 **040** 60 **042** 28 30 31 **044** 14 **045** 4 **050** 26 **052** 7 **053** 20 27 **056** 46 **062** 1 **066** 10 **068** 3 10 **069** 10 **074** 55 57 **077** 10 **079** 67 82 **085** 25 **086** 9 **092** 29 43 **097** 4 **098** 11 **099** 8 **100** 17 18

meke= RED for *em-tsekeł* (1) **079** 71

mełel? (1) **092** 45

men → *amen*

mere large (1) **092** 14

mere- large (2) **092** 23 48

meseng enough (4) **071** 16 17 **092** 45 **096** 18

mi- pretend (2) **083** 6 **084** 21

AF (30) **001** 5 **005** 3 29 **006** 15 17 23 27 **007** 2 **010** 35 **011** 26 29 39 **016** 27 **018** 13 **032** 10 **033** 7 **035** 15 **040** 63 **052** 8 **059** 28 **062** 12 **065** 12 **077** 1 5 7 12 20 **081** 18 **084** 26 **087** 11

mili- RED for *miling* (2) **040** 1 **091** 1

miling past.era (4) **019** 1 2 **040** 1 **091** 1

min- AF (11) **010** 23 **011** 68 72 **013** 36 **024** 10 **025** 20 **058** 108 **071** 34 **072** 43 **085** 13 14

mintu sudden [or, 'indeed'?] (37) **001** 18 21 32 54 **002** 30 33 73 **003** 30 48 **004** 11 **005** 40 **006** 17 **007** 18 **008** 5 21 38 **009** 12 17 19 54 56 58 **011** 22 44 53 79 **012** 17 **013** 10 12 21 38 40 46 **016** 16 23 31 54

mitja we(INC) (2) **011** 9 62

mseng → *meseng*

Muakai (name) (17) **065** 10 **072** 1 2 10 20 21 31 36 43 **073** 1 2 3 53 57 57 58 59

Muakakai (name) (10) **048** 1 **050** 5 6 12 32 **058** 2 **061** 1 10 20 23

Muatjuku (name) (4) **073** 1 3 5 29

Muatjukutjuku (name) (1) **091** 19

mudingan face (2) **039** 18 **063** 5

mui quartz (3) **016** 12 37 **074** 69

muilang go.between [Min] (1) **011** 78

muła= RED for *samuła* (5) **094** 12 16 **096** 9 **100** 4 15

mun F.you(P) (50) **002** 20 **006** 18 **024** 9 9 **034** 19 **038** 11 **047** 12 22 **048** 5 7 **058** 26 26 45 65 65 **071** 5 **074** 11 **076** 19 35 **081** 9 **084** 6 7 8 **091** 25 **092** 8 8 8 13 13 17 17 22 22 28 33 33 36 36 40 41 45 45 45 45 49 50 53 **093** 1 **094** 4 6
you(P) (18) **001** 9 **014** 3 12 **058** 35 115 117 **070** 11 **076** 33 34 **079** 66 **092** 6 27 28 34 40 **094** 1 10 17
musa two (2) **079** 109 **088** 14
mutse- RED for *mutseng* (2) **072** 15 40
mutseng angry (20) **001** 3 **002** 52 65 72 77 **003** 26 **004** 7 18 19 30 **005** 3 **007** 2 **008** 39 **060** 7 **062** 7 **072** 5 6 15 40 **074** 42
muza= RED for *talimuzaw* (1) **100** 3
n= AF (17) **010** 21 35 **012** 14 **013** 35 **029** 3 4 7 **030** 3 5 7 **060** 7 **069** 2 **077** 25 **079** 30 **085** 24 **097** 13 **100** 6
na (also → *nua*) by (1) **100** 15
of (1) **100** 10
PAST (4) **084** 7 9 **092** 31 **096** 41
well (2) **089** 15 **091** 15
na- PAST (314) **001** 52 57 **002** 1 40 46 **003** 3 17 18 25 28 28 30 34 42 **004** 25 **005** 1 **007** 4 **009** 7 8 13 17 45 46 58 58 **010** 35 **011** 1 23 25 31 39 48 55 64 71 73 75 **013** 21 40 44 **015** 1 9 11 **016** 2 5 23 **018** 6 13 20 21 **020** 1 **021** 5 **022** 2 **023** 1 3 5 **025** 2 20 **026** 2 **027** 16 **029** 3 7 **030** 3 7 **031** 10 **032** 1 **033** 5 7 17 **035** 9 11 **036** 1 **037** 5 14 16 **038** 3 **039** 1 **040** 3 6 9 9 27 35 38 38 38 44 49 **041** 1 1 **042** 7 9 27 44 **043** 13 **046** 1 1 10 **047** 1 11 22 **048** 10 **049** 1 1 **050** 1 31 66 **052** 5 **053** 1 2 4 5 **054** 18 24 **056** 36 **058** 26 26 28 28 61 65 65 67 67 93 96 98 **061** 8 25 **062** 1 **063** 1 **065** 15 15 **068** 5 15 **070** 14 **071** 10 **072** 14 27 37 39 39 **073** 12 16 22 53 **074** 31 39 44 69 **075** 5 42 52 53 60 **076** 18 24 **077** 7 26 **078** 6 8 **079** 7 12 16 20 21 26 30 67 89 98 112 **080** 2 **081** 3 4 **083** 10 10 11 **084** 9 10 12 13 13 21 22 27 29 30 **085** 13 14 14 18 **087** 2 8 16 **088** 16 **089** 2 **090** 11 **091** 2 5 8 25 28 29 **092** 7 8 10 11 13 13 17 17 21 24 24 24 25 38 41 45 47 52 54 **093** 1 2 7 11 12 12 **094** 8 9 10 10 16 **095** 1 2 4 5 6 6 **096** 6 8 9 12 15 19 20 20 25 26 27 27 30 33 35 35 36 37 37 37 38 39 39 39 39 39 39 40 42 43 44 44 **097** 2 4 4 4 5 5 5 7 9 12 13 13 16 16 17 18 19 **098** 6 6 11 **099** 4 5 7 7 8 8 8 **100** 4 11 11 11 11 15 18 18 19 19 20 21 22 22 22
STAT (67) **001** 58 60 **002** 41 42 49 **003** 44 **004** 26 **005** 2 **007** 9 **009** 23 **011** 5 9 11 24 46 47 51 **012** 8 **022** 5 5 **023** 12 14 **027** 18 23 **034** 25 **039** 3 **040** 9 **046** 5 **047** 23 27 29 **049** 24 **050** 15 **051** 12 **053** 31 32 **054** 22 **057** 3 **058** 45 **062** 19 **066** 8 9 **077** 1 10 13 24 **078** 17 **079** 32 34 41 47 61 62 63 64 **080** 3 **086** 3 6 **090** 9 **091** 23 23 25 28 **092** 9 43 **093** 7 **096** 14
-na then [only after *ka-* and *sa-*] (56) **002** 40 **058** 61 98 109 **071** 26 **072** 39 43 43 **073** 57 57 58 **074** 68 68 **078** 1 1 4 4 6 6 **079** 39 75 75 75 **080** 27 27 **081** 5 **083** 3 **085** 4 25 25 26 **086** 5 **088** 10 11 15 **091** 9 **092** 17 17 30 30 52 52 52 52 52 **093** 6 6 6 11 **096** 31 **097** 7 **099** 2 4 4 6 6
naḍungałis bared.teeth [possibly *na-ḍungałis*] (1) **075** 72
nalitjengits ? (1) **092** 8
namare ? [possibly *na-mare* 'PAST-pair'] (1) **058** 38
nasa perhaps [possibly *na-sa*] (6) **037** 29 **039** 3 6 15 **040** 30 **051** 13
nasa- perhaps [possibly *na-sa-*] (2) **037** 30 **092** 8
nasi breath (8) **037** 2 **039** 15 **077** 15 16 **079** 68 **087** 11 **089** 11 **100** 19
nasi- RED for *nasi* (1) **077** 16
nava- RED for *navał* (3) **039** 8 **058** 103 **059** 4
navał right (2) **087** 32 32
south (4) **039** 8 **041** 10 **058** 103 **059** 4
navu- RED for *navuq* (1) **052** 1
navungisir bare.teeth (1) **003** 17
navuq bamboo (1) **052** 1
ne we(EXC) [dialect variant for *nia*] (3) **093** 1 **099** 2 6
neka no (77) **001** 10 13 **003** 64 **005** 11 **007** 15 16 **009** 54 56 **011** 2 4 61 **013** 38 **016** 26 27 **018** 9 **019** 4 **020** 7 **023** 6 6 **024** 1 4

027 17 **028** 1 **029** 1 1 **030** 1 1 1 **035** 1 **037** 23 28 **040** 52 **041** 11 **042** 10 **043** 12 14 **046** 12 **049** 24 **053** 3 5 5 10 23 23 23 28 **055** 5 **056** 33 52 **057** 1 1 1 **068** 7 **069** 4 **071** 1 1 60 61 **072** 4 14 27 **073** 4 10 22 **075** 18 37 **076** 26 **079** 15 19 45 **080** 14 **085** 7 31 **091** 11 12 **092** 21 **097** 16

nem=RED for *kinemnem* (3) **017** 6 11 **085** 32

nema what (83) **001** 16 36 **011** 10 23 25 **017** 1 6 10 14 **018** 4 13 **023** 6 **025** 19 **027** 17 22 26 **033** 7 **039** 2 **040** 3 29 44 49 **041** 6 **042** 9 **044** 16 **049** 13 13 **050** 20 66 **053** 12 15 **054** 15 **056** 49 **058** 8 36 37 44 47 49 50 73 76 111 **059** 35 43 **061** 18 **062** 5 6 **065** 12 **071** 61 **072** 14 **073** 34 42 45 57 **074** 22 27 36 **077** 2 12 **079** 97 98 102 **082** 2 2 **083** 10 **087** 25 **089** 3 **092** 14 23 24 38 38 44 48 **093** 7 **096** 8 23 23 30 32 34 **099** 2

nema- RED for *nema* (27) **011** 23 25 **017** 1 10 14 **018** 13 **023** 6 **033** 7 **040** 3 29 44 49 **050** 66 **056** 49 **058** 111 **059** 43 **062** 5 6 **071** 61 **073** 57 **077** 2 12 **079** 97 98 102 **087** 25 **096** 8

nevu=RED for *qunevuł* (1) **088** 12

ni by (81) **001** 27 **005** 5 **008** 12 16 **009** 66 **013** 22 31 39 45 **018** 8 **020** 1 **022** 1 **025** 8 9 10 **027** 14 19 24 28 **031** 6 8 **032** 7 12 **034** 29 **040** 10 13 14 19 30 39 40 41 42 45 47 58 **041** 5 8 **042** 7 7 15 20 40 **049** 3 18 **050** 33 **051** 3 **056** 47 **059** 19 21 48 **071** 25 **072** 10 40 **073** 21 25 31 33 54 **074** 16 17 **075** 18 40 41 48 69 71 73 **080** 7 8 12 16 20 26 27 **093** 3 6 **096** 5 19 21 43

of (40) **005** 9 22 **008** 17 **010** 7 9 14 15 **013** 37 46 **018** 1 1 **021** 1 **032** 16 **033** 1 **034** 31 **040** 15 15 49 **042** 38 **044** 3 **049** 25 **058** 110 118 118 **061** 11 **062** 8 **065** 14 **068** 2 10 **073** 29 57 **074** 69 **075** 74 **079** 19 115 **089** 12 **090** 1 **091** 25 **093** 5 **096** 27

ni- by (21) **003** 43 **004** 10 **005** 21 22 **008** 20 28 **011** 13 **053** 9 **065** 15 **071** 59 **073** 23 **074** 59 **080** 1 **082** 7 **083** 7 8 **085** 3 4 4 31 **096** 13

of (77) **002** 12 15 26 28 **004** 13 15 **006** 14 **007** 15 16 18 **008** 39 39 **009** 8 42 63 64 65 66 67 **010** 1 **011** 21 68 **013** 11 **016** 33 34 41 47 **017** 7 **021** 6 **023** 12 **025** 10 11 **033** 2 **034** 4 5 **037** 20 **042** 42 **052** 10 **056** 29 48 51 52 52 **058** 115 **069** 2 **072** 33 38 **073** 42 **074** 9 **075** 10 21 39 64 **080** 5 17 25 **081** 15 **083** 6 7 7 **084** 6 16 28 **085** 1 4 32 **091** 23 **092** 5 27 34 40 **094** 2 **096** 15 16 **097** 4 4 **099** 3

nia our(EXC) (46) **024** 6 **058** 25 28 63 **073** 11 31 **079** 16 21 54 **092** 6 6 11 11 16 22 22 45 46 **093** 1 **094** 1 4 9 9 10 11 12 13 13 17 **095** 5 6 7 7 **096** 24 33 36 36 41 46 **098** 4 **099** 2 4 6 **100** 8 14 16

we(EXC) (27) **024** 8 **025** 7 7 **034** 29 **040** 62 **047** 23 **058** 66 66 66 **081** 7 13 **092** 11 16 16 **095** 2 3 7 **096** 30 32 34 35 41 46 48 48 **100** 5 13

ningats recite(?) (1) **049** 10

nu of (100) **001** 10 13 **003** 64 **007** 15 16 **011** 2 4 **018** 19 **019** 4 4 **023** 6 13 **024** 4 **027** 17 30 **028** 4 **029** 1 1 **030** 6 **031** 15 **032** 4 **035** 1 **036** 3 5 **037** 9 9 33 **039** 12 14 **040** 52 52 **043** 12 **046** 12 **049** 24 **050** 22 52 **052** 4 4 17 **053** 3 5 5 10 23 23 23 28 **055** 17 **056** 36 **057** 1 1 1 8 **058** 26 65 65 113 **063** 4 **068** 7 14 15 **069** 4 **071** 1 1 29 29 41 42 60 60 61 **072** 4 14 14 27 **073** 4 22 **074** 61 **075** 18 **078** 7 13 14 **079** 15 19 45 **085** 11 28 31 **086** 2 2 2 3 8 **089** 18 **091** 2 12 28 **092** 42 42 **099** 5

when (410) **001** 2 11 50 **002** 8 11 14 16 20 22 35 71 71 75 76 **003** 44 44 50 53 57 58 **004** 3 4 9 14 15 17 **005** 16 **006** 26 30 **007** 21 21 **008** 22 28 30 31 **010** 2 5 9 11 **011** 11 20 25 25 36 **012** 15 **013** 3 35 **014** 8 14 **016** 50 51 51 **017** 10 15 18 19 22 22 22 23 23 **021** 2 2 **022** 2 3 4 4 **023** 12 12 12 12 **024** 8 9 10 11 **025** 3 4 **026** 2 3 4 **027** 18 23 **029** 6 **030** 4 **032** 12 16 16 **034** 6 15 19 **036** 3 4 **037** 3 5 **038** 4 11 16 **039** 2 11 20 **040** 15 42 **041** 2 2 **042** 7 **044** 4 4 **045** 3 4 4 **047** 12 **049** 8 9 9 9 10 10 **050** 4 17 18 19 **052** 2 8 8

9 14 **053** 7 31 **054** 1 4 10 15 17 18 20 21 28 **056** 6 14 24 **057** 3 4 5 6 7 8 **058** 38 **059** 10 33 34 42 **062** 2 21 **063** 2 2 3 3 4 5 **065** 5 8 **066** 5 6 **068** 13 **070** 7 8 14 **071** 12 36 40 53 58 **072** 6 6 18 24 **073** 38 **074** 52 57 **075** 5 6 7 8 11 12 19 22 23 53 **076** 11 **077** 1 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 28 **078** 1 2 2 3 6 7 7 13 14 17 18 19 19 19 21 23 **079** 19 44 45 53 83 93 94 104 111 113 115 **082** 1 2 4 4 4 4 4 **083** 2 5 7 8 10 **084** 18 32 **085** 1 3 4 5 7 8 9 10 13 14 14 20 21 23 24 25 26 27 27 30 **086** 3 4 9 9 **087** 2 4 8 10 11 11 12 13 13 15 15 16 16 18 18 18 21 22 23 26 30 31 32 41 44 **088** 2 3 4 5 6 7 10 10 11 12 13 14 14 15 15 15 15 16 17 **089** 25 26 **090** 5 5 **091** 23 23 23 **092** 2 3 4 12 17 17 21 24 24 24 24 28 28 31 38 38 38 39 40 45 45 45 47 54 54 54 **093** 12 **096** 18 22 22 22 25 25 25 27 37 37 43 43 **097** 4 4 4 7 9 10 11 11 12 13 15 15 16 16 16 17 17 17 18 19 **098** 4 9 10 11 11 **099** 6 7 7 7 8 **100** 5 6 10 15 16 17 18

you(P) (33) **024** 8 **040** 6 9 **041** 15 15 **044** 16 **050** 43 47 54 **058** 47 **071** 45 **081** 10 **089** 13 **091** 22 22 **092** 9 9 9 11 13 13 14 16 17 17 20 26 45 45 53 **093** 1 **094** 5 11

your(P) (47) **049** 13 **071** 49 49 **073** 8 **079** 65 **090** 4 4 6 6 6 6 7 **092** 8 8 9 9 13 13 13 14 14 16 16 16 17 19 20 20 20 21 23 23 25 25 28 28 36 36 40 42 42 45 45 49 49 50 **096** 2

nu- of (6) **071** 31 **073** 42 **083** 9 **084** 17 22 **096** 17

when (3) **058** 11 89 **096** 18

nua (also → *na*) by (155) **001** 23 28 33 36 47 **002** 8 17 20 24 27 28 59 **003** 14 25 29 39 42 49 53 **004** 16 27 **005** 7 12 14 15 36 40 **006** 16 18 22 24 **007** 17 **009** 2 9 11 16 18 27 29 30 35 36 38 39 41 45 47 49 50 53 57 63 **010** 4 18 18 21 **011** 18 21 23 41 **012** 4 18 **014** 8 14 **015** 5 **016** 5 6 18 19 39 41 44 **017** 18 19 **018** 4 **019** 2 3 **021** 2 6 **025** 17 **027** 8 **031** 12 **033** 16 **036** 3 14 **038** 8 **039** 15 **040** 1 1 7 48 **044** 7 11 **047** 25 **050** 2 25 **052** 10 14 **053** 17 17 18 **055** 5 16 18 **056** 7 8 15 16 39 51 52 **057** 3 6 8 **060** 11 **061** 6 21 **062** 11 **065** 2 **068** 8 11 12 **070** 14 **072** 13 20 25 **074** 39 49 **076** 17 **077** 6 23 24 **081** 8 15 17 20 **082** 2 6 **084** 32 33 **085** 11 **087** 12 26 **090** 12 **091** 14 **092** 9 **093** 6 7 11 12 **096** 18 **099** 2 **100** 7 8 15

of (152) **001** 3 21 21 23 51 **002** 4 32 35 41 44 48 49 51 **003** 21 64 **005** 2 4 17 20 23 **006** 2 31 **007** 11 **009** 15 17 68 **010** 6 37 38 39 41 **011** 44 67 **012** 5 17 **014** 6 **015** 3 9 11 **016** 53 **017** 19 19 **018** 6 7 **019** 4 **020** 3 **023** 3 7 **027** 7 13 30 30 30 30 **028** 2 4 **030** 6 6 **031** 7 14 15 **033** 5 **036** 13 **037** 17 19 **045** 2 **046** 8 **050** 25 **052** 1 2 14 17 **053** 25 **054** 18 26 **056** 38 46 **057** 6 **058** 103 **061** 24 28 29 30 **066** 4 **067** 6 8 **068** 1 **069** 13 **071** 21 23 28 35 44 **072** 4 28 **073** 43 **074** 9 **076** 3 23 **077** 15 **079** 19 36 49 49 51 72 78 79 81 84 85 90 91 94 113 **080** 23 **081** 3 **085** 22 **086** 5 **087** 29 **088** 17 18 **091** 23 25 **092** 1 2 13 13 24 54 **093** 1 1 1 5 11 **094** 4 10 13 14 **096** 1 26 **099** 8 8 8 **100** 5 6 6 10 10 14 15 23

nua- of (6) **001** 16 **002** 65 **016** 14 31 **057** 5 **084** 31

by (6) **006** 6 **011** 32 **012** 19 **036** 8 **076** 18 **084** 30

nuka even [= *nu* 'when' + *ka* 'and'?] (24) **001** 14 14 **012** 19 **013** 29 **017** 20 **024** 11 **059** 10 **079** 69 92 92 93 97 101 102 **081** 17 **091** 9 11 **092** 17 **093** 5 **096** 23 36 36 **100** 11 11

nuli=RED for *inuli* (5) **097** 10 10 **099** 6 6 8

numa indeed (7) **092** 13 32 33 51 52 54 **100** 5

nga- RED for *ngaḍuy* (6) **060** 1 2 4 5 9 11

ngadan name (8) **005** 9 **016** 34 **050** 26 **052** 4 4 **054** 15 **061** 28 **086** 1

ngaḍi badger (2) **001** 11 14

ngaḍuy lizard.sp (6) **060** 1 2 4 5 9 11

nganga molest (2) **089** 19 22

Ngangay (name) (4) **059** 1 19 21 32

ngangay white.owl (2) **006** 29 31

ngaq → *nguaq*
ngatsi snail (4) **086** 1 2 3 8
ngatsi- RED for *ngatsi* (1) **086** 2
ngeḍu- RED for *ngeḍuq* (1) **053** 6
ngeḍuq sever (5) **012** 20 **027** 10 **053** 6 **059** 37 **065** 14
ngeli friend (1) **081** 21
ngetje- RED for *ngetjez* (9) **008** 36 **020** 1 **033** 1 **072** 42 **079** 22 **082** 1 2 3 **085** 25
ngetjez come (9) **008** 36 **020** 1 **033** 1 **072** 42 **079** 22 **082** 1 2 3 **085** 25
ngiaw cat (16) **050** 21 24 25 **080** 17 18 21 25 26 **081** 1 2 4 7 10 16 16 18
ngida when (5) **050** 43 **052** 1 4 17 **053** 1
ngida- RED for *ngida* (4) **052** 1 4 17 **053** 1
ngilu pain (3) **030** 1 3 6
ngitsu skin (2) **059** 18 21
ngua- RED for *nguaq* (4) **001** 60 **023** 12 **061** 1 **072** 2
nguaq good (52) **001** 60 **002** 41 42 49 **003** 44 **004** 26 **007** 9 **009** 23 **011** 5 9 11 24 46 47 51 **012** 8 **022** 5 **023** 12 14 **027** 18 23 **029** 3 **030** 3 **031** 11 **033** 5 17 **053** 31 32 **054** 22 **061** 1 **066** 8 9 **072** 2 17 20 **077** 1 10 **078** 17 **079** 41 47 **080** 3 **083** 9 10 **086** 4 6 **089** 20 **091** 23 23 25 28 **092** 9 **096** 14
ngudju- RED for *ngudjuł* (1) **051** 4
ngudjuł stump [*ngu̱ḍuł* in F189] (1) **051** 4
nguḍ- RED for *nguḍay* (1) **059** 54
nguḍay chew [?] (1) **059** 54
ngułinguł fragrant (1) **004** 23
pa- cause (649) **001** 2 4 9 11 22 31 33 38 52 53 57 **002** 3 7 8 9 9 10 11 14 16 17 21 24 30 34 36 47 53 61 **003** 14 14 14 16 16 18 18 19 27 27 28 28 32 41 45 47 49 51 53 60 **004** 15 16 23 24 25 27 **005** 20 21 22 23 43 **006** 3 6 12 **007** 1 4 13 **008** 4 11 12 16 17 36 **009** 6 8 17 46 60 63 66 **010** 4 16 19 26 30 40 **011** 1 10 19 20 21 23 28 29 33 36 36 37 39 44 53 70 81 **012** 14 15 16 16 **013** 6 6 7 9 9 10 11 20 23 **014** 20 **016** 5 7 8 9 16 18 20 41 46 47 48 **017** 2 2 19 19 21 **018** 1 **019** 3 **020** 6 **021** 9 **022** 2 3 4 4 **023** 12 12 12 **025** 6 14 16 18 20 22 **026** 2 **027** 2 3 3 3 4 9 9 12 14 18 19 23 24 26 27 28 **029** 4 **031** 7 **032** 8 9 **034** 7 10 **035** 3 12 **036** 3 5 12 14 **037** 2 7 24 25 31 **038** 3 4 4 17 18 18 **039** 2 2 4 8 13 14 20 **040** 5 29 31 40 47 49 50 56 58 62 **041** 4 5 **042** 4 14 37 37 40 41 41 **043** 5 8 12 19 **044** 13 **045** 4 **047** 19 23 **049** 11 26 **050** 8 8 24 24 31 31 36 64 **051** 2 3 9 11 14 14 17 18 24 25 **052** 8 17 **053** 6 13 13 14 21 22 28 31 **054** 2 13 15 16 24 27 **055** 9 10 12 **056** 8 29 40 47 51 **057** 5 **058** 11 20 37 38 67 78 102 102 103 103 110 111 **059** 10 16 17 31 33 39 **061** 13 13 19 **062** 2 4 5 5 10 12 12 18 19 20 **066** 7 9 9 11 11 **067** 2 **068** 8 8 12 15 **069** 1 9 **070** 1 10 14 14 14 **071** 25 25 25 29 29 34 39 44 48 50 51 63 **072** 10 11 13 16 17 18 19 20 30 30 30 31 35 38 **073** 19 20 23 37 42 43 46 50 51 54 57 57 57 **074** 6 10 11 16 19 49 62 67 **075** 52 61 66 66 71 73 **076** 3 17 18 21 26 28 **077** 6 16 **078** 5 12 15 16 17 20 24 **079** 15 20 20 20 22 28 45 48 49 51 55 56 58 62 69 76 78 79 79 84 85 90 94 94 100 102 103 104 106 111 114 114 115 115 115 **080** 4 5 12 16 17 20 21 23 26 27 **081** 7 7 12 14 14 15 16 16 **082** 1 1 2 2 3 4 **083** 1 2 3 5 10 **084** 10 13 23 24 28 28 28 30 **085** 2 6 8 8 10 20 23 25 26 27 31 **086** 1 3 7 8 **087** 1 11 12 13 22 24 25 31 32 44 **088** 4 5 5 6 7 8 9 11 17 **089** 4 9 11 18 **090** 10 11 **091** 5 16 17 17 22 23 24 25 25 **092** 1 2 2 4 5 9 9 11 11 13 13 14 16 17 17 19 19 22 22 24 24 24 24 24 25 26 31 31 32 33 36 45 45 45 45 45 45 46 49 49 50 51 51 52 52 52 52 56 **093** 1 1 3 5 7 7 7 7 11 11 11 12 12 12 **094** 2 2 2 9 10 10 11 14 17 **095** 3 3 4 5 5 7 **096** 1 5 6 6 8 8 10 11 12 15 16 16 20 22 25 25 26 26 27 31 33 33 33 37 37 39 42 43 44 44 47 47 48 **097** 4 4 9 11 13 13 15 17 18 19 21 **098** 6 11 11 **099** 2 8 8 8 **100** 5 6 7 7 8 9 11 11 12 15 15 16 19 24 24 24
Padain (place) (6) **063** 1 3 4 **065** 9 10 **069** 8
paday rice (2) **077** 21 **085** 28
padjung store (1) **010** 27
paḍal hang (1) **025** 3

padang bully (2) **014** 7 **089** 24
Padingulay (place) (1) **045** 1
paetez cease (1) **016** 53
pai well (142) **009** 29 33 47 48 **037** 25 **042** 11 14 **043** 17 **049** 6 19 **056** 51 **059** 17 20 26 **060** 2 **061** 7 19 **071** 5 **072** 16 18 38 **073** 18 **074** 13 45 **075** 4 13 15 24 26 29 30 31 34 35 40 41 47 51 54 55 57 59 61 64 65 67 68 **076** 27 **079** 78 112 **080** 26 **081** 4 12 20 **084** 14 18 19 26 30 31 32 **089** 1 1 2 **090** 4 **091** 14 **092** 6 9 13 16 17 20 23 24 25 30 31 32 35 37 52 **093** 1 2 5 6 8 9 11 **094** 1 2 4 6 8 9 10 11 12 14 16 17 **095** 1 2 3 4 5 **096** 1 3 5 9 16 17 19 21 22 30 33 35 35 36 38 46 47 **097** 5 **098** 1 4 4 5 7 9 10 11 12 **099** 3 4 6 8 **100** 6 7 8 10 12 16
pai- RED for *paiz* (1) **020** 1
well (1) **040** 49
Paiquluvuy (place) (1) **039** 1
pairang plains [Min 'bad people'; F says it means 'Taiwanese Chinese people, ie. plain dwellers'] (8) **023** 12 **036** 7 **062** 5 7 7 11 13 **068** 1
paisu money [F 'borrowing from Spanish'] (5) **077** 5 **079** 26 **085** 7 **088** 9 **096** 17
pound (verb) (6) **008** 1 **016** 51 51 52 **064** 5 **072** 22
Paitudjan (name) (1) **052** 4
paiz fan (4) **020** 1 1 2 6
paka- able (2) **003** 9 12
via (2) **074** 9 **079** 81
Pakuvadavaday (place) (5) **050** 3 37 44 56 63
pala- RED for *palak* (1) **089** 6
palak sorcery (3) **038** 11 **054** 3 **089** 6
break (1) **024** 6
palał wing (2) **006** 14 **059** 38
Palasidang (place) (3) **068** 5 8 8
Paliłaliław (place) (1) **036** 2
palisi taboo (38) **046** 7 **047** 25 30 **053** 33 **062** 20 **074** 31 **085** 2 4 5 28 28 29 **087** 1 2 4 6 8 10 11 11 13 16 19 22 24 26 28 30 31 32 33 35 37 39 41 43 **092** 20 20
Pałaiłai (name) (1) **033** 1
pałi magic [= *pa-/pu-ałi*? F has *p-ałi* under *ałi* 'different'; refers to 'evil-eye man'] (10) **039** 1 6 13 **058** 111 **062** 1 8 11 11 12 15
pałi- RED for *pałi* (1) **058** 111
pałing doorway (3) **048** 9 **051** 8 **069** 6
Pałul (place) (1) **079** 25
pana river (19) **024** 1 4 7 8 **039** 4 16 **046** 1 **060** 7 9 10 **061** 13 14 **062** 19 **074** 21 23 **088** 17 18 **092** 51 52
pana- RED for *pana* (1) **061** 14
RED for *panaq* (1) **052** 16
panadip fish.with.hook (5) **046** 2 2 3 4 8
panang shout.war.cry (5) **005** 31 33 35 37 39
panaq arrow (8) **034** 11 12 14 15 16 18 **052** 16 **070** 10
panga- RED for *pangał* (1) **081** 5
pangał portion (2) **056** 50 **081** 5
pangats hornet (3) **010** 35 41 **069** 4
pangetjez come (107) **002** 5 25 38 55 66 **005** 43 **010** 10 12 29 **011** 6 8 12 18 27 28 30 **013** 35 **016** 15 31 38 **017** 2 5 22 23 **020** 3 **025** 3 **027** 16 21 25 **031** 9 13 **032** 12 13 **037** 1 **040** 4 28 37 55 **041** 11 **043** 16 **044** 15 20 **046** 7 11 **047** 9 20 **049** 9 21 22 **050** 7 12 14 19 23 37 44 50 51 56 **051** 11 16 18 **053** 13 **054** 18 21 **055** 4 **058** 34 41 93 **059** 42 **060** 5 9 **061** 11 16 25 **062** 10 16 **065** 4 8 **068** 8 **070** 7 8 10 **071** 10 33 **073** 8 15 16 44 **079** 20 21 23 53 89 **080** 25 **088** 14 **091** 17 **092** 2 **093** 12 **096** 12 14 **097** 11 15 16 **099** 4 7 **100** 12
Pangil (name) (1) **046** 10
pangtjez → *pangetjez*
papaw aside (1) **050** 32
paramur terrible (1) **055** 6
pare pair (2) **004** 20 **056** 23
pare- pair (10) **013** 25 35 **022** 3 **032** 9 **043** 19 **050** 67 **079** 66 **092** 52 **094** 2 **096** 44
pareka mutual (1) **001** 60
parepaukuz ? [something to do with *rukuz* 'depend'?] (1) **088** 10
pariuk wok (4) **047** 19 **053** 8 **066** 5 **087** 8
paru- RED for *parut* (1) **087** 20
parut weak (4) **081** 21 **087** 20 **092** 45 47
pasukangalu deceive [constituency unclear, note *angał* 'mouth'] (1) **069** 8
Pasusu (name) (1) **018** 1
patjada allot.food [= *pa-tjada*? but *tjada*

unknown] (2) **040** 14 15
patsay die (97) **003** 17 18 25 28 30 34 42 **009** 58 **011** 71 73 81 **013** 47 **015** 10 **021** 2 3 4 **023** 2 **027** 12 **036** 8 **038** 11 **039** 2 5 13 18 21 **040** 1 27 35 53 **042** 27 **044** 11 17 18 **046** 6 11 **047** 8 11 19 22 32 **048** 5 7 10 **050** 2 **051** 9 **052** 7 17 **056** 42 45 46 **058** 101 104 **060** 5 **061** 6 8 9 26 **062** 2 13 14 15 18 19 **065** 5 6 8 **069** 9 **070** 10 **074** 60 63 68 **076** 22 26 **077** 10 14 18 19 22 23 **079** 8 44 67 69 **081** 7 **083** 6 **087** 15 16 25 27 29 40 **089** 8 9 14 **096** 8 43 **097** 17
patsek pierce (7) **075** 5 8 9 10 11 12 12
patumu hand.over? (1) **059** 19
patut drill (1) **023** 7
paukez betroth [= *pa-ukez*? but *ukez* unknown] (1) **073** 15
pautez utmost (2) **034** 30 **058** 103
Payuan Paiwan (6) **052** 1 **054** 1 **055** 18 **057** 8 **061** 31 **079** 25
Payuang Paiwan (1) **100** 8
pe- emerge (14) **027** 9 10 **034** 22 **038** 4 **044** 13 **045** 4 **055** 11 14 **059** 37 **072** 42 **079** 69 **081** 20 **086** 3 **092** 13
pedi tear (1) **006** 14
Peɬeti (place) (2) **061** 32 **062** 1
peɬuq full (4) **011** 55 **066** 5 6 **091** 9
penetj allot (1) **090** 12
peni- RED for *peniḍ* (1) **003** 19
peniḍ twist (1) **003** 19
petju- RED for *petjuq* (1) **001** 51
petjuq extract (1) **001** 51
petsungu make.fire (5) **002** 78 **023** 9 **049** 6 7 **087** 35
pi put (7) **011** 16 **025** 3 **038** 13 **039** 19 **063** 4 5 **065** 9
pi- put (24) **003** 19 **010** 27 **011** 66 **020** 3 **030** 3 5 **041** 13 **050** 3 **051** 10 **053** 13 24 **054** 26 26 **058** 111 **061** 2 13 **069** 9 **072** 8 **088** 4 5 6 7 9 **096** 38
pida how.many (1) **098** 11
pili- RED for *piliq* (1) **009** 7
piliq choose (1) **009** 7
piɬay crippled (5) **023** 11 12 13 15 **035** 5
Pinaqaquɬatan (place) (1) **034** 7
pinatseqisan glare? (1) **039** 19
pinatuk boil (1) **003** 16
Pinavavuqatsang (place) (1) **019** 1
pindjek ? (1) **076** 32
pingtjus startled (2) **001** 55 **050** 29
piq tired (7) **016** 10 36 **059** 3 5 7 14 23
piqa- RED for *piqay* (1) **051** 23
piqay wound (6) **051** 19 20 21 23 **085** 14 **096** 15
Piri (name) (1) **070** 4
pitju seven (3) **016** 31 **054** 7 **079** 83
pitsipits hold (1) **008** 16
pitsu- RED for *pitsul* (5) **099** 7 **100** 11 15 20 21
pitsul strong (14) **038** 20 **079** 78 **093** 6 7 11 **095** 6 **096** 47 **099** 7 **100** 4 11 14 15 20 21
Piyaqan (name) (10) **084** 1 2 6 13 16 22 23 25 28 31
pu have (2) **013** 42 **053** 7
pu- have (218) **001** 6 **002** 16 21 23 40 **003** 31 44 44 44 50 **004** 4 **005** 24 25 **007** 21 21 **008** 17 22 22 23 23 26 27 39 **009** 60 **011** 60 77 80 82 **013** 2 25 35 **016** 11 24 29 **017** 1 10 12 14 19 **021** 2 3 **022** 4 **023** 1 10 11 14 **024** 5 8 **026** 2 2 **031** 14 **032** 10 **034** 22 **035** 2 4 13 14 **036** 15 15 **037** 5 5 9 10 14 **038** 20 **040** 50 **041** 1 **043** 11 12 19 **044** 10 **047** 1 18 24 32 **049** 8 11 24 25 **050** 8 24 49 52 53 57 62 64 67 **051** 14 14 17 18 18 19 20 **052** 3 **053** 7 29 30 31 32 33 **054** 15 28 29 **056** 9 35 37 **058** 1 1 2 2 6 7 9 10 11 20 31 45 48 58 60 61 71 72 74 75 89 95 98 109 110 **059** 37 38 38 **060** 3 **061** 1 3 4 21 27 **063** 4 5 **071** 50 52 55 57 **072** 6 43 **073** 2 2 3 3 5 57 59 **077** 2 4 5 7 9 9 11 **078** 1 6 6 8 8 10 10 10 11 15 16 19 22 24 24 **079** 3 4 7 21 87 94 94 110 **085** 8 8 **086** 1 **087** 3 9 38 41 44 **088** 18 **090** 4 **091** 7 10 24 **092** 6 54 **093** 5 7 7 11 **095** 6 **096** 15 **099** 7 **100** 4 11 11 14 15 15 18 20 21
puarut straight? (2) **081** 13 **087** 30
puḍu swell (1) **007** 17
puḍu- RED for *puḍung* (1) **054** 11
puḍung twist.grass (3) **054** 2 5 11
puk bean.sp (6) **051** 5 9 **078** 16 20 22 **090** 6

pulaw drunk (8) **011** 38 57 65 **032** 11 14 **072** 18 21 **089** 4
Pulelelelengan (name) (9) **091** 1 14 15 17 18 19 25 27 29
pulu trunk (5) **002** 9 **003** 7 21 **009** 15 **052** 14
puluq ten (15) **005** 44 **052** 5 6 **058** 7 10 72 75 101 **073** 39 **079** 4 5 86 88 **091** 17 **094** 6
puła- RED for *pułat* (1) **003** 53
Pułałułałuyan (name) (42) **040** 4 6 **043** 1 4 6 7 15 16 **044** 1 3 4 6 9 10 11 12 16 **047** 1 **050** 26 43 51 54 62 **058** 1 2 3 31 33 36 40 51 54 59 96 100 101 104 106 108 118 **061** 1 12
Pułałuyałuyan (name) (36) **001** 1 4 6 8 13 14 20 27 32 35 40 42 45 47 50 57 **005** 1 3 5 6 7 9 31 34 45 **013** 1 4 22 25 28 31 35 36 39 45 47
pułat all (64) **001** 53 60 **003** 25 53 63 **010** 36 **015** 10 **021** 3 **023** 2 **025** 23 **027** 10 **033** 7 18 **034** 8 **036** 3 6 **040** 3 **050** 7 **051** 9 **054** 14 23 **056** 20 **060** 5 11 **062** 2 18 **070** 11 **071** 44 45 **072** 39 44 **074** 11 42 60 **077** 12 **081** 15 17 21 **083** 1 3 **085** 30 **088** 8 **091** 25 **092** 24 25 52 **093** 1 4 **094** 2 2 9 17 **096** 22 23 23 24 24 24 28 36 47 47 **098** 9 **100** 7
pułu deficit (6) **058** 111 **062** 14 **071** 1 **077** 25 **091** 2 3
pumuqan ulcer (3) **030** 1 3 6
pungayan cliff (1) **001** 9
pungki basket [? Min] (2) **003** 36 37
Pungudan (place) (4) **007** 1 2 4 8
putjavi → *putjaw*
putjaw axe (3) **001** 4 4 **038** 15
Putjazaran (place) (1) **038** 3
qa ah (2) **089** 9 **091** 21
qa- RED for *qivu* (24) **001** 7 33 **004** 20 **008** 28 30 31 32 **010** 26 **025** 15 **040** 42 49 **044** 4 **054** 12 **058** 40 **061** 11 **079** 70 97 102 111 **082** 4 **085** 14 19 **087** 10 **092** 52
? (51) **002** 9 34 42 43 47 49 50 **003** 7 21 60 **008** 39 **009** 15 **020** 3 **034** 10 **036** 3 4 **038** 13 13 19 **044** 16 **048** 10 **052** 2 5 8 14 **054** 2 5 11 17 **058** 13 19 19 79 87 88 **062** 17 **063** 2 3 **073** 42 **080** 2 **085** 26 **088** 1 3 17 **095** 5 **096** 3 19 35 36 43 **100** 14
qadaw sun (31) **004** 21 **005** 5 44 **008** 2 3 6 **013** 21 **016** 31 **038** 7 **041** 2 **054** 7 9 10 10 17 28 **057** 4 **058** 84 109 110 **063** 2 5 **064** 1 6 **070** 7 **072** 2 **087** 28 **088** 15 15 **091** 17 **095** 3
qadid bitter (1) **045** 3
qadił force (1) **079** 20
qadjaw perhaps (12) **022** 2 **027** 22 26 **050** 38 **058** 115 **059** 43 **071** 13 **075** 50 **090** 8 **092** 27 34 40
qadjay tie (5) **003** 56 **022** 1 2 2 **071** 25
qaḍis hawk (9) **024** 2 5 10 11 **044** 3 4 6 8 12
qaḍiw rival (1) **034** 19
qai oh (17) **053** 11 **074** 6 **089** 12 **091** 3 3 4 7 7 10 14 23 25 **098** 1 9 13 **099** 1 **100** 1
Qalamudis (name) (7) **032** 1 7 10 11 12 16 16
qalats shout (1) **073** 36
qalev oil (2) **055** 12 13
qali friend (149) **003** 50 64 **005** 13 14 34 36 38 43 44 **009** 20 66 **010** 18 18 19 20 21 26 28 29 31 33 35 36 **013** 7 14 17 18 19 **014** 1 3 6 12 13 14 15 19 20 **031** 7 9 12 14 **032** 9 16 16 **036** 7 **039** 13 **040** 59 **042** 8 9 11 14 16 19 21 26 28 30 32 35 36 **056** 1 2 **057** 3 6 **058** 11 **059** 35 56 **071** 10 35 50 50 52 53 55 57 **072** 22 **073** 32 34 40 **074** 6 21 24 26 30 34 35 39 41 43 52 **075** 1 2 4 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 22 24 26 27 29 43 44 45 47 49 51 54 59 61 65 66 **076** 1 2 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 18 23 24 26 29 36 37 **084** 1 2 4 5 14 15 16 22 24 27 28 33 **089** 19 22 23 25 **096** 22
qali- RED for *qali* (53) **003** 50 64 **005** 13 14 34 36 38 43 44 **010** 18 18 19 20 21 26 28 29 31 33 35 36 **013** 7 14 17 18 19 **032** 16 **039** 13 **040** 59 **057** 3 6 **071** 10 35 50 50 52 53 55 57 **072** 22 **073** 32 40 **074** 21 24 26 34 35 39 41 52 **076** 3 29 **084** 33
qaliḍuḍu taro.sp (1) **049** 14
qalitsi penis [F has it as *qa-litsi*] (32) **009** 59 61 63 64 65 66 67 68 **014** 8 9 10 **042** 38 41 42 43 **050** 1 3 4 6 8 10 12 13 14 18 25 31 48 **056** 46 47 48 52
Qalu (place) (7) **007** 1 2 14 16 **065** 2 4 7
qalu carry (4) **019** 3 **061** 16 **069** 9 **077** 19

sorghum (2) **023** 12 **036** 14

qalu- RED for *qalu* (3) **023** 12 **036** 14 **077** 19

qała outsider (88) **001** 7 12 16 **005** 4 17 **010** 21 **011** 5 **026** 4 **035** 15 **036** 3 **037** 18 19 26 **038** 1 **039** 13 15 **040** 3 54 61 62 63 **043** 2 13 18 **044** 2 7 8 9 11 **046** 8 **050** 36 **051** 7 9 **052** 9 11 13 17 **054** 15 21 28 **055** 5 **058** 21 90 113 **061** 11 14 **062** 3 4 5 **063** 1 **065** 8 **069** 1 5 7 8 **070** 14 **072** 16 19 **074** 10 49 60 **076** 26 27 34 **077** 24 **078** 7 12 13 14 **079** 25 78 104 111 **080** 25 **086** 2 2 2 **087** 27 30 **088** 17 17 **091** 14 16 20 25 **092** 7 7

qała- RED for *qała* (11) **050** 36 **054** 28 **072** 16 19 **074** 10 49 60 **076** 26 27 34 **078** 12

RED for *qałay* (1) **087** 5

qałay portend (1) **087** 5

qałidjelaw undercooked [F210 has *qałiḍelaw*] (1) **051** 5

qałiw roof (8) **001** 21 31 32 **008** 1 **013** 16 21 34 **081** 14

qału- RED for *qałup* (6) **035** 7 **058** 78 **075** 44 **088** 18 **092** 51 52

qałudj lose (2) **060** 11 **061** 13

qałup hunt (32) **001** 7 **002** 1 **009** 23 **010** 17 **015** 1 **032** 1 **035** 7 **036** 3 **037** 6 **038** 2 7 **043** 2 2 **054** 17 18 **057** 6 **058** 11 12 77 78 **061** 22 25 **072** 7 **073** 14 41 **074** 26 28 32 **075** 44 **088** 18 **092** 51 52

qałutsuv storage.box (1) **059** 54

qam ant.eater (68) **009** 1 2 4 7 9 11 15 17 19 25 26 27 28 30 31 32 34 37 39 42 45 47 49 50 53 57 63 64 **075** 1 2 6 9 11 12 14 16 20 23 25 27 30 34 35 36 40 41 44 46 48 49 53 55 57 58 60 61 63 64 66 69 71 **083** 1 1 2 3 3 4 9

qaming amen (3) **095** 8 **096** 45 49

qanivung phoenix.bush (2) **003** 7 21

qangsel stink (1) **004** 29

qapaz fence (3) **006** 13 **010** 2 **014** 6

qapiz braid (1) **027** 6

qaqa crow (5) **071** 50 52 55 57 58

qaqił tuber (3) **075** 2 4 13

Qaquangan (name) (3) **021** 1 **029** 7 **033** 1

qarizang bean.sp (4) **078** 17 20 22 **090** 1

qaru- RED for *qarut* (1) **079** 58

qaruqaruman ant.eater [constituency? F370 has *qam, qalem* 'anteater'] (19) **056** 1 2 5 6 8 11 14 15 27 28 31 38 39 41 42 47 48 50 51

qarut distribute (2) **079** 58 94

qasa- RED for *qasaw* (1) **087** 3

qasaw watery (1) **087** 3

qaselu pestle (3) **008** 4 **064** 6 **071** 38

qata bead (4) **050** 66 **061** 30 **073** 57 **088** 18

qati create (17) **010** 37 40 **023** 8 13 15 **029** 2 5 **030** 2 **092** 54 **093** 2 11 **095** 1 2 **096** 30 39 39 **097** 4

qatjułał worm (4) **004** 6 **068** 11 13 15

qatjulay worm (2) **053** 6 21

qatjuvi snake (46) **001** 11 14 **002** 4 5 8 12 20 23 25 26 28 30 32 36 37 41 44 48 49 51 54 55 59 60 66 **004** 6 **011** 66 67 68 70 81 **018** 6 7 **025** 1 14 20 22 **032** 6 16 **041** 2 9 11 13 **077** 12 **087** 30 31

qatsa big (23) **002** 74 **005** 10 **015** 4 **016** 32 **017** 22 **027** 4 5 **031** 5 **036** 3 4 **040** 15 **043** 3 **045** 4 4 **053** 1 20 27 **066** 9 11 **068** 3 4 **081** 7 **088** 16

qatsa- RED for *qatsa* (5) **036** 3 4 **040** 15 **043** 3 **087** 38

qatsang pig (13) **062** 2 **068** 13 **071** 41 45 48 60 **075** 51 54 **077** 12 14 **085** 9 **087** 37 38

qatsap head.hunt (6) **007** 2 **019** 2 **051** 2 **052** 2 **054** 19 **074** 35

qatsiłai → *qatsiłay*

qatsiłay stone (14) **004** 6 17 **008** 39 **015** 3 4 5 9 11 **016** 12 37 **020** 1 **038** 17 **069** 6 **085** 13

qau bamboo.sp (4) **080** 4 8 9 22

so (527) **001** 3 4 8 12 14 15 16 17 19 20 22 27 28 31 34 36 38 39 45 52 53 55 57 **002** 5 9 17 19 21 25 27 28 31 36 41 43 45 47 50 54 59 60 65 69 70 72 74 **003** 4 5 6 10 11 14 15 16 18 19 19 20 22 27 32 35 36 37 38 40 43 44 45 46 49 52 54 61 63 **004** 4 5 7 9 10 12 16 18 19 24 25 28 30 **005** 3 4 7 8 10 15 17 19 20 21 22 23 28 29 30 32 36 39 41 43 44 45 **006** 3 4 6 7 12 13 14 15 16 22 24 25 26 27 28 29 **007** 6 7 10 12 13 16 20 21 **008** 3 6 8 10 11 13 18 20 20 21 22

26 28 29 30 34 37 39 **009** 3 6 7 9 10 11 13 14 15 16 18 20 21 22 23 26 27 32 33 35 36 40 43 44 46 47 49 52 57 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 68 **010** 2 3 4 6 7 9 13 18 19 24 25 26 27 28 29 32 36 37 38 39 40 41 **011** 2 3 6 13 14 15 17 21 23 24 25 26 27 29 30 31 32 33 37 38 39 42 45 47 49 52 57 58 59 64 67 68 69 70 71 73 74 83 84 85 **012** 3 4 6 6 9 16 18 19 20 **013** 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 11 13 14 14 18 22 24 30 32 33 34 37 39 **43** 44 47 **014** 5 6 7 9 11 12 13 17 19 20 **015** 3 7 9 11 **016** 3 5 7 13 14 18 19 20 24 27 29 33 34 35 36 37 41 47 51 53 **017** 3 7 14 19 19 20 21 22 23 **018** 10 16 17 18 19 **021** 2 8 **022** 2 3 **023** 2 4 5 7 8 9 10 **024** 3 7 **025** 4 10 21 **027** 3 8 10 21 30 **028** 2 3 **029** 5 **030** 5 **031** 2 3 4 5 6 8 12 14 **032** 4 5 8 10 11 13 **033** 4 7 10 11 12 14 18 **034** 2 3 7 10 11 16 28 30 **050** 67 **052** 2 10 11 13 15 **053** 5 7 8 9 14 17 21 25 26 33 **054** 3 6 8 13 19 20 21 22 25 27 29 **055** 2 3 4 6 8 9 12 13 13 15 17 18 **056** 3 4 7 8 10 12 13 15 16 19 20 23 25 28 30 31 32 33 34 37 39 40 41 42 44 48 51 52 **058** 31 58 **061** 19 **067** 7 **070** 4 12 13 **071** 27 30 51 54 61 **072** 7 **073** 22 52 **074** 2 4 10 25 34 46 66 67 **078** 7 20 **079** 9 10 16 20 38 46 72 78 82 83 89 90 **080** 3 8 15 26 **081** 2 **082** 6 **083** 7 **084** 8 **085** 5 24 **086** 8 **087** 4 **088** 7 **089** 5 25 **090** 6 11 **091** 16 **092** 5 12 14 24 48 49 **094** 4 16 17 **095** 4 **096** 8 9 17 19 21 **099** 4 **100** 8 15 17

qau- RED for *qaung* (21) **003** 44 50 **012** 6 **016** 10 23 55 **044** 21 **053** 5 **055** 7 **058** 51 **071** 62 **082** 4 **087** 42 **092** 13 **096** 25 **098** 4 10 **100** 14 19 21 24

qauban envy (1) **079** 64

qaułivan scale (4) **083** 6 7 7 7

qaung cry (51) **002** 19 **003** 31 32 35 44 44 47 48 49 50 50 **006** 5 7 9 **012** 6 **016** 4 10 19 23 36 55 **037** 32 **040** 23 54 **044** 21 22 **053** 5 **055** 6 7 9 **058** 51 96 **071** 62 **074** 68 **076** 15 **082** 4 4 **087** 42 **092** 13 14 **095** 7 **096** 25 48 **098** 4 10 **100** 11 14 19 20 21 24

qavay dumpling (9) **017** 19 19 19 **036** 12 **039** 14 **054** 9 13 **071** 43 **077** 20

qavu ash (1) **086** 5

Qavulung (name) (6) **033** 1 **034** 2 10 18 27 29

qavuvung heart (2) **042** 29 **071** 49

qaw- RED for *qawqaw* (2) **001** 15 **054** 25

qawqaw shout (8) **001** 15 **009** 27 29 33 36 **010** 7 **016** 26 **054** 25

qaya- RED for *qayam* (8) **006** 21 28 **059** 36 49 **082** 7 **087** 26 32 **091** 10

qayam bird (7) **006** 21 28 **059** 36 49 **082** 7 **087** 26 32

inspect (19) **018** 5 **021** 6 **022** 5 **039** 4 17 **041** 7 9 10 11 15 **042** 9 10 **045** 2 **056** 52 **088** 4 17 **091** 10 **092** 9 36

qayaw front (9) **054** 8 11 **091** 21 **095** 4 **096** 26 37 42 46 **100** 22

qazał dread (3) **046** 6 **085** 12 **090** 12

qazaw lie.down (2) **033** 15 16

qe- ? (5) **018** 17 17 **075** 41 42 73

qedi boundary (11) **063** 1 **079** 65 **096** 2 4 19 20 21 22 23 24 28

qedi- RED for *qedi* (10) **079** 65 **096** 2 4 19 20 21 22 23 24 28

qeḍu erect (1) **008** 39

qelam reluctant (2) **084** 31 32

qelas slip (1) **081** 19

qelutseqets tree.sp? (1) **059** 16

qeluz main.post (3) **001** 44 45 51

qełetep silence (1) **076** 24

qełev block (5) **012** 9 9 10 12 **072** 23

qełi- RED for *qełing* (4) **096** 31 35 43 44

qełing save (11) **093** 7 **094** 2 10 **096** 20 25 26 31 35 42 43 44

Qełung (name) (2) **046** 10 11

qem- RED for *qemqem* (1) **045** 4

qemqem sweet (1) **045** 4

qene- RED for *qenetj* (5) **010** 18 **011** 70 **097** 9 13 **100** 9

qenetj see (35) **001** 17 31 **002** 55 **003** 25 29 **005** 43 **008** 37 **009** 11 57 **010** 18 19 20 **011** 70 **013** 3 20 **016** 15 21 22 **018** 9 **027** 14 15 16 19 24 25 28 **032** 16 16 **039** 5 **054** 15 **097** 9 13 **099** 8 **100** 9 16

qengal howl (1) **033** 4

qepu associate (23) **003** 46 **005** 21 **009** 9 11

013 7 **028** 2 **038** 3 3 19 **040** 59 **052** 8 **054** 21 23 **070** 13 **078** 4 **079** 72 **081** 4 **091** 23 25 **092** 38 **095** 4 5 6
qepu- RED for *qepu* (4) **070** 13 **081** 4 **091** 23 **092** 38
qeqe crow (1) **084** 24
qereng lie.down (22) **001** 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 **003** 28 **011** 17 **015** 9 11 **016** 18 23 **020** 3 **051** 19 **072** 21 **073** 42 **084** 19 **096** 8 9 12 15
qesa- RED for *qesang* (1) **077** 21
qesang cold (1) **077** 21
qeteleng randomly (10) **003** 32 41 49 51 **010** 40 **043** 12 **079** 102 111 **083** 2 **089** 4
qetit commoner (2) **088** 1 3
qetjetj → *qetjutj*
qetju= RED for *saqetju* (3) **077** 20 28 **087** 17
qetjutj break.wind (8) **004** 22 25 26 28 **051** 9 **084** 23 28 30
qetsap grip (1) **061** 24
qetseng barrier (1) **087** 30
qetsev counterpart (1) **061** 29
qetsi fight (50) **002** 41 62 65 69 **005** 7 12 15 **007** 8 **011** 63 64 64 69 75 85 **019** 2 **026** 3 **034** 10 **051** 14 17 18 **052** 2 5 **054** 20 24 24 25 26 **055** 18 **062** 7 11 **063** 2 3 4 **074** 40 41 45 47 49 67 **079** 61 **080** 3 7 19 **081** 3 4 10 13 **087** 19 39 **096** 36
qetsi- RED for *qetsi* (3) **055** 18 **080** 19 **096** 36
qevet embrace (1) **013** 24
qevu- RED for *qevutj* (1) **077** 15
qevutj extinguish (3) **042** 24 **053** 19 **077** 15
qezemetj night (13) **017** 22 **040** 40 **041** 2 **048** 5 7 **063** 3 4 **064** 7 **077** 17 17 **082** 1 2 **092** 55
qezetj press (1) **032** 10
qezung window (1) **048** 9
qiaw → *qiyaw*
qidu- RED for *qidung* (1) **087** 9
qidung charcoal (2) **085** 13 **087** 9
qiladj sit (12) **002** 75 76 **008** 13 16 **010** 3 **013** 21 44 **014** 6 **033** 1 **050** 32 **073** 53 **079** 103
qiła hide (12) **007** 4 **011** 24 26 39 46 47 48 51 **062** 9 **073** 9 18 31
qiłas moon (4) **008** 7 **054** 3 4 **079** 87
qiłi forbidden (1) **041** 7
qiłqił dazzle (3) **013** 17 18 19
qiłu trail [F has *qełu*] (1) **057** 6
qima- RED for *qimang* (1) **077** 2
qimang luck (1) **077** 2
qipu soil (10) **004** 14 16 **033** 15 **053** 21 **056** 29 **068** 13 14 **078** 4 **083** 1 **091** 9
qipu- RED for *qipu* (1) **091** 9
qiqi mouse (5) **081** 2 3 8 20 21
qirqir fry (1) **086** 5
qitj- RED for *qitjqitj* (2) **001** 46 49
qitjqitj grind.teeth (2) **001** 46 49
qivu speak (33) **001** 7 33 **004** 20 **008** 28 30 31 32 **010** 26 **025** 15 **040** 42 49 **044** 4 **054** 12 **058** 40 **061** 10 11 **072** 19 **073** 4 **079** 70 97 102 111 **082** 4 **084** 14 16 **085** 14 19 **087** 10 **092** 5 19 20 38 52
qiyaw assist (4) **039** 20 **044** 15 16 **051** 11
qizing usurp? (2) **020** 1 **036** 1
qu well (2) **090** 10 **091** 23
quang exterminate (2) **070** 2 5
quay rattan (1) **022** 1
qudja- RED for *qudjał* (1) **079** 99
qudjał rain (6) **015** 2 4 **079** 92 99 100 105
quḍa- RED for *quḍas* (2) **006** 26 28
quḍas white.hair (2) **006** 26 28
quleng covering (1) **039** 18
quli- RED for *qulid* (5) **058** 67 **079** 56 **092** 16 17 45
qulid real (8) **012** 16 **013** 10 **058** 67 **079** 56 68 **092** 16 17 45
qulip waste (1) **092** 55
qulu head (18) **005** 8 20 **011** 16 43 44 44 48 53 **019** 4 **029** 4 **048** 3 **054** 20 26 **062** 15 **075** 33 **081** 5 **100** 10 15
qulu- RED for *qulu* (3) **011** 16 43 **100** 15
quł- RED for *qułits* (1) **078** 4 ? (2) **005** 40 42
qułis turn (4) **005** 16 **048** 10 **087** 18 21
qułits clear.cut.bush (3) **078** 2 4 9
qułivanglaw rainbow (1) **087** 28
qułquł hoof (1) **037** 5
qułuts tussle (1) **003** 60
quma field (10) **040** 12 **044** 5 11 **053** 22 **066** 2 **069** 1 2 **071** 31 **090** 1 4
qumaq indoors (8) **001** 33 **011** 24 46 47 71 **012** 11 14 **040** 49
qunevuł give.gift (3) **088** 12 14 15

qunu child (16) **062** 17 **071** 14 22 24 33 39 46 49 **072** 29 **076** 19 19 **089** 13 **091** 3 10 14 16
qunvuł dusty (1) **002** 36
qungtsuy pipe [Min] (2) **072** 8 9
qurepung disarray (2) **009** 45 46
qusaw missing (1) **091** 12
thirst (4) **058** 26 28 65 67
qusul dig.roots (4) **078** 1 2 5 10
qutjaw hurry (1) **081** 19
qutjela busy (1) **100** 5
Qutsapungan (place) (1) **079** 25
qutsivauvaw firefly (2) **059** 33 34
Qutsułi (place) (1) **049** 16
quvał hair (6) **016** 47 **017** 19 **036** 12 **037** 5 **043** 7 **088** 6
Quzang shrimp [as proper name] (4) **060** 1 3 5 8
quzang shrimp (4) **060** 5 6 7 10
quzip animal (4) **068** 12 15 **079** 15 20
keep.animal (4) **077** 14 **087** 39 **090** 9 **091** 10
ra- RED for *rukuz* (1) **088** 10
ragrag dry.taro (1) **086** 6
raka- RED for *rakats* (1) **077** 10
rakats brave (1) **077** 10
drag (1) **010** 24
rake- RED for *raketj* (1) **088** 4
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ramata wash (2) **027** 3 **050** 8
ramułu sad (1) **097** 3
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rangez rely (3) **079** 114 115 **093** 7
Rapar (name) (3) **089** 1 5 12
rasu- RED for *rasudj* (1) **092** 52
rasudj align (6) **032** 8 **081** 5 **092** 2 3 4 52
raung trap (4) **007** 4 **031** 11 12 **044** 7
rava prepare (14) **005** 3 29 **007** 2 **018** 13 **032** 10 **033** 7 **058** 85 **059** 28 **088** 4 5 6 7 9 **091** 29
rava- RED for *ravats* (1) **091** 29
ravats true (116) **002** 31 33 39 68 **003** 11 26 28 31 55 **004** 23 29 **005** 2 18 **006** 5 9 16 **008** 2 2 3 36 **010** 1 **011** 38 57 **012** 6 **013** 17 19 33 45 **016** 8 32 **017** 7 13 17 **036** 9 **038** 21 **056** 4 **061** 1 18 **062** 6 **070** 10 **072** 2 **077** 1 9 10 **079** 18 29 31 32 34 41 47 54 76 77 **080** 2 **081** 2 6 **083** 1 1 5 9 **085** 9 **086** 3 4 9 **087** 19 26 **090** 7 9 **091** 2 23 28 28 29 **092** 13 14 14 16 24 33 33 37 39 43 47 **093** 1 5 8 10 **094** 3 5 7 8 9 11 12 15 16 **095** 3 **096** 14 23 31 46 **097** 3 16 **098** 5 7 8 **099** 2 5 **100** 2 3 10 11 11 11
razek plentiful (2) **035** 15 **040** 63
reku- RED for *rekutj* (2) **082** 5 7
rekutj fear (24) **002** 36 **005** 12 12 **008** 10 15 **010** 7 8 **011** 42 56 71 80 82 **014** 19 **017** 3 **025** 21 **039** 13 **046** 9 **058** 37 **062** 3 **076** 10 24 **082** 5 6 7
reqereq determined? (1) **012** 11
ridiw in.order (1) **039** 2
Riłurił uan (place) (1) **034** 23
rimasudj tidy (1) **073** 42
rimu quick (11) **047** 30 **048** 6 **079** 75 76 101 **080** 1 **083** 6 **084** 23 **093** 1 **096** 8 **100** 15
rital eagle (4) **024** 2 5 10 11
ritsing branch (1) **023** 3
rivu quarrel [but basic meaning is of pig, to dig in ground with snout] (10) **001** 1 12 **003** 49 51 **012** 4 **020** 4 **034** 5 **060** 2 **079** 42 52
rivu- RED for *rivu* (3) **012** 4 **079** 42 52
ru will (2) **074** 47 49
ru- many (9) **049** 25 **083** 3 3 **084** 32 **089** 1 **091** 23 28 **092** 17 **096** 47
rugus twig (1) **023** 7
rukuz depend (2) **016** 11 **088** 10
Rungiłingan (name) (2) **049** 1 18
ruqu roll (2) **032** 15 **085** 20
ruqu- RED for *ruqu* (1) **032** 15
ruram come (1) **096** 33
Rusivavan (place) (1) **049** 23
sa and (722) **001** 4 22 27 31 38 52 **002** 14 17 47 55 59 **003** 3 6 8 11 14 14 15 16 19 19 19 35 37 40 44 44 60 **004** 4 5 16 21 22 22 25 26 26 28 28 **005** 3 8 17 21 21 22 29 40 43 45 **006** 4 14 26 **007** 2 10 12 13 14 19 **008** 12 12 16 17 17 20 20 39 **009** 5 6 7 11 21 42 43 57 60 66 **010** 3 3 4 6 9 19 26 27 35 **011** 6 14 14 17 18 25 29 37 64 66 67 81 83 **012** 4 9 9

18 20 **013** 6 7 14 14 20 24 37 39 41 **014** 7 9 15 20 **016** 5 13 17 18 22 28 37 38 38 47 **017** 3 8 15 19 19 21 **018** 2 3 5 9 9 13 13 13 16 21 **019** 2 3 **020** 3 4 7 **021** 2 4 8 9 10 **022** 2 3 4 5 **023** 1 3 7 10 12 13 14 **024** 2 10 11 **025** 3 7 9 12 15 23 **026** 2 2 2 3 **027** 3 3 3 6 9 9 13 **028** 2 2 **029** 1 1 2 4 7 **030** 1 2 3 5 7 **031** 2 4 8 8 15 **032** 2 9 10 14 16 **033** 7 15 19 20 **034** 6 27 31 **035** 2 3 4 4 5 7 8 10 12 13 13 14 15 **036** 3 3 3 6 8 8 10 12 12 13 13 14 14 15 15 **037** 2 3 5 5 5 6 8 9 9 10 10 16 17 19 19 25 26 **038** 2 11 12 13 14 16 17 18 18 19 19 20 21 **039** 7 9 10 13 14 15 15 19 20 **040** 2 2 3 5 12 14 15 16 17 18 31 32 35 36 38 39 48 49 49 49 50 51 52 58 58 60 63 **041** 2 2 5 10 10 13 17 **042** 2 6 7 7 10 15 19 24 28 28 29 29 29 33 33 34 36 37 38 42 42 45 **043** 1 2 7 8 10 18 19 19 20 **044** 11 **045** 4 **046** 3 4 4 5 6 9 12 **047** 4 5 8 9 15 17 18 19 19 20 22 23 24 25 25 32 32 33 **048** 2 8 **049** 3 7 8 9 9 11 19 20 23 24 25 26 26 27 28 **050** 3 3 4 5 5 6 6 6 9 12 12 12 19 20 22 23 23 24 25 26 31 31 31 35 37 44 55 66 66 67 68 68 **051** 5 9 14 15 17 18 18 18 19 19 19 22 25 25 25 26 26 **052** 16 **054** 25 **055** 7 **056** 29 46 **057** 7 **058** 19 21 31 51 54 62 66 66 69 70 77 93 99 100 108 108 109 110 111 119 **059** 19 21 39 44 52 **060** 4 5 5 7 7 8 9 10 11 **061** 1 2 3 5 6 7 7 9 10 11 11 12 13 13 13 14 15 16 16 16 19 22 23 24 25 26 26 27 27 **062** 3 4 4 5 6 7 7 8 11 11 13 15 15 15 15 16 16 19 19 20 **064** 1 6 **065** 3 5 **066** 11 **068** 15 **069** 9 **070** 1 2 3 10 10 **071** 25 45 48 58 62 **072** 10 13 20 20 29 30 31 43 43 44 **073** 16 16 19 20 33 36 37 37 43 57 57 57 57 58 59 **074** 4 68 **075** 41 60 73 **076** 38 **078** 1 1 4 4 4 6 6 9 22 **079** 22 22 28 39 67 69 72 75 78 82 **080** 1 4 20 22 22 27 27 27 **081** 4 4 5 6 10 13 16 20 **082** 6 **083** 1 5 6 6 7 10 **085** 4 4 8 19 25 25 26 **086** 5 5 5 5 9 **087** 30 31 32 **088** 10 11 15 **089** 1 23 **090** 10 **091** 11 13 17 17 18 23 23 24 26 27 29 29 29 29 **092** 2 2 12 13 13 19 24 30 34 40 47 48 52 52 52 52 52 56 **093** 1 1 7 11 **094** 2 2 2 10 10 11 11 **095** 3 5 7 **096** 8 8 8 8 8 13 15 15 15 15 15 16 16 24 31 33 35 36 39 **097** 5 6 11 12 13 14 16 **099** 2 2 2 6 6 8 8 9 **100** 11 11 15 20 21 23

go (339) **001** 5 19 31 33 45 57 **002** 9 17 28 37 49 50 57 60 **003** 37 **004** 22 **005** 17 **006** 6 13 23 **007** 2 12 **008** 11 11 17 29 **009** 4 13 18 26 44 45 57 **010** 2 **011** 5 21 29 46 47 49 51 68 76 **012** 2 4 11 14 **013** 9 14 34 37 45 **014** 10 **015** 3 **016** 5 17 37 38 42 54 **017** 18 20 **018** 2 3 6 13 21 **019** 2 3 **023** 12 12 **025** 15 **027** 6 9 11 14 19 24 **031** 2 7 **032** 3 11 **034** 1 7 **035** 3 6 **036** 3 5 6 7 14 **037** 5 15 19 21 **038** 2 6 12 18 18 **039** 4 7 8 8 20 **040** 8 10 12 16 17 18 26 39 42 49 50 **041** 8 **042** 4 39 41 **043** 2 5 9 **044** 4 **046** 1 1 6 8 9 10 12 **047** 3 5 19 **048** 8 **049** 2 6 10 16 20 23 **050** 3 5 8 20 24 24 32 36 37 39 41 49 52 58 60 63 66 **051** 10 **054** 4 8 19 21 23 **055** 2 6 **056** 21 **057** 4 7 **058** 4 5 20 32 39 42 53 61 62 69 70 86 89 98 100 102 103 103 105 111 111 **059** 16 25 **060** 4 **061** 13 16 22 **062** 4 8 15 19 21 **065** 7 **066** 2 **067** 4 5 6 7 **068** 6 8 8 8 **069** 8 9 9 **070** 6 12 14 14 **071** 2 4 6 7 14 18 21 22 24 28 30 31 37 39 44 44 46 48 49 **072** 21 **073** 19 20 23 36 37 40 43 50 51 52 54 58 **074** 2 6 8 9 10 13 37 38 50 53 58 58 62 65 67 **076** 12 16 21 23 25 **077** 24 **079** 5 7 25 25 28 44 59 78 79 83 89 90 92 104 107 111 **080** 4 **081** 9 15 **083** 7 7 10 **084** 2 4 11 **085** 14 **087** 12 16 16 18 19 22 30 30 30 31 32 32 **088** 13 **091** 14 16 17 24 26 29 **092** 2 38 **093** 1 12 **094** 2 5 11 **096** 3 6 15 16 16 21 26 37 39 42 **097** 17 **098** 11 **100** 7 8 14 24

H (157) **001** 1 4 6 8 13 14 20 27 32 35 40 42 45 47 50 57 **005** 1 3 5 6 7 9 9 13 15 18 31 34 35 38 45 45 **008** 9 12 13 14 16 17 24 25 28 30 34 39 **010** 1 7 9 14 15 18 22 25 **013** 1 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 9 13 21 22 24 25 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 35 36 37 38 39 42 45 46 47 **027** 1 4 6 9 14 18

19 24 27 28 **031** 1 6 7 8 13 **032** 1 7 10 11 12 16 16 **038** 4 7 **040** 2 5 10 13 14 15 19 28 30 39 **041** 1 6 8 13 14 **046** 1 10 11 **047** 1 1 **049** 1 3 11 12 18 20 21 25 **050** 37 50 55 60 63 **051** 1 3 6 9 10 14 15 16 19 **052** 8 10 16 **065** 1 7 9 **071** 3 25 63

maybe [F251 suggests this is from *sane*] (12) **011** 55 **018** 8 21 **033** 6 9 13 16 **053** 33 **092** 24 24 **097** 2 7

? (1) **076** 32

sa- go (24) **018** 1 **038** 3 **041** 8 **042** 12 33 **044** 19 **050** 11 18 52 65 **058** 17 83 **067** 3 **071** 22 **074** 57 **076** 36 38 **079** 30 93 109 109 **081** 7 **091** 21 **099** 2

QAL (38) **002** 40 **004** 14 **008** 34 **010** 15 **035** 2 **036** 9 **037** 17 **038** 21 **040** 13 30 **050** 32 **072** 17 20 32 **079** 74 **083** 9 10 **086** 3 4 **087** 5 **088** 4 9 **089** 17 20 **091** 3 **092** 2 2 2 6 10 15 16 22 29 31 43 46 50

RED for *su-* (1) **014** 2

RED for *sukuz* (4) **058** 21 65 69 91

want (3) **076** 5 **092** 24 **097** 7

sadip foothill (1) **062** 4

sadjelung heavy (3) **059** 11 **061** 18 **073** 34

saigu skill (1) **005** 18

sakamaya only (101) **001** 11 15 37 **004** 17 **008** 26 38 **009** 9 12 **013** 16 **016** 30 55 **025** 1 **035** 1 5 5 **040** 23 24 36 46 **042** 5 11 44 **043** 19 19 **044** 19 **046** 9 **047** 32 **050** 16 31 58 65 67 **051** 23 25 **053** 3 5 **056** 17 **058** 10 46 75 96 97 114 119 **059** 21 **062** 2 5 13 21 **064** 3 **066** 3 3 **070** 1 **072** 6 14 32 **073** 4 38 **075** 8 **076** 14 16 **077** 16 **078** 2 9 **079** 114 115 **080** 20 25 **081** 13 17 **084** 17 31 **085** 12 **086** 5 **089** 22 **091** 13 **092** 39 40 41 45 50 53 55 **093** 7 **094** 16 16 16 **096** 11 37 38 39 41 43 44 44 **098** 10 **099** 6 **100** 3 4 9 22

saksak undo (2) **010** 3 19

sakuts move (1) **011** 41

sala- RED for *saladj* (13) **003** 44 **033** 1 **038** 5 11 21 **039** 6 11 **040** 26 **053** 27 **074** 4 **079** 7 **084** 32 **085** 4

saladj companion (26) **003** 44 44 50 **008** 22 23 **024** 5 8 **027** 18 23 27 **033** 1 **038** 5 11 21 **039** 6 11 **040** 26 **050** 30 **052** 3 **053** 27 **074** 4 **079** 7 21 22 **084** 32 **085** 4

Salakats (name) (9) **020** 1 1 **022** 1 2 **025** 1 8 13 18 **033** 1

salang grain.store (2) **058** 33 42

salaw tell [F253 'compete, vie'] (11) **071** 51 **074** 49 67 **076** 26 **079** 79 94 94 **091** 16 **092** 1 **093** 5 **100** 6

sali- RED for *salitj* (1) **050** 25

RED for *saliw* (4) **079** 45 48 **094** 9 **096** 33

salił isolate (1) **025** 2

salim late.night (1) **079** 104

salitj toss (1) **050** 25

saliw sin (4) **079** 45 48 **094** 9 **096** 33

salu believe (18) **002** 31 45 **003** 18 28 41 **004** 9 12 **006** 20 **010** 33 **013** 29 36 **016** 45 **025** 8 **034** 29 **079** 50 69 **084** 33 **097** 4

salu- RED for *salu* (3) **003** 18 41 **097** 4

salud sleep.with (2) **061** 5 26

salut harvest.rite (1) **085** 27

-sama II (18) **079** 115 **094** 2 **095** 7 **096** 3 5 19 21 26 27 30 32 35 42 43 43 46 48 **099** 8

Samalia Samaria (2) **096** 14 18

samuła urgent (13) **048** 4 **075** 64 **079** 37 72 77 **093** 12 **094** 12 16 **096** 9 **100** 4 10 15 19

san → *sane*

sane make (95) **002** 54 74 **005** 40 45 **006** 21 **008** 20 **009** 21 **011** 78 **013** 8 **014** 7 **016** 39 **024** 4 7 8 **028** 2 2 3 **033** 17 18 20 **037** 4 5 **038** 11 12 13 13 13 14 19 **039** 1 9 **040** 12 **049** 8 11 25 **050** 43 47 **051** 15 **053** 31 32 **054** 6 9 9 21 **058** 19 19 88 88 108 **059** 35 36 49 **062** 4 **068** 13 **070** 13 **071** 41 42 43 **072** 29 **076** 38 **077** 22 22 27 **078** 1 6 **079** 20 21 39 40 45 46 67 75 77 82 106 **080** 1 4 **081** 21 **083** 3 **085** 25 26 **086** 5 5 6 9 **088** 10 **092** 7 33 36 36 45 **096** 14 20 43

sane- make (5) **006** 13 14 **017** 19 **094** 2 **096** 40

sanga- RED for *sangas* (6) **050** 6 12 **058** 117 **079** 39 **085** 30 **088** 12

sangas first (33) **011** 8 12 18 20 27 28 30 32 57 60 63 69 **042** 15 **050** 6 12 **052** 8 **053** 30 **056** 41 **058** 117 **067** 4 5 **070** 1 **073** 36 **075** 30 55 **079** 39 **085** 19 30 **088** 12

093 2 **094** 4 6 **097** 17
sangel stool (2) **002** 74 78
sangutj kiss (2) **073** 55 57
Sapayas (name) (12) **034** 1 4 8 9 11 13 15 17 20 21 29 31
sapeł pot.holder [F256 'scoop-net'] (1) **074** 23
sapsap scratch (3) **014** 9 10 15
sapui → *sapuy*
Sapulungan (name) (29) **072** 1 5 7 13 40 42 43 **073** 2 3 6 13 21 25 33 40 41 44 52 54 59 **074** 1 16 17 33 46 51 58 62 69
sapuy fire (24) **008** 39 **009** 40 52 **011** 67 **023** 6 8 **034** 22 23 **042** 16 21 24 **053** 10 12 13 16 18 19 **068** 7 8 **076** 18 **077** 15 **079** 106 **087** 11 11
saqetju painful (19) **008** 2 3 21 **056** 17 **062** 21 **073** 38 43 **075** 11 22 **077** 20 28 **079** 57 **085** 3 **087** 17 21 23 **092** 28 45 **098** 4
saregem magnificent (1) **080** 2
sasa console (1) **100** 6
sasaw forecourt (1) **080** 4
sasiq ant (5) **039** 2 **083** 4 5 7 8
satjez return (3) **062** 4 19 **073** 20
satsemel wild.game (3) **001** 10 13 **037** 4
sau go (2) **079** 101 104
Saulivan (name) (2) **069** 1 8
sauni soon (2) **056** 51 **090** 1
-sauni soon (4) **008** 22 **011** 25 **059** 10 42
Savałi (name) (7) **018** 1 2 3 7 10 12 20
savaqar disgust (4) **013** 3 **025** 23 **040** 9 13
savid same (3) **075** 5 **078** 24 **081** 4
saviki betel.palm (5) **031** 4 5 6 8 15
se person.of (66) **005** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 12 12 15 16 17 17 19 **007** 1 1 2 4 8 16 **012** 7 8 11 19 **019** 2 **034** 8 **035** 1 7 **039** 15 18 **042** 32 **043** 1 1 15 **044** 7 **045** 1 **051** 2 **052** 1 **054** 1 **056** 50 **058** 24 52 55 91 **061** 14 **062** 1 5 **063** 1 1 2 3 4 5 5 **065** 1 2 4 7 10 **066** 1 **068** 6 **079** 2 **094** 10 **096** 12 14 18
se- INVOL (92) **002** 35 56 **011** 18 76 **013** 23 **017** 19 **023** 3 5 **026** 2 **032** 2 **034** 22 **042** 5 16 21 **065** 5 **067** 1 **068** 11 **069** 7 **070** 5 **072** 21 **075** 33 **077** 11 16 **078** 5 **079** 16 49 78 84 85 100 112 113 115 115 **080** 25 26 27 **083** 8 **084** 20 **085** 4 9 18 **086** 3 9 **087** 15 21 **091** 2 2 9 22 23 23 25 25 28 **092** 11 33 45 47 **093** 1 3 7 11 **094** 2 10 **096** 5 7 8 9 12 15 20 23 25 25 25 25 25 26 26 31 33 42 44 47 **097** 5 13 15 19 **099** 5 **100** 10 19 24
person.of (9) **062** 5 6 **081** 4 **091** 1 23 23 28 **096** 23 47
sedjam borrow (5) **004** 15 16 **037** 30 31 **079** 106
sedjeł only (2) **050** 1 **081** 9
sekam spread (1) **016** 18
sekauł send (2) **068** 8 **094** 11
sekez rest (5) **033** 8 9 11 12 **081** 14
selem dark (13) **001** 34 **012** 6 **016** 19 27 **040** 18 **041** 4 **042** 34 **051** 19 **057** 7 **058** 84 **076** 16 **079** 105 **091** 8
seł-ang equal (1) **050** 4
seł-seł pity (1) **092** 28
sena- RED for *senay* (4) **001** 18 **046** 10 **056** 48 **095** 4
senaw wash (1) **086** 5
senay chant (21) **001** 18 **005** 22 **009** 60 **013** 9 9 42 **016** 13 14 37 **028** 2 **046** 10 **050** 4 **054** 14 15 **055** 13 **056** 48 **081** 6 **087** 41 **094** 12 14 **095** 4
seng- RED for *sengseng* (1) **079** 26
sengats dislike (8) **002** 18 20 **007** 1 **013** 4 26 **015** 11 **016** 42 **039** 11
sengseng work (27) **012** 5 **029** 1 2 5 **030** 1 2 **059** 43 **064** 3 **066** 2 **069** 1 2 **071** 5 26 27 **079** 7 11 16 19 20 21 22 22 23 26 **100** 7 11 14
sepatj four (6) **010** 32 **012** 1 **061** 30 **079** 4 5 6
sepeł anxious (5) **029** 1 6 6 **030** 1 4
sepi dream (6) **077** 1 5 7 12 20 **087** 11
seqas chop (14) **003** 8 **004** 8 31 **005** 1 2 3 5 18 **059** 52 **075** 20 21 22 23 23
sequ smell (2) **004** 23 **040** 13
seray pine.sp (2) **002** 73 74
seti meat (4) **002** 71 **005** 24 25 **086** 5
sevał carry.on.back (10) **003** 3 **006** 3 **016** 2 4 5 10 10 17 36 **059** 2
si- IF (333) **001** 7 12 16 38 **002** 3 21 24 27 46 53 72 78 **003** 1 24 64 **004** 1 11 14 18 **005** 1 2 20 37 **006** 1 3 14 **007** 1 17 **008** 39 **009** 1 63 **010** 1 16 **011** 1 36 66 **012** 9 16 **013** 5 8 11 27 28 **014** 1 **015** 1 3

016 1 18 50 **017** 1 **018** 1 4 19 19 **019** 1 **020** 1 1 1 2 3 6 6 **021** 1 9 **022** 2 2 **023** 1 7 9 **024** 1 **025** 3 8 12 19 20 23 **026** 1 **027** 1 **028** 1 **029** 1 7 **030** 1 **031** 1 3 **032** 1 8 **033** 1 **034** 1 29 **037** 17 25 **038** 12 14 16 17 17 **039** 4 8 12 14 16 **040** 27 29 29 35 40 47 52 54 61 **041** 7 **042** 40 **043** 2 7 8 19 **045** 3 **046** 6 **047** 6 12 13 14 14 23 23 28 **049** 25 **050** 9 28 43 52 **051** 5 17 20 24 **054** 15 24 **055** 17 **056** 47 **057** 3 6 **058** 5 7 10 11 22 43 47 70 72 75 92 101 102 110 111 **059** 6 19 21 21 37 37 38 52 **061** 11 13 14 21 21 **062** 1 3 4 15 **063** 4 **064** 1 **065** 1 **067** 1 **068** 1 **069** 1 1 5 7 8 **071** 19 20 25 25 **072** 29 **073** 1 14 17 19 45 48 49 50 51 57 **074** 67 **076** 18 38 **077** 2 7 11 21 22 23 24 **078** 5 5 10 11 15 19 22 **079** 3 13 20 27 51 55 58 81 97 102 106 112 113 115 115 **080** 2 8 20 27 **081** 4 7 **082** 1 2 3 **083** 2 3 **084** 22 28 **085** 2 2 4 6 8 8 8 9 10 14 17 20 21 **086** 5 **087** 5 7 17 18 21 25 25 27 29 34 36 38 40 42 44 **088** 4 5 6 9 12 14 17 17 17 18 **089** 6 17 **090** 12 12 12 **091** 14 16 20 25 **092** 1 2 7 9 9 11 16 17 30 30 36 45 51 51 **093** 9 **094** 9 12 **095** 2 **096** 16 17 17 17 22 30 32 34 35 35 47 **097** 11 15 **098** 10 **099** 2 6 **100** 6 10 10 14 14 14 14 24

PAST (4) **079** 93 109 109 **082** 4

siaq shame (11) **003** 54 **050** 15 42 46 **061** 12 **073** 17 27 32 **079** 70 **083** 3 3

siatj bandolier (1) **088** 5

sigsig scratch (1) **081** 16

siisiu Bible [Jap] (1) **079** 37

sika number [for ordinals] (8) **016** 31 **049** 8 9 **053** 31 32 **087** 23 **096** 14 20

reason [= *si-* + *ka*? F 'base'] (43) **006** 31 **010** 41 **011** 4 71 82 **013** 8 **015** 12 **016** 10 10 **019** 4 **023** 13 **027** 30 **028** 4 **030** 6 **031** 15 **036** 5 **037** 33 **052** 17 **058** 26 28 56 65 65 **063** 4 5 **064** 7 **066** 11 **067** 8 **068** 14 15 **069** 2 13 **071** 5 **072** 40 **077** 10 20 28 **086** 5 **087** 3 9 20 23 **092** 25

sika- number [for ordinals] (5) **092** 17 30 31 **094** 8 11

sikau net.bag (2) **073** 33 **085** 28

sikiliłkauław bring.back(?) (2) **055** 11 14

sila satiate (1) **076** 9

simatj four (1) **079** 84

Simidalu (name) (7) **005** 9 13 15 18 35 38 45

simsim pity (9) **079** 12 14 **080** 21 **092** 13 24 41 49 **094** 9 **096** 25

Siniłizaw (place) (3) **033** 1 2 4

sinku faith [Jap] (1) **099** 6

sinsi teacher [Jap] (26) **079** 94 **093** 1 3 5 6 8 10 **094** 11 **097** 1 3 5 6 11 11 12 14 16 20 **098** 1 5 9 **099** 1 **100** 1 4 8 19

sinzia believer [i.e. 'Christian'; Jap] (15) **079** 35 39 40 45 46 70 72 72 75 76 77 78 82 86 89

singelit miss (3) **058** 35 **100** 1 3

sipaka- number, for days [glossed in texts as 'num.for.day'] (6) **058** 4 29 68 78 99 101

sipalut really(?) (1) **008** 5

siq- RED for *siqsiq* (1) **078** 2

siqsiq dry (1) **078** 2

sisił thrush (5) **024** 2 4 7 9 **087** 30

sitjanga ? [= *sitja* + *-anga*? OA Japanese gloss unclear; nothing in F] (1) **054** 28

sizi goat (2) **027** 29 30

su remove (7) **021** 3 **040** 15 **050** 66 **058** 15 16 80 81

you(S) (78) **002** 6 8 16 46 **003** 23 59 **004** 9 **011** 10 77 **013** 27 **017** 6 11 **018** 11 **025** 5 **037** 29 **041** 13 **042** 8 43 **047** 13 14 23 **050** 16 17 20 **051** 14 17 **061** 9 **071** 19 19 **072** 30 **073** 34 45 49 50 **075** 7 12 19 23 **080** 8 **081** 7 **089** 9 22 22 **091** 17 17 29 29 **093** 8 10 11 11 **095** 3 3 5 6 6 **096** 5 31 31 33 33 35 35 46 47 **097** 10 13 **098** 10 **099** 2 2 6 8 8 8 **100** 11 11 15 21

your(S) (83) **001** 25 30 36 **002** 14 **003** 56 **008** 15 **010** 18 **011** 8 19 60 **012** 15 **021** 4 **037** 20 25 30 30 **040** 30 42 57 62 **042** 9 **047** 2 10 **051** 17 **055** 11 14 **059** 54 **072** 24 **073** 46 47 **075** 12 12 23 23 **079** 48 95 **089** 6 19 22 25 **090** 1 1 1 **093** 9 9 11 **094** 8 8 11 **095** 4 **096** 21 28 37 44 47 47 47 47 47 **097** 2 13 14 15 21 **098** 5 11 11 **099** 6 7 7 **100** 2 10 10 10 10 10 10 12 14 14 14 14 16

su- remove (72) **001** 22 27 **006** 7 10 11 **007** 4 10 **010** 26 34 35 **012** 9 10 12 **013** 12 **014** 2 16 18 **016** 17 38 **017** 8 19 **018** 3 5 8 **021** 8 9 **025** 17 20 **030** 4 **037** 2 **039** 15 18 **042** 29 42 43 **047** 31 **056** 33 **058** 85 **060** 10 **061** 19 **062** 6 16 **065** 16 16 **068** 10 10 **069** 4 **070** 3 **071** 45 **072** 25 **073** 25 27 37 **074** 33 40 **075** 38 39 45 48 **077** 16 **078** 4 **079** 48 **080** 22 **081** 3 **084** 31 32 **085** 13 **086** 5 **088** 16 **096** 8 11

sua- RED for *suad* (1) **009** 31

suad scoop (2) **009** 31 32

suap sweep (4) **031** 8 10 **040** 42 49

suaw yawn (1) **085** 25

sudju sweetheart (19) **007** 14 **040** 4 6 **042** 35 36 **044** 4 **046** 10 **050** 3 3 5 16 **058** 3 53 55 **069** 8 **073** 6 14 **077** 3 **084** 6

sudju- RED for *sudju* (2) **046** 10 **050** 5

sudam disappointed (2) **051** 23 **058** 56

suksuk insert (2) **012** 15 16

sukub bow.head (4) **079** 70 71 **094** 17 **096** 46

sukuz stop (4) **058** 21 65 69 91

sule- RED for *sulem* (1) **077** 17

suledjeledji ? (1) **076** 32

sulem dark (5) **011** 26 39 **077** 17 **079** 99 **088** 14

sulid sleep.together (1) **072** 3

Sułałułałui (name) (18) **013** 1 2 5 8 9 13 21 24 27 29 30 32 33 37 38 41 42 46

sułivatj peace (2) **095** 3 **097** 13

Sułupłupan (name) (1) **047** 1

sun F.you(S) (138) **001** 41 43 47 48 49 **002** 8 46 **003** 32 49 50 51 **008** 14 **009** 27 36 38 41 50 53 55 **011** 20 36 59 60 **012** 15 **013** 28 35 **017** 10 15 16 **021** 5 **038** 8 **039** 3 3 6 **040** 13 35 41 42 **042** 21 **049** 4 9 **050** 15 17 51 **056** 49 **058** 34 41 61 98 **065** 8 **072** 15 36 37 39 **073** 28 30 **074** 39 62 64 68 **075** 7 19 43 **079** 96 **080** 6 **082** 4 **083** 3 **084** 13 15 16 18 **085** 17 18 **089** 1 2 3 4 10 10 21 25 25 **093** 9 11 11 11 12 **097** 1 2 2 3 5 5 5 5 9 9 10 12 13 13 15 15 16 19 20 21 **098** 1 2 3 4 6 6 9 9 10 13 **099** 1 2 4 6 7 7 7 7 7 **100** 2 8 10 11 11 15 15 15 15 16 16 21

you(S) (56) **002** 12 16 **004** 15 **006** 24 29 **009** 25 43 **011** 78 **013** 26 **021** 6 **037** 12 31 **042** 16 19 **044** 17 **056** 51 **058** 49 55 **065** 8 **067** 5 **072** 40 **074** 20 **075** 34 57 60 **084** 10 13 **093** 8 9 12 12 **094** 10 **095** 1 2 4 7 **096** 19 21 30 30 32 37 38 39 46 46 48 **097** 3 7 17 **099** 3 6 **100** 3 8 20 21

sunat book (3) **079** 58 59 **080** 1

supil tired (2) **008** 24 **039** 15

supu count (10) **003** 14 23 24 **079** 37 59 65 66 66 69 **095** 4

supu- RED for *supu* (1) **095** 4

surur bed (4) **072** 21 **073** 37 **074** 16 57

susu proceed (17) **001** 20 52 **079** 69 77 **088** 8 **092** 2 **094** 9 **096** 27 37 37 43 **097** 4 17 18 **098** 11 **099** 8 8

susu- RED for *susu* (1) **094** 9

sutjaw peanut (6) **077** 21 **078** 10 10 22 23 **086** 6

t- → *ti-*

ta OBL (127) **002** 15 17 **003** 6 52 **007** 9 **010** 7 34 **011** 7 39 70 74 **016** 5 36 **027** 6 **031** 8 **040** 58 **042** 3 20 **050** 43 **052** 10 **055** 8 10 12 15 17 **056** 1 44 **058** 33 42 103 106 109 111 **059** 18 33 37 39 52 56 **060** 5 7 10 **061** 1 13 15 15 17 **062** 2 2 2 2 3 4 8 10 15 18 19 **063** 1 **064** 5 6 **065** 5 6 7 13 **066** 2 9 11 11 **067** 1 **068** 5 5 5 15 **069** 1 1 2 9 9 11 12 **072** 29 **075** 41 41 42 **076** 3 7 14 18 24 24 26 26 29 **078** 4 **079** 20 **083** 7 7 7 **084** 2 6 16 28 **087** 27 **090** 1 4 4 7 11 11 **092** 2 45 45 **094** 8 **096** 15 33 35 37 43 44 **097** 2 7 **098** 9 11 **100** 11 15 16

one (1) **058** 31

ta- one (28) **005** 44 **043** 7 **051** 14 17 **052** 5 **054** 8 **058** 7 7 7 10 10 10 72 72 72 75 75 75 **073** 39 **077** 14 **079** 5 82 85 **085** 2 **088** 1 **090** 3 4 **092** 6

PAST (9) **011** 16 23 **040** 40 **052** 1 4 17 **053** 1 **072** 8 **095** 6

RED for *tarev* (2) **092** 51 51

RED for *tevela* (1) **092** 5

RED for *tu-* (2) **091** 8 8

RED for *tuzung* (5) **071** 7 8 10 23 24

? (35) **001** 7 12 16 **040** 54 61 **043** 2 13 18 **046** 8 **058** 21 22 90 **061** 11 14 **062** 3 4

069 1 5 7 8 **072** 16 19 43 **073** 54 **074** 10 49 60 **076** 26 27 34 **091** 14 16 20 25 **092** 7
-ta ? (45) **001** 50 50 **002** 14 22 48 51 **004** 4 15 **005** 16 **006** 11 18 **009** 20 **011** 35 36 69 75 **012** 12 **013** 29 **014** 18 **017** 15 **021** 4 7 **024** 11 **035** 11 **037** 13 14 **040** 25 **047** 27 **050** 62 **056** 24 **059** 26 42 **072** 14 37 39 **081** 7 **092** 10 15 16 21 21 29 50 **096** 21 **097** 2
tad dry (1) **074** 57
tadaɬ see (2) **051** 3 **076** 18
tagaw edge (3) **013** 44 45 46
tagiɬ originate (8) **037** 2 7 **049** 26 **054** 2 16 **071** 34 **079** 79 **095** 5
Tail (name) (1) **070** 4
taiɬ one.of.pair (3) **053** 30 32 **065** 9
taizin officer [Jap] (1) **079** 94
Takaw (place) (3) **079** 25 26 30
takets muntjac (pigmy deer) (13) **027** 29 30 **036** 3 **037** 11 12 14 18 22 31 32 33 **068** 8 8
tala bedspace (1) **048** 10
tala- RED for *taladj* (3) **009** 8 **011** 70 81
taladj inside (25) **001** 3 **002** 53 **003** 16 **009** 8 17 19 26 32 **011** 40 70 81 **018** 16 **032** 6 10 **056** 29 **061** 15 18 **062** 19 **069** 4 9 **073** 23 26 **074** 57 **083** 7 **091** 10
talaq jealous (1) **040** 5
talau crystal (1) **033** 20
talaw ambush (?) (3) **009** 24 34 43
hold.liquid (2) **011** 38 **050** 7
tale- RED for *talem* (1) **078** 22
talem plant (13) **016** 50 **071** 28 29 **074** 54 **078** 4 11 13 14 15 17 22 22 24
talidu interested (1) **091** 13
talimuzaw sad (1) **100** 3
talu plant.early (1) **078** 19
taɬiw whet.stone (4) **034** 20 21 **074** 54 69
tamasi soul [Jap] (1) **096** 43
tami people [Jap] (1) **099** 3
tan profit (2) **011** 4 **062** 6
tang- RED for *tangtang* (1) **049** 10
tangapuɬ lion (4) **070** 1 3 5 10
tangepats hold.in.mouth (1) **036** 6
tangpats → *tangepats*
tangtang dawn (1) **049** 10
tapaw hut (35) **001** 21 51 52 **002** 28 32 33 35 39 **008** 17 **011** 21 **018** 1 1 9 **020** 5 **025** 15 **026** 4 **027** 11 **031** 7 7 10 **033** 14 17 18 **036** 5 6 **038** 10 14 19 **039** 9 **040** 12 18 21 **052** 4 **053** 5 **071** 44
tapi bake (18) **056** 19 20 20 29 30 32 33 36 **075** 13 24 26 27 39 45 45 48 49 60
tapuɬu lap (1) **043** 9
taqed sleep (16) **001** 46 48 **011** 25 31 57 **042** 44 **061** 23 **064** 3 7 **073** 37 **084** 18 20 21 22 27 29
taqtaq platform (3) **011** 29 39 40
tarar turban (1) **088** 6
tare- RED for *tarev* (2) **092** 51 51
tarev attain (3) **014** 11 **092** 51 51
Taruvar (name) (3) **068** 1 2 10
tatalaven (name) (1) **061** 28
tataq sharpen (1) **008** 13
tau- RED for *taud* (1) **078** 24
taud mix (5) **017** 19 **078** 16 17 20 24
tau'iyu mix.with.soy [Min] (1) **086** 5
Taupili (name) (5) **025** 10 **026** 1 2 **030** 7 **033** 1
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tavaɬ upright (3) **020** 3 **030** 3 5
tavi shelf (1) **050** 24
Tayuang Taiwan [Jap and Min] (21) **093** 1 5 8 9 11 12 **094** 5 7 11 **096** 47 **097** 4 21 **098** 2 5 9 **099** 2 **100** 2 5 8 11 14
te- do (7) **055** 8 16 **065** 11 **075** 42 **078** 4 **080** 17 **083** 7
tedek ornament (1) **088** 17
tega awaken (1) **011** 32
tekel drink (15) **024** 4 8 9 10 11 **040** 52 **058** 64 66 **069** 3 **072** 6 17 20 20 **073** 38 **089** 2
teku down (48) **001** 22 **003** 53 **005** 21 **008** 2 **009** 3 6 7 10 **010** 30 **011** 29 37 39 **025** 16 **042** 37 40 **049** 2 20 26 **059** 22 **064** 1 **067** 3 4 5 6 **071** 29 **073** 43 51 53 **074** 8 9 16 65 **075** 39 **076** 12 16 20 36 38 **081** 15 **091** 14 18 19 23 23 23 27 28 **096** 15
teku- RED for *teku* (7) **003** 53 **011** 29 39 **042** 37 **073** 43 51 53
teɬip regret (1) **079** 76
Tenatseng (place) (1) **062** 5
teng EXCL (1) **001** 5

tepe- RED for *tepez* (2) **075** 65 67
teperuk break.down (1) **088** 17
tepez jungle (2) **075** 65 67
teptep suck (1) **040** 59
teqits hook (1) **087** 31
Tequng (name) (1) **033** 1
tequng horn (5) **037** 9 9 14 20 22
teve- RED for *tevel* (4) **074** 30 **092** 24 39 **100** 22
tevela answer (8) **042** 44 **079** 98 **080** 7 10 **081** 13 **092** 5 **096** 5 20
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tevuk gather (2) **068** 3 10
tezeng tolerate (3) **013** 18 **015** 8 **034** 26
teztez noise.of.gun (2) **058** 22 92
ti F.H (511) **001** 1 4 6 8 14 20 26 32 35 40 42 45 47 50 57 **005** 1 3 6 7 9 13 15 18 24 26 31 34 35 38 45 45 **006** 7 10 **008** 9 13 14 24 25 28 30 34 39 **009** 20 **010** 1 18 22 25 **012** 13 15 **013** 1 1 2 4 5 6 8 9 13 21 24 25 27 28 29 30 32 33 35 36 38 41 42 47 **016** 38 **018** 2 3 7 10 12 20 **020** 1 **022** 2 **025** 1 13 18 **026** 1 **027** 1 4 6 9 18 27 **029** 7 **030** 7 7 **031** 1 7 13 **032** 1 1 1 1 1 1 10 11 16 **033** 1 **034** 1 4 8 9 11 13 15 17 20 21 29 **038** 4 7 **040** 1 2 2 4 4 4 5 6 6 7 13 14 19 20 24 28 31 33 39 42 44 47 60 **041** 1 6 8 11 12 13 13 14 **042** 1 1 4 6 11 20 26 28 30 36 37 39 40 40 42 44 **043** 1 1 4 5 6 7 10 11 15 16 **044** 1 2 4 6 10 11 12 13 16 **046** 1 10 10 11 **047** 1 1 4 7 16 **048** 1 1 **049** 1 11 12 20 21 **050** 1 3 5 5 5 6 6 6 6 9 10 12 12 12 12 13 13 14 14 18 26 29 31 32 32 43 50 51 52 54 55 60 62 63 65 66 **051** 1 6 9 10 14 14 14 15 19 19 19 **052** 8 10 16 **056** 41 42 48 48 50 **057** 1 2 7 8 **058** 1 2 3 31 33 36 40 42 49 49 51 51 52 54 59 62 96 96 99 100 101 104 105 108 108 111 **059** 2 11 17 22 26 32 33 39 51 52 **060** 1 1 2 3 4 5 5 8 9 **061** 1 1 6 7 10 12 12 14 20 22 23 25 26 **062** 7 12 15 **064** 5 **065** 1 7 9 10 16 **066** 7 **069** 1 **070** 4 13 **071** 22 63 63 **072** 1 1 2 5 7 12 20 21 24 31 42 43 **073** 1 1 2 3 5 6 13 32 41 44 52 53 59 59 **074** 1 13 30 33 43 46 58 61 62 **075** 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 8 9 11 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 20 22 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 34 35 36 38 43 44 45 46 47 49 50 53 54 55 56 58 60 61 62 63 64 66 67 68 70 72 **076** 26 **079** 1 8 9 10 12 20 21 22 23 28 31 33 39 **080** 1 5 15 19 21 22 26 **083** 11 **084** 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 6 8 12 13 14 16 17 18 19 21 22 22 23 25 26 27 28 28 31 **089** 19 23 **091** 1 1 14 14 15 17 17 18 19 25 27 29 **092** 28 28 **093** 1 8 12 **094** 2 11 **095** 7 **096** 22 30 32 43 46 48 **097** 3 6 11 11 **099** 8 **100** 4 8
ti- F (261) **001** 8 9 15 53 57 **002** 17 29 32 40 40 41 42 43 50 56 57 **003** 37 46 **004** 9 20 25 27 **005** 10 17 29 39 41 42 43 **006** 15 24 24 24 25 26 27 28 28 29 29 30 **007** 3 6 7 9 12 19 19 **008** 21 29 36 **009** 5 20 21 22 23 23 24 25 32 43 **010** 17 23 **011** 3 9 14 15 17 25 25 37 43 46 47 62 64 64 68 75 78 83 84 **013** 8 **014** 2 3 12 **015** 9 10 11 **016** 10 34 **017** 2 3 3 4 6 6 **023** 10 13 **024** 3 **031** 10 **032** 9 **034** 5 **039** 10 13 **042** 15 19 **043** 13 **050** 36 38 **052** 1 5 8 **053** 11 20 27 29 **054** 1 **056** 10 19 23 23 24 27 35 36 37 40 41 43 **058** 112 117 **062** 11 11 **065** 8 **067** 2 5 **068** 15 **069** 9 9 10 **070** 6 9 10 11 12 14 14 **071** 1 30 32 37 43 58 62 63 **072** 44 **073** 28 29 36 38 58 59 **074** 3 7 9 10 15 25 29 32 40 47 54 67 68 **075** 34 57 60 **076** 2 9 13 30 **079** 1 32 66 67 68 **080** 2 3 4 13 23 24 **081** 5 6 7 14 16 17 18 21 **082** 5 6 **083** 6 **084** 30 32 **085** 5 25 32 **091** 4 6 10 13 22 **092** 4 6 19 24 24 28 46 46 54 **093** 1 8 12 **094** 1 4 9 10 10 17 **095** 2 **096** 4 4 8 8 11 15 17 19 21 24 26 33 39 46 47 **097** 6 11 16 **099** 8 **100** 3 5 6 7 8 12 18 21
? (6) **078** 11 **079** 38 **085** 1 **086** 1 **087** 1 **091** 7
tia- RED for *tiaw* (1) **088** 10
tiaw one.day (7) **058** 11 89 **088** 10 **092** 17 30 31 **096** 18
tideq space (2) **003** 60 **079** 87
tigami letter [Jap] (1) **100** 16
tinkuku heaven [Jap] (1) **097** 17

titaw hoe (7) **003** 36 37 **004** 13 15 16 17 18
tive- RED for *tevel* (1) **092** 54
tj- RED for *tjautsikel* (1) **093** 5
tja more (9) **001** 5 19 **011** 46 47 **033** 17 **058** 16 **059** 4 **092** 31 31
our(INC) (104) **003** 44 **009** 20 **011** 4 **029** 2 **030** 2 3 **031** 10 **033** 14 **047** 4 16 21 25 **050** 16 **053** 12 **054** 22 **056** 15 **058** 30 30 **059** 16 40 **071** 31 63 **073** 16 58 **074** 30 43 **075** 9 13 20 45 49 60 **076** 11 21 **077** 2 6 8 9 12 17 17 23 23 24 **079** 38 45 60 113 115 **080** 18 21 26 **081** 3 4 21 **082** 4 **084** 32 **085** 14 19 **087** 26 **090** 9 12 **091** 14 16 23 28 **092** 7 7 17 17 24 32 51 51 52 55 56 **093** 2 9 **094** 16 **096** 22 22 22 23 35 43 **097** 5 9 12 12 **098** 3 4 9 10 10 **099** 2 8 8 **100** 7 7 7 18 19 24
we(INC) (124) **003** 44 **004** 3 14 **008** 4 **010** 18 **011** 63 64 66 67 **017** 19 19 19 20 20 21 21 21 **021** 6 **024** 4 **027** 14 **030** 3 **031** 11 **032** 9 **034** 26 27 **036** 11 **037** 2 6 6 **039** 17 **041** 3 5 7 16 **047** 25 31 31 **051** 2 14 14 20 **056** 6 7 14 15 32 32 **058** 11 15 77 80 81 85 85 114 **059** 39 **061** 13 **064** 4 **066** 8 **070** 3 3 **073** 6 16 17 18 **074** 43 45 **075** 9 13 20 45 **076** 30 **077** 2 15 **081** 4 4 **082** 2 3 4 4 **083** 3 10 **085** 8 9 19 20 **086** 3 4 5 5 5 5 5 9 **087** 17 20 21 23 23 25 25 31 31 32 **088** 16 **090** 8 10 **092** 9 18 19 19 24 35 38 38 46 52 52 **096** 25 25 25 26 **097** 2 8
tja- more (139) **002** 42 44 48 49 51 52 54 **003** 62 **004** 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 12 13 14 15 15 16 19 21 25 31 **006** 6 24 24 30 **011** 8 12 18 20 27 28 28 30 32 39 44 47 50 57 58 60 63 69 **012** 18 **016** 2 2 5 5 13 17 17 18 23 25 44 **018** 15 **029** 3 **030** 3 **031** 11 **032** 13 **033** 5 **034** 6 **038** 7 **039** 14 **042** 15 37 **043** 8 **054** 8 11 15 **055** 2 3 4 6 **056** 9 36 38 **058** 6 9 16 37 71 74 81 107 **059** 34 **063** 2 3 4 5 **066** 8 **067** 4 5 **070** 1 **074** 9 65 **075** 30 55 **076** 20 **078** 7 **079** 13 78 88 90 91 113 **080** 21 **083** 8 **085** 19 **087** 20 30 31 32 **089** 11 26 **091** 23 25 29 **092** 46 54 **093** 2 12 **094** 4 6 **096** 38 **097** 4 11 15 16 17 **100** 11 16 17 18 22
RED for *tjuktjuk* (1) **006** 25
RED for *tjuma-* (1) **007** 6
tjagul crag (1) **062** 4
tjai OBL.H (50) **001** 13 **013** 7 **026** 2 **040** 16 29 **050** 18 **051** 16 17 **058** 1 1 2 2 3 106 110 **061** 1 3 **069** 8 **070** 4 **072** 13 43 **073** 2 2 3 3 57 58 **074** 66 **075** 2 11 16 30 34 55 57 60 61 66 **079** 7 7 14 20 **084** 25 **089** 22 25 **091** 19 **096** 3 26 42 **100** 19
tjai- OBL (14) **010** 35 **053** 16 **073** 57 **074** 16 **075** 73 **076** 20 **085** 14 **091** 21 **095** 4 **096** 26 37 42 46 **100** 22
tjaina mother.H (3) **012** 13 **040** 41 **058** 42
tjainan bee (1) **010** 37
tjakanga kite (4) **024** 2 4 7 9
tjakaz basket.type (1) **065** 16
tjakit knife (7) **007** 10 11 **038** 15 **080** 4 10 **088** 5 18
tjakumul quilt (1) **040** 57
Tjakuvukuvul (place) (4) **012** 7 8 11 19
tjalaw angry (1) **018** 10
tjalikuval blanket (1) **006** 14
tjalupun hat (3) **080** 1 22
tjalupung hat (5) **037** 17 19 22 30
tjala most (1) **025** 23
tjala- most (12) **002** 18 38 42 45 **006** 3 7 **050** 66 **057** 5 **072** 17 20 **091** 6 23
tjalava ask.help (6) **025** 12 15 16 19 21 23
tjalayan big.seeds (2) **049** 13 **092** 11
tjalev box (4) **018** 3 5 9 **069** 9
tjalitiw waterfall (1) **069** 9
tjalu reach [= *tja-lu* or *al=tju?*, F26] (15) **010** 5 5 **016** 50 **025** 10 **033** 14 **039** 16 **048** 2 **058** 21 69 106 **066** 3 **076** 20 **079** 93 **081** 14 20
tjalu- until (4) **081** 5 5 **097** 9 17
tjama dad (1) **001** 26
tjamaku tobacco (1) **085** 28
tjamekul millet.sp (1) **049** 15
Tjamuakakay (name) (9) **040** 2 5 10 13 14 15 19 39 45
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tjanu full (3) **010** 32 **050** 66 **065** 16
tjanu- OBL (77) **002** 16 22 **011** 78 **013** 26 **032** 12 **037** 31 **044** 17 **050** 41 43 **058** 35 43

49 55 117 **059** 33 **072** 40 **074** 20 **076** 33 34 **077** 14 18 22 **079** 4 21 44 69 97 102 **084** 7 10 13 **091** 21 **092** 32 **093** 2 11 12 12 **094** 6 10 10 17 **095** 1 4 7 **096** 28 30 30 31 32 37 38 39 43 46 47 48 **097** 2 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 21 **098** 6 6 9 **099** 6 **100** 3 5 6 6 11 20

Tjanumaq (place) (1) **033** 8

tjangtjang lime.box (1) **031** 8

tjapungul grass.root (1) **078** 4

tjara surely [sometimes means 'each'] (45) **016** 41 **050** 13 **057** 5 **058** 110 **078** 4 **079** 69 92 93 113 **081** 13 18 **083** 1 2 **085** 2 2 12 **086** 7 **087** 1 1 15 **092** 4 10 15 24 24 24 24 26 31 38 39 39 41 45 50 55 **094** 16 16 16 16 **096** 23 **100** 7 9 10 19 22

tjara- surely (2) **011** 28 **080** 23

tjari- utmost (35) **049** 5 6 9 20 26 26 **061** 14 **074** 1 9 50 53 55 58 59 62 65 67 **079** 44 **085** 22 23 24 **091** 1 14 18 19 23 23 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 **099** 8

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tjatjainu ? (2) **058** 15 80

tjatjan spring (13) **018** 2 3 7 **031** 2 3 **038** 12 13 **041** 8 11 **050** 5 7 **055** 2 4

tjatjiw drongo (9) **055** 8 9 9 13 13 15 16 17 18

tjautsikel story (45) **018** 19 **019** 4 **021** 10 **022** 5 **023** 12 15 **024** 1 10 **025** 11 23 **026** 3 **027** 30 **028** 4 **029** 7 **030** 7 **031** 14 **032** 16 **033** 20 **034** 31 **035** 15 **036** 1 15 **037** 1 33 **038** 1 21 **039** 1 21 **040** 63 **041** 1 17 **045** 1 **050** 43 47 54 **052** 7 **053** 1 33 **091** 22 25 27 **093** 5 9 **094** 6 **096** 35

Tjauvalivali (place) (1) **035** 1

Tjauzayazaya (place) (1) **035** 7

tjava- RED for *tjavang* (1) **091** 6

Tjavaliluk (place) (1) **056** 50

tjavang create (?) (2) **091** 4 6
cup (1) **085** 10

Tjavenikiniki (name) (2) **025** 18 19

tjavuvuk strawberry (1) **010** 37

tje do.at (6) **062** 5 **078** 15 **079** 20 **085** 26 **092** 52 **095** 5
we(INC) [variant of *tja* in *sa* clauses in some dialects] (6) **092** 19 52 52 **094** 2 2 2

tje- do.at (19) **034** 28 **037** 18 19 26 **056** 26 31 **058** 82 **061** 14 **068** 13 **074** 21 23 **075** 51 54 **081** 19 **082** 4 **085** 4 **092** 56 **094** 9 **096** 6

tjekeza ladder (2) **076** 38 **088** 17

tjektjek end (1) **027** 7

tjeku- RED for *tjekul* (1) **091** 17

tjekul exceed (1) **091** 17

tjelu three (28) **002** 25 **006** 1 **012** 3 **016** 46 **019** 2 **038** 7 18 **040** 11 37 **049** 15 **053** 32 **054** 10 **058** 4 29 68 99 **079** 81 84 87 109 **091** 17 **092** 17 30 31 **094** 8 11 **096** 14 20

tjelu- RED for *tjelu* (2) **002** 25 **079** 81

tjelu cross.river (1) **085** 23

tjemala enter (1) **003** 60

tjen F.we(INC) (31) **050** 20 **051** 13 **058** 11 89 **064** 3 **070** 2 **071** 63 **077** 1 5 7 12 20 25 **079** 42 43 **083** 10 **084** 33 **086** 8 **087** 18 **090** 11 12 12 **092** 7 7 17 21 46 53 **093** 2 **096** 42 **097** 4
we(INC) (9) **084** 32 **092** 24 **096** 24 **098** 11 **099** 8 **100** 7 19 19 19

tjenu- RED for *tjenun* (1) **065** 10

tjenun weave (1) **065** 10

tjengez nap (2) **084** 17 18

tjenglay like (14) **001** 36 37 **002** 15 17 **011** 10 **013** 45 47 **035** 13 **040** 7 **043** 6 **050** 20 21 **051** 21 **089** 25

tjeveng moisture (1) **040** 58

tjez= RED for *pangetjez* (1) **058** 41

tjeza remain (5) **060** 6 12 **062** 14 19 **065** 6

tji be.at (1) **025** 10
we(INC) (4) **029** 3 **030** 3 **033** 5 17

tji- kind (6) **060** 1 2 4 5 9 11

tjia- RED for *tjiak* (1) **096** 37

tjiak hold.hand (5) **013** 23 **096** 25 26 37 41

tjial stomach (2) **008** 21 **011** 68

tjidiul hornet.sp (1) **010** 38

tjikezem close.eyes (1) **091** 11

Tjikunal (name) (7) **080** 1 7 16 20 22 26 27

tjilev landslide (1) **053** 2

tjilivar granary (2) **049** 10 11

Tjimu (name) (?) (1) **026** 1

Tjinekaɬ (name) (1) **026** 4
Tjisavaɬi (name) (1) **018** 19
tjiuma wedding.swing (1) **088** 19
tju there (7) **030** 3 5 **037** 15 16 21 **040** 4 **065** 11
tju- apart (11) **035** 15 **036** 1 **038** 10 **039** 12 **050** 59 61 **058** 46 48 **085** 5 6 8
there (54) **002** 17 59 **003** 10 22 **005** 11 29 32 41 **006** 19 **008** 17 20 29 **009** 21 61 **010** 25 **011** 6 **015** 11 **016** 28 30 31 40 55 **017** 21 **031** 8 **042** 42 **049** 9 **050** 13 14 **051** 8 8 22 **054** 21 **058** 18 **059** 29 **066** 3 6 **071** 56 **072** 8 **073** 36 **074** 48 **077** 11 24 **079** 25 78 90 **080** 22 **084** 5 **085** 23 24 **087** 10 30 **088** 17 17 **092** 7
tjua there (54) **001** 9 44 45 **002** 9 28 32 49 50 57 73 **003** 19 **004** 22 **005** 4 17 **006** 6 **007** 12 **009** 15 45 **010** 24 27 **011** 5 21 26 39 55 68 **013** 14 37 **014** 6 10 **015** 3 9 **016** 5 37 38 **018** 21 **020** 3 **023** 3 **024** 8 **025** 2 **026** 4 **027** 2 9 **031** 7 **032** 3 **033** 11 **037** 3 **044** 5 **049** 16 **053** 13 **054** 4 19 21 23
Tjuakalangan (place) (1) **039** 16
tjuap signal (1) **085** 8
Tjuaqatsiɬay (place) (3) **019** 2 2 **025** 10
tjuari ? (1) **050** 65
Tjuavudas (place) (14) **005** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 12 12 15 16 17 17 19
tjuay possess (?) (1) **092** 13
tjubang scrofulous (4) **023** 11 12 13 15
tjugelui brown.owl [as an exclamation] (2) **006** 30 31
Tjugeluy (name) (5) **059** 2 11 17 26 34
tjuguɬudj bend.over (3) **035** 3 6 9
tjugut sow [plant seed] (7) **027** 13 14 **029** 4 **078** 9 19 **087** 2 10
tjukap clog (1) **088** 6
tjuktjuk beak (2) **006** 25 **050** 8
tjuku- RED for *tjukutjuku* (1) **074** 4
tjukuḍ headband (1) **071** 47
tjukutjuku ball (7) **074** 4 4 6 9 10 18 56
Tjukutjuku (name) (67) **013** 6 7 **031** 1 6 7 8 13 **040** 1 2 4 7 13 14 15 16 19 20 24 29 31 33 42 44 47 49 58 60 **042** 40 **043** 1 5 8 10 **044** 2 **048** 1 **050** 5 6 9 12 32 33 52 65 66 **051** 14 17 19 **058** 1 2 3 23 51 52 59 62 94 96 99 105 108 116 118 **059** 40 51 52 **061** 1 7 12
Tjulung (name) (4) **025** 5 7 9 10
Tjulutun (place) (1) **025** 2
tjuɬung bamboo.tube (1) **032** 8
tjuma- RED for *tjumaɬ* (1) **007** 6
RED for *tju-umaq* (1) **050** 13
tjumaɬ discuss (22) **002** 20 **003** 11 **005** 12 14 17 **007** 6 20 20 **009** 45 **011** 75 83 **015** 11 **016** 28 35 **017** 7 10 15 16 **056** 15 **096** 30 32 34
tjuqtjuq pound (6) **015** 5 9 11 **051** 19 **056** 15 16
tjuru- many (2) **055** 11 14
Tjuruquɬivangerangeraw (place) (1) **046** 1
tjuruvu many (8) **005** 6 **017** 7 **052** 7 **062** 17 **078** 7 **079** 82 **092** 37 **094** 8
tjutjung cup (?) (3) **011** 14 16 34
Tjuvaɬuɬukay (place) (1) **042** 32
Tjuvasavasai (place) (1) **070** 12
tsa this (55) **025** 5 **049** 15 **050** 30 **051** 4 4 **068** 14 **070** 5 **071** 24 28 47 49 49 **072** 33 **073** 34 **074** 18 23 57 **075** 11 13 44 **076** 35 **079** 59 **081** 3 **083** 9 **084** 22 24 **089** 2 6 12 18 **090** 1 9 9 **091** 28 **092** 9 21 29 35 40 42 42 45 45 45 49 52 56 **094** 8 **095** 3 5 6 **096** 17 46 **098** 4 **100** 7
tsa- RED for *tsadja-* (3) **097** 2 8 **100** 22
RED for *tsagtsag* (3) **011** 44 48 53
RED for *tsai-tsaing* (2) **005** 22 23
RED for *tsavaɬ* (4) **054** 6 7 8 11
RED for *tsevung* (3) **059** 44 46 **079** 53
RED for *tsikel* (2) **002** 34 **070** 14
RED for *tsuk* (1) **022** 1
RED for *tsukes* (1) **015** 12
? (1) **042** 5
tsa= RED for *patsay* (6) **077** 10 23 **087** 25 27 29 40
Tsabɬiɬaq (name) (11) **084** 1 3 14 17 18 19 21 25 26 27 28
tsadja far (13) **036** 4 **079** 93 **087** 19 **092** 13 **093** 5 **094** 5 16 **096** 23 36 **097** 2 8 **100** 6 22
tsadja- RED for *tsadja* (5) **094** 16 **096** 36 **097** 2 8 **100** 22
tsaḍ bandit [Min] (27) **011** 18 19 21 23 24 39 41 42 45 45 48 49 54 55 70 71 76 78

79 82 **017** 2 3 7 22 23 **096** 7 8
tsage heat (1) **011** 67
tsagtsag bump (4) **011** 44 48 53 **012** 9
tsai- RED for *tsaing* (2) **005** 22 23
tsaing fasten (2) **005** 22 23
tsaka- RED for *tsakaw* (1) **079** 43
tsakar platform (4) **054** 6 8 **088** 17 **096** 9
tsakaw steal (10) **004** 26 28 **005** 2 **011** 25 **017** 23 **040** 39 47 **076** 6 **079** 43 63
tsali- RED for *tsalis* (2) **071** 9 19
tsalinga ear (1) **072** 28
tsalis rope (10) **003** 6 8 **027** 6 7 9 9 **071** 9 19 22 25
tsalisi slope (17) **069** 12 **094** 9 11 11 12 13 17 **096** 31 35 47 **099** 2 3 4 6 **100** 5 6 16
tsalivat pass (6) **009** 40 52 **090** 1 **095** 3 **096** 9 11
tsalukuł wasp.sp (1) **010** 39
tsalum reach (1) **001** 21
tsałedj sting (1) **010** 35
tsałeqił hard (1) **037** 5
tsałum carry.water (2) **002** 57 **079** 53
tsangavu swell (3) **024** 9 10 11
tsangi- RED for *tsangitj* (1) **016** 30
tsangitj wail (1) **016** 30
tsapa dry (1) **042** 29
tsaqev lid (9) **010** 34 35 **018** 3 5 8 **061** 19 **069** 4 **073** 25 **083** 7
tsaqi dung (17) **008** 22 23 26 27 28 28 30 31 33 38 **040** 39 **053** 7 **056** 35 35 36 37 38
tsaqis sew (1) **088** 15
tsaqu able (15) **006** 15 17 **056** 4 5 7 13 18 **073** 4 **079** 75 **083** 1 **092** 17 19 20 **094** 11 **096** 35
tsasa- RED for *tsasaw* (1) **002** 36
tsasaw outside (21) **001** 31 **002** 36 **004** 2 **007** 10 **008** 12 **011** 72 **015** 11 **025** 3 **049** 9 **050** 32 34 35 **054** 26 **058** 23 59 62 93 94 97 99 **072** 22
tsatsagał spider.sp (2) **013** 42 43
tsatsułu put (?) (1) **096** 16
tsau being (86) **001** 4 16 **002** 1 30 **004** 14 **005** 2 2 **007** 20 **008** 35 **009** 42 **011** 45 50 54 55 58 71 73 **015** 1 11 **016** 34 **017** 1 5 10 14 **020** 2 **023** 2 15 **026** 1 3 4 **032** 11 16 **033** 12 **036** 7 8 9 14 15 **041** 2 **045** 1 **046** 4 **050** 26 **052** 4 4 6 15 **053** 28 **054** 15 24 **056** 26 31 **058** 111 **062** 1 2 **066** 6 **068** 6 8 **070** 1 **073** 11 22 **077** 15 **079** 61 **083** 2 **085** 5 6 **089** 6 18 **092** 24 **093** 2 4 11 **094** 2 2 2 8 **095** 2 **096** 12 14 18 23 24 39 **097** 17 **100** 7 7 10
tsau- RED for *tsau* (66) **001** 16 **002** 1 30 **005** 2 2 **007** 20 **008** 35 **011** 45 50 54 55 71 73 **015** 1 11 **016** 34 **017** 1 5 10 14 **020** 2 **023** 2 15 **026** 1 3 4 **032** 16 **033** 12 **036** 7 8 9 14 15 **041** 2 **045** 1 **046** 4 **050** 26 **052** 4 4 6 15 **053** 28 **054** 15 24 **062** 1 2 **066** 6 **068** 6 8 **070** 1 **073** 11 22 **077** 15 **079** 61 **083** 2 **085** 6 **089** 6 18 **092** 24 **094** 2 8 **096** 12 14 18 **100** 7 10
tsauan yes (?) (1) **013** 28
tsava- RED for *tsavan* (3) **013** 2 **073** 4 **085** 14
tsavał outskirts (4) **054** 6 7 8 11
tsavan body (3) **013** 2 **073** 4 **085** 14
tsavi- RED for *tsavił* (1) **090** 9
tsavił year (15) **054** 1 22 **058** 31 **078** 15 **079** 4 5 6 22 85 **087** 41 **090** 9 **094** 6 8 11 **100** 12
tsavu wrapping (8) **062** 15 15 16 **072** 25 **073** 26 27 **086** 6 **096** 15
tsavulid carry.on.shoulder (2) **008** 14 17
tse- RED for *tsikal* (1) **062** 12
? (1) **008** 25
tseda- RED for *tsedas* (2) **077** 1 2
tsedas sunrise (5) **006** 24 **018** 13 **070** 8 **077** 1 2
tseged alert (4) **001** 53 **011** 33 **074** 19 **081** 16
tsek- RED for *tsektsek* (1) **010** 6
tsekad middle (2) **038** 13 **054** 26
tsekas split (2) **025** 20 **071** 34
tseke- RED for *tsekeł* (5) **051** 20 **088** 1 18 **092** 1 3
tsekeł spouse (27) **041** 1 **043** 12 19 **050** 67 **051** 14 18 20 **058** 1 2 11 20 89 **061** 1 3 **073** 1 2 3 57 **077** 4 14 **079** 71 82 **088** 1 18 **092** 1 3 24
tseker stop (1) **085** 21
tsektsek stake (13) **008** 4 5 39 **010** 6 9 9 11 13 **049** 19 22 23 **071** 24 25
tselak open (2) **083** 6 7
tseleł cold (?) (1) **092** 33
tseliliq splutter (?) (2) **075** 52 56
tseludju point (2) **005** 8 20

tsem- RED for *tsemel* (6) **003** 37 **006** 23 **027** 6 9 **073** 20 **088** 13
tsemas god (16) **016** 14 15 16 18 38 39 **038** 20 **046** 8 **077** 13 **085** 1 4 10 22 27 31 **087** 12
Tsemas God (64) **079** 36 49 78 79 81 84 85 90 91 94 113 114 **090** 12 **093** 1 1 1 5 6 7 7 11 11 12 **094** 1 2 3 4 8 10 10 12 13 14 16 17 **095** 1 2 3 4 **096** 1 26 30 39 39 46 **097** 4 **098** 4 **099** 2 8 8 **100** 5 6 6 7 8 11 14 15 15 15 19 19 22 24
tsemel plant (10) **003** 37 **006** 23 **010** 4 **027** 6 9 **073** 20 **077** 9 **088** 13 **091** 9 **096** 15
treat (2) **051** 19 **096** 15
tsemu decay (1) **022** 2
tseneq creak (1) **015** 4
tsengal knee (3) **014** 8 10 14
tsengeł lunch (4) **003** 52 **006** 12 **025** 13 **040** 12
tsengtseng enough (1) **092** 9
tsepeliw return (4) **091** 17 26 **093** 12 **100** 14
tsepis fruit (1) **009** 19
tseqadj plane.wood (1) **077** 19
tseqełap knife (1) **034** 20
tseva ravine (2) **057** 6 **059** 31
tseva- RED for *tseva* (1) **059** 31
tsevel bury (6) **003** 40 41 43 **058** 102 106 **071** 45
tsevi- RED for *tseviq* (1) **053** 8
tseviq segment (5) **009** 59 **053** 8 30 **075** 73 **080** 27
tsevu- RED for *tsevung* (7) **038** 4 **059** 46 **097** 4 **098** 11 **099** 8 **100** 17 18
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tsevuk (EXCL) (1) **010** 14
tsevuł smoke (2) **049** 6 8
tsevung meet (31) **006** 26 28 **009** 22 **011** 18 76 **018** 7 **027** 9 **034** 2 6 7 **037** 11 17 27 **038** 4 **059** 44 46 57 **072** 42 **079** 53 **085** 18 **091** 25 **096** 7 25 25 25 **097** 4 **098** 11 **099** 8 **100** 17 18 19
tsia= RED for *vutsiar* (1) **091** 7
tsiam shop [=F *tjiam*, Min] (1) **050** 20
tsidił alone (26) **005** 6 **008** 4 26 **010** 31 **011** 10 **015** 5 7 **016** 47 51 **019** 2 4 **034** 8 **039** 10 19 20 **048** 9 9 **051** 10 **065** 6 **079** 17 22 **087** 15 **092** 37 **093** 2 **096** 6 9
tsiḍ- RED for *tsiḍtsiḍ* (1) **003** 59
tsiḍtsiḍ tug (4) **003** 57 58 59 61
tsikal angry (1) **062** 12
tsike- RED for *tsikel* (3) **014** 10 **079** 91 **087** 18
tsike= RED for *tjautsikel* (7) **050** 43 47 54 **091** 25 27 **093** 9 **094** 6
tsikel return (41) **002** 7 8 9 10 11 34 **003** 22 **009** 68 **013** 37 **014** 10 **018** 7 21 **031** 8 **032** 14 **037** 21 24 28 **038** 3 **039** 7 **040** 10 42 **044** 9 **051** 24 **053** 18 **058** 4 19 70 87 **059** 30 **070** 12 14 **071** 62 **072** 11 **073** 12 **074** 58 **079** 78 90 91 113 **087** 18 **093** 11
tsikem snap (1) **023** 7
tsiłik lift.up (1) **080** 20
tsimeraw open.eyes (1) **091** 11
tsingas wedged [food stuck in teeth] (1) **036** 13
tsingtsing cut (?) (1) **021** 8
tsingul stranded (1) **076** 14
tsiqaw fish (11) **008** 19 **039** 4 5 **050** 21 24 25 **074** 25 **075** 41 **077** 7 8 9
tsirat snail.sp (1) **086** 2
tsiur together (3) **040** 33 35 **041** 16
tsu this (71) **001** 24 29 **002** 39 41 61 **003** 38 **006** 31 **007** 16 **010** 41 **012** 15 **016** 39 49 50 **017** 3 7 **020** 7 **021** 10 **024** 11 **027** 7 30 **028** 4 **030** 6 **033** 14 **034** 4 5 25 31 **037** 33 **042** 18 23 42 **043** 7 17 18 **046** 5 **047** 23 29 **049** 24 **051** 12 **058** 45 112 113 **059** 31 47 **061** 20 **064** 4 **065** 12 **069** 13 **079** 35 112 **084** 17 **092** 17 32 35 55 **094** 8 14 **096** 1 2 22 22 22 23 24 26 33 35 35 36 48 **100** 6
tsu- RED for *tsuk* (1) **064** 6
RED for *tsun* (4) **049** 11 **077** 16 **081** 12 **085** 31
? (1) **037** 5
-tsu this (104) **003** 14 **010** 21 31 **022** 1 **037** 1 **057** 8 **064** 1 **066** 7 8 **067** 2 **068** 15 **072** 27 39 33 **073** 16 22 **074** 28 57 **078** 8 10 10 15 16 **080** 10 10 **082** 1 4 **083** 1 1 3 4 9 **085** 3 12 19 **086** 1 3 8 **087** 1 2 11 30 32 **088** 1 4 16 18 **089** 2 11 14 **092** 1 2 5 6 6 6 9 9 14 16 17 18 20 20 25 25 25 37 45 51 55 **093** 12 **094** 9 10 13 13 16

17 **095** 1 2 3 4 7 **096** 19 27 42 **097** 4 9 12 13 14 16 18 19 **098** 5 9 **099** 3 6 8 **100** 2 7 12 15 17 23

tsua- RED for *tsuay* (26) **001** 4 6 **003** 45 **004** 5 **008** 18 **009** 22 **010** 8 28 **011** 6 **023** 14 **025** 4 **027** 12 14 19 24 28 **032** 12 **034** 7 **037** 5 **056** 23 26 **068** 10 **079** 71 78 **093** 11 **100** 2

tsual copy (1) **050** 8

tsuay long.time (93) **001** 4 6 19 **003** 1 36 45 58 **004** 1 5 **005** 1 **006** 1 5 16 **007** 1 **008** 18 23 36 **009** 1 22 **010** 1 8 12 28 **011** 1 6 27 **013** 18 **014** 1 **015** 1 **016** 1 48 **017** 1 **018** 1 19 **019** 1 4 **020** 1 **021** 1 **022** 4 **023** 1 14 15 **024** 1 **025** 4 12 23 **026** 1 **027** 1 12 14 18 19 23 24 28 30 **028** 1 4 **029** 1 7 **030** 1 7 **031** 1 **032** 1 12 **033** 1 20 20 **034** 1 7 **037** 5 **040** 27 35 **052** 7 17 **054** 16 **056** 23 26 **062** 1 **064** 1 **065** 1 **067** 1 **068** 1 10 **069** 1 **079** 71 78 **080** 17 **092** 30 **093** 11 **096** 35 **097** 4 **100** 2

Tsudjuy (name) (5) **038** 4 7 **089** 3 23 26

tsuḍeq split (?) (1) **059** 38

tsug like (3) **001** 1 **002** 64 **005** 2

tsugtsug bump (9) **008** 8 **047** 4 6 7 12 12 13 14 **069** 7

tsuk bump (1) **064** 6

vine.sp (1) **022** 1

tsuka- RED for *tsukar* (1) **049** 1

tsukar dry.clothes (1) **049** 1

tsukes post (4) **015** 7 7 12 **038** 18

tsukis incise (1) **072** 29

tsuli lose.appetite (1) **082** 4

tsuli- RED for *tsuli* (1) **082** 4

tsulis alright (2) **089** 20 20

Tsuluł (name) (3) **030** 7 **032** 1 13

tsuła hungry (5) **016** 8 10 **059** 26 **071** 62 **096** 43

tsuła- RED for *tsuła* (1) **096** 43

tsułu butcher (9) **002** 70 **045** 4 **070** 14 **071** 43 **077** 14 **085** 9 10 12 **087** 37

tsułu- RED for *tsułu* (1) **077** 14

tsumay bear (4) **080** 3 7 13 15

tsun see (50) **038** 4 **039** 2 **041** 5 **049** 11 **053** 14 22 28 **056** 51 **058** 38 **059** 33 39 **061** 19 **062** 2 12 18 **071** 39 50 **072** 18 20 35 38 **073** 23 **074** 11 16 19 **075** 71 **076** 3 28 **077** 6 16 **079** 51 55 **080** 5 **081** 12 **083** 5 **084** 10 13 **085** 31 **086** 3 **089** 6 6 **090** 10 11 **091** 24 **092** 2 52 **096** 1 10 12 15

tsunuq scree (2) **053** 3 **100** 11

tsungal knee (4) **039** 19 **051** 10 **058** 108 **063** 4

tsungaw bird.sp (1) **087** 22

tsungułł agree (1) **016** 9

tsuqelałł bone (14) **002** 71 **005** 8 20 21 22 23 **028** 2 2 **071** 14 15 23 28 29 41

tsuqitsuq rumble (1) **040** 61

tsuqu bischoffia (4) **001** 3 4 **025** 2 **087** 35

tsuru tip (1) **054** 18

tsusu thread (1) **021** 9

tsuvu- RED for *tsuvung* (9) **058** 13 19 19 79 87 88 **088** 17 **096** 3 19

tsuvung complete (16) **038** 13 13 19 **054** 17 **058** 13 19 19 79 87 88 **085** 26 **088** 17 **095** 5 **096** 3 19 **100** 14

tsuvuq sprout (6) **002** 73 **031** 4 **053** 25 **090** 10 11 **091** 9

tu alike (20) **001** 25 30 **002** 30 30 **005** 34 38 **013** 21 **051** 4 4 **058** 22 92 **072** 2 28 **077** 2 6 17 **087** 21 **089** 6 6 **091** 28

COMPL (37) **002** 46 **005** 12 **017** 3 4 20 **022** 2 **026** 2 **027** 4 **031** 6 **032** 4 **042** 9 **044** 8 **047** 14 **055** 17 **057** 2 **058** 5 52 70 102 **059** 37 38 **061** 1 **077** 20 **083** 3 10 **084** 30 **092** 11 11 13 13 **093** 3 **097** 2 11 13 13 **100** 5 7

OBL (95) **001** 7 **002** 3 17 36 **004** 25 **005** 12 15 40 **006** 14 **007** 6 19 19 **008** 4 **009** 65 **010** 10 14 19 28 42 44 64 71 73 75 83 84 **012** 11 **013** 8 9 32 47 **015** 11 **016** 6 10 11 21 31 33 34 34 41 46 51 54 **018** 6 7 **023** 11 11 11 **025** 13 **035** 2 **036** 4 **038** 7 12 14 17 20 **040** 41 42 **041** 15 **043** 7 11 11 **050** 59 61 66 **051** 17 **053** 2 25 33 **054** 24 **058** 6 7 9 10 71 72 74 75 110 **059** 20 21 25 **066** 9 **067** 1 **075** 41 **079** 4 30 35 **089** 2 **090** 1 **092** 9 **093** 7 **094** 12 **096** 1

tu- alike (3) **091** 8 8 **096** 42

COMPL (10) **043** 13 **056** 35 **059** 43 **082** 2 5 7 **092** 2 2 **100** 16 16

OBL (39) **006** 31 **010** 41 **012** 15 **016** 39 **020** 7 **021** 10 **024** 11 **027** 30 **028** 4 **030** 6 **033** 14 **034** 31 **049** 15 **059** 31 **069** 13 **070** 5 **075** 44 **076** 35 **079** 35 112 **084** 17 **092** 17 32 35 38 45 45 45 52 55 **094** 8 14 **095** 3 5 6 **096** 46 **098** 4 **100** 6 7

RED for *tsu* (1) **037** 33

-tu alike (12) **072** 27 33 39 **073** 16 22 **088** 16 **092** 6 14 25 **096** 19 27 42

? (4) **073** 39 **079** 4 5 85

tua OBL (727) **001** 1 3 4 4 5 7 8 19 20 21 26 32 34 38 40 50 51 52 54 **002** 2 3 14 20 23 35 46 53 54 63 68 69 **003** 8 11 14 18 20 28 34 36 36 37 37 **004** 3 14 15 16 17 21 24 25 25 26 26 27 28 28 **005** 1 2 3 8 8 10 12 13 16 17 20 20 **006** 3 12 14 21 31 **007** 1 4 10 11 17 **008** 1 4 11 13 15 17 39 39 **009** 1 4 7 8 17 19 25 26 31 32 33 42 46 66 **010** 4 7 9 11 13 19 22 26 **011** 14 14 16 22 25 29 34 38 39 39 40 55 56 60 66 66 67 70 81 85 **013** 9 9 11 16 18 36 39 43 **014** 1 17 19 **015** 7 11 11 **016** 2 5 10 12 14 29 35 41 46 47 52 55 **017** 7 19 19 **018** 1 1 13 16 20 **020** 2 2 4 **021** 9 **022** 1 1 5 5 5 **023** 3 14 **024** 4 5 7 8 9 10 11 **025** 1 14 22 22 **026** 1 3 4 **027** 2 6 9 13 28 **029** 3 4 4 **030** 3 3 **031** 2 2 4 10 **032** 8 10 10 **033** 7 15 **034** 2 3 9 20 22 **035** 8 13 14 **036** 3 5 12 **037** 3 7 8 10 11 14 17 19 31 **038** 9 13 15 16 17 **039** 4 5 11 14 14 14 14 **040** 3 3 3 4 9 9 12 13 21 28 29 29 29 42 42 44 56 61 62 **041** 1 4 4 10 **042** 16 21 32 37 40 41 41 **043** 2 7 19 **044** 6 11 **045** 1 **047** 1 4 5 6 9 15 17 20 24 32 **049** 6 8 11 17 19 22 26 **050** 1 2 9 13 16 21 24 25 59 61 **051** 5 9 19 23 24 **052** 2 2 5 12 14 **053** 4 8 13 19 21 22 25 25 27 33 **054** 2 2 5 6 7 8 8 9 12 12 13 13 15 24 24 25 26 26 **056** 6 11 14 19 29 29 36 47 48 50 50 **057** 3 6 6 8 **061** 14 **065** 15 **067** 3 4 6 **068** 4 4 8 11 12 **070** 1 6 11 13 14 **071** 5 14 15 21 23 23 28 38 38 50 51 52 55 57 63 **072** 6 6 19 30 31 **073** 5 14 19 23 32 38 38 39 42 57 57 57 **074** 4 4 10 25 44 46 49 54 56 57 67 **075** 39 60 64 **077** 1 1 2 4 4 5 6 7 12 12 12 14 14 15 16 17 19 20 20 21 21 21 23 25 26 **078** 4 6 7 7 8 10 10 15 16 16 17 17 20 20 20 20 20 20 22 22 **079** 7 12 14 16 16 17 20 21 27 30 36 37 38 38 38 49 54 55 58 60 61 65 70 70 71 72 72 76 78 78 78 78 79 81 84 85 89 90 91 93 94 94 98 99 106 109 109 109 113 114 115 115 115 **080** 1 3 4 4 7 13 23 27 **081** 2 3 4 5 5 10 14 19 **082** 3 4 4 4 **083** 1 3 5 7 **084** 4 **085** 4 5 9 10 13 13 13 14 19 20 27 28 28 30 32 **086** 5 5 5 6 6 **087** 6 10 13 16 19 21 25 30 33 35 37 39 41 **088** 1 4 4 4 4 14 17 17 **089** 25 **090** 12 **091** 1 4 4 4 6 6 6 7 7 10 10 10 10 12 17 17 18 23 23 23 24 24 25 25 26 27 27 29 29 **092** 1 2 3 5 7 7 8 8 9 9 16 17 17 24 24 28 30 30 30 36 36 42 49 49 50 52 52 52 52 **093** 1 1 1 5 5 5 7 9 9 11 11 12 **094** 1 3 4 9 9 10 11 12 12 14 14 16 17 **095** 4 6 6 **096** 2 7 15 16 19 20 21 22 25 25 25 26 27 28 43 **097** 4 4 5 5 5 6 9 13 14 15 16 17 18 **098** 4 10 11 **099** 2 4 6 8 8 8 **100** 6 6 6 7 7 8 8 10 11 14 14 14 14 14 14 15 16 18 19 19 22 24 24

-tua COMPL (1) **068** 15

OBL (17) **073** 20 **074** 8 **077** 9 **079** 9 **081** 1 **087** 11 **091** 6 **092** 2 17 **093** 9 **096** 1 **097** 3 4 **098** 3 9 10 **099** 7

tudu- RED for *tudur* (1) **099** 6

tudur progress (1) **099** 6

Tukanivun (name) (1) **064** 5

tulats howl (1) **037** 33

tulek point (1) **002** 27

tulu teach (18) **003** 44 **049** 26 **057** 8 **071** 5 **079** 36 44 49 54 81 84 85 **096** 43 **097** 4 **098** 11 **099** 8 8 **100** 6

tulu- RED for *tulu* (1) **100** 6

tuluq run (5) **010** 23 **011** 68 72 **013** 36 **072** 43

Tumapalapalai (place) (8) **067** 1 3 4 6 **068** 5 6 8 9

turivetsan tool (1) **077** 23

turu dare (1) **017** 23

tutu breast (5) **016** 5 7 8 **059** 10 26

tuvtuv curl (2) **009** 46 **010** 4

tuvu- RED for *tuvung* (1) **050** 17

tuvung container (2) **050** 3 17

tuzung handle (5) **071** 7 8 10 23 24
u? (1) **091** 29
u- ? (9) **017** 2 **037** 25 **040** 39 **072** 30 **075** 66 **079** 78 90 91 113
-u IMP (200) **001** 9 14 18 44 **002** 7 14 **003** 4 13 14 36 38 57 **006** 7 10 19 24 29 **008** 13 28 **009** 3 45 **010** 28 28 31 **011** 20 **012** 14 **013** 34 34 **016** 42 52 **025** 22 **027** 7 14 19 24 **028** 2 2 **032** 8 12 **034** 10 **037** 24 **040** 10 10 19 44 46 **041** 8 8 **042** 9 **043** 13 15 **047** 25 **048** 4 6 **049** 9 10 16 19 19 19 **050** 17 24 27 34 36 39 39 39 49 49 52 52 52 58 **051** 7 8 8 14 17 24 **055** 13 **058** 5 13 14 18 23 32 33 33 39 42 46 59 64 70 70 79 79 86 86 88 88 88 88 94 97 103 **059** 2 29 34 **060** 4 8 **061** 7 7 22 **062** 9 **065** 7 7 **067** 4 **069** 3 3 8 **070** 5 **071** 7 7 14 14 18 18 21 21 24 28 31 31 39 39 40 44 44 47 49 **072** 9 11 12 16 18 30 38 **073** 18 38 38 40 40 **074** 13 13 23 28 37 43 49 51 57 **075** 23 30 55 65 66 74 **076** 36 **079** 40 46 65 66 107 **080** 12 26 **081** 7 7 12 **084** 25 **089** 6 6 **090** 3 **091** 14 14 16 20 21 21 25 25 **092** 49 **096** 2 21 21 21 28 **100** 11
ua hey (3) **034** 24 **050** 57 **100** 11
uaa well (2) **050** 42 **051** 21
uagu herd [*quagu* in F231] (1) **071** 48
Uaitu Whitehorn (2) **098** 5 9
Uaituun Whitehorn (7) **093** 1 3 5 6 8 10 **094** 11
udaɬ increase (1) **053** 26
udjudju sprout (1) **037** 3
uḍa call (1) **052** 8
uḍe copulate (1) **021** 2
ui yes (44) **003** 5 28 **011** 20 35 **014** 4 **017** 16 **024** 5 **037** 31 **040** 20 25 35 **041** 5 **050** 45 53 57 62 64 **058** 27 44 48 60 61 66 95 98 **059** 14 **060** 3 **067** 4 **071** 58 **072** 6 **080** 11 25 **085** 21 **089** 16 **090** 5 6 8 **091** 16 **092** 10 15 43 43 50 **100** 11
uku- RED for *ukuz* (3) **092** 2 4 52
ukuz engage (3) **092** 2 4 52
ula lack (19) **002** 21 **008** 4 **011** 1 16 23 **016** 16 20 **025** 6 **027** 4 **058** 107 **059** 34 **066** 8 **071** 63 **072** 8 **079** 13 88 **089** 18 **092** 49 **097** 21
ula- RED for *ula* (3) **011** 1 **071** 63 **077** 23
ulaw lost (10) **010** 11 **016** 31 54 **018** 18 **041** 17 **055** 5 **074** 5 6 **077** 23 **088** 13
Ulung (name) (3) **041** 6 8 13
uła so.that (55) **004** 4 **006** 26 **049** 6 **050** 20 32 49 52 **070** 11 **071** 60 **073** 6 **079** 48 **082** 4 **091** 25 **092** 10 44 46 46 **093** 11 11 11 12 **095** 5 5 6 6 **096** 26 36 37 38 38 39 39 40 41 42 42 43 43 44 47 **097** 11 11 **099** 6 6 7 7 8 8 8 **100** 15 15 15 19 19 19
uła- RED for *ułay* (1) **050** 32
ułay overnight (5) **015** 3 **040** 19 **096** 16 17 17
piece (2) **050** 32 **088** 18
uma other (16) **016** 8 **022** 3 **035** 6 **046** 3 **056** 9 **058** 6 9 71 74 **078** 5 5 7 7 10 **092** 40 54
uma- RED for *uma* (7) **058** 6 9 71 74 **077** 22 **078** 7 **092** 54
umaq house (107) **002** 17 59 **003** 10 22 **005** 11 29 32 41 **006** 19 **008** 17 20 29 **009** 8 17 21 31 32 42 61 **010** 25 **011** 6 **015** 11 **016** 28 30 31 40 55 **017** 21 **031** 8 **038** 1 6 **039** 7 20 **040** 26 37 42 42 48 49 **042** 12 33 42 **044** 19 20 **046** 6 7 8 11 **047** 2 **048** 8 **050** 11 12 13 14 23 **051** 10 11 22 **054** 21 **055** 3 **056** 10 **057** 7 **058** 17 18 83 **059** 25 **061** 16 16 **062** 3 4 8 15 16 **066** 3 6 6 **071** 6 9 30 33 46 48 49 56 **072** 8 **073** 36 **074** 3 48 **076** 25 26 26 **077** 11 22 **079** 28 **080** 22 **081** 1 20 **084** 5 7 7 9 **085** 22 23 24 **088** 17 **094** 8 **096** 22
une- RED for *unem* [*enem* in this case] (1) 038 1
unem six (6) **037** 17 19 24 28 31 **038** 1
uni= RED for *sauni* (1) **056** 51
upu wall (9) **038** 17 **071** 29 29 **078** 5 7 7 10 **090** 3 4
uqaɬay male (54) **002** 69 71 75 **003** 2 14 16 18 23 32 36 39 41 44 48 53 59 **011** 5 7 20 22 28 30 38 39 44 47 50 57 58 85 **016** 2 **021** 2 **027** 2 **035** 1 10 13 14 **036** 14 **037** 9 **042** 17 22 **043** 11 **044** 18 23 **054** 23 27 **055** 3 **088** 5 **092** 2 10 16 22 43 46

uquł back (1) **081** 5
uram need (2) **076** 5 **092** 24
uri will (148) **001** 4 39 **002** 20 **003** 40 **004** 8 **006** 21 25 **007** 14 **009** 44 **011** 2 28 59 60 **012** 18 **016** 40 48 **017** 18 **018** 2 7 12 **025** 10 16 17 **033** 9 13 16 **034** 4 26 **038** 10 **039** 3 4 6 **040** 19 32 43 **042** 4 36 **046** 6 **048** 5 7 **049** 8 10 **057** 7 **058** 55 **059** 9 **065** 2 **070** 2 3 5 **071** 53 58 **072** 7 **073** 14 15 16 **074** 20 21 22 26 26 27 35 36 50 52 53 67 **075** 53 **077** 3 4 5 6 8 9 14 15 16 17 18 19 22 27 **079** 15 94 **080** 6 7 **081** 5 14 **082** 3 5 7 7 **085** 25 **087** 10 16 19 19 **088** 10 **089** 9 14 24 26 **090** 1 5 7 12 12 **091** 4 7 10 **092** 1 2 2 5 6 9 9 11 24 29 54 54 **093** 7 **094** 11 11 17 17 17 **095** 1 2 4 4 **096** 8 17 27 33 35 43 **097** 6 15 **099** 8 **100** 5 7 7 7 12 14 23
usa two (3) **053** 31 **058** 78 **092** 36
uta also (145) **001** 27 **002** 49 **003** 19 27 48 **004** 13 19 **005** 35 **006** 10 29 **008** 23 31 32 33 **009** 38 39 41 55 **010** 5 9 12 13 **011** 47 49 50 53 54 **016** 32 **022** 4 **025** 12 **026** 3 **027** 19 21 24 28 29 **033** 10 14 **046** 4 **047** 18 **049** 23 26 **050** 24 **054** 8 **058** 56 93 **068** 8 **071** 57 **077** 7 8 **079** 67 **082** 7 **084** 9 **085** 8 26 27 **086** 6 **087** 22 24 32 43 **088** 14 17 18 19 **089** 25 **091** 7 8 10 11 **092** 13 13 13 13 14 14 16 16 23 24 27 28 39 43 46 46 48 49 49 **093** 7 11 12 12 **094** 10 11 11 13 13 15 **095** 6 **096** 12 13 18 21 **097** 5 5 5 5 6 10 11 11 14 14 15 15 16 **098** 4 4 6 9 10 10 11 **099** 6 6 7 **100** 6 6 6 6 6 11 11 12 14 14 15 16 17 19 20 21 21 21
uti friend (?) (1) **072** 23
uza here (13) **042** 18 23 **059** 3 5 7 11 17 23 47 **074** 18 49 **084** 24 **096** 17
uza- here (2) **001** 24 29
uzay possession (3) **088** 4 9 **092** 2
there (54) **002** 1 12 13 58 **003** 1 2 7 45 **004** 1 2 13 14 21 **005** 1 9 33 37 **006** 2 31 **007** 6 15 18 **008** 1 **009** 1 **010** 41 **011** 1 7 34 40 45 50 54 71 73 81 **012** 1 **013** 46 **014** 1 **015** 1 **016** 1 **017** 1 17 **042** 32 **047** 11 22 **058** 24 25 55 63 91 **059** 33 41 **073** 40 **076** 29
uzi well (4) **073** 5 **076** 34 **090** 3 **092** 17
uzi= RED for *quzip* (4) **077** 14 **087** 39 **090** 9 **091** 10
uzing there (?) (1) **080** 16
va- RED for *va-* (1) **096** 15
RED for *vala* (1) **066** 9
RED for *vaw* (75) **001** 32 **004** 3 **008** 1 8 **009** 4 4 5 **013** 16 20 39 **016** 12 35 38 **035** 8 **040** 21 **042** 4 6 20 **043** 4 **049** 5 6 9 26 **052** 12 14 **054** 26 **056** 8 44 **058** 7 10 72 75 **059** 39 **061** 14 **064** 6 **067** 1 7 8 **070** 8 **071** 29 **074** 1 50 53 55 58 58 59 62 67 **076** 7 8 14 29 35 **077** 4 **079** 44 114 **085** 22 23 24 **091** 1 6 24 25 26 29 **092** 46 **096** 15 16 **097** 5 13 **098** 10 **099** 2 8 8
RED for *vua* (22) **016** 1 **040** 8 9 17 **047** 3 5 20 **048** 2 **057** 3 4 **066** 2 **071** 2 22 24 37 39 43 **074** 2 **076** 3 **084** 11 **087** 16 30
RED for *vutu-* (1) **096** 35
? (1) **051** 8
va= RED for *djavats* (2) **037** 12 13
vada- RED for *vadaq* (1) **085** 20
RED for *vaday* (1) **092** 38
vadaq ask (30) **001** 13 36 47 **002** 12 17 **003** 23 27 27 **005** 10 13 **007** 19 **011** 74 **016** 34 **017** 6 6 **056** 6 14 **058** 5 70 102 109 **061** 9 **074** 10 13 14 **080** 6 **085** 20 **092** 18 32 **096** 4
vaday separate (7) **006** 25 27 **034** 6 **058** 46 48 **059** 56 **092** 38
vadis chief's.meat (5) **025** 3 10 **088** 18 **092** 51 52
vai- RED for *vaik* (8) **002** 29 **011** 76 **053** 24 **077** 24 24 **081** 5 **097** 2 3
vaida weaver's.sword (1) **065** 13
vaik leave (294) **001** 3 7 17 20 45 **002** 1 29 37 49 50 54 57 60 **003** 4 5 6 10 13 15 20 29 37 37 46 **004** 4 5 22 26 26 28 28 **005** 1 3 12 13 16 17 29 41 **006** 4 13 16 19 20 **007** 1 2 9 12 **008** 18 25 26 37 **009** 4 5 14 18 21 26 46 57 **010** 2 17 34 **011** 5 6 29 46 47 49 51 52 74 76 **012** 2 4 8 9 **013** 14 24 36 45 **014** 13 **015** 3 **016** 12 21 22 28 35 37 43 48 **017** 18 **018** 2 3 12 13 14 14 15 16 21 **019** 2 **025** 9 **026** 2 **027** 6 9 11 15 20 25 28

031 2 7 8 **032** 1 10 14 **033** 5 7 10 14 **034** 1 6 **036** 14 **037** 5 10 15 18 19 21 26 **038** 12 14 18 **039** 4 8 16 **040** 8 17 19 26 32 36 43 **041** 10 15 16 **042** 2 13 38 39 42 **043** 2 **044** 6 **046** 1 6 **047** 3 5 15 17 **048** 2 8 **049** 12 20 23 **050** 3 5 23 40 44 50 55 60 63 66 **051** 10 15 18 22 25 **052** 10 **053** 24 **054** 17 19 **055** 2 7 15 **056** 3 10 12 22 **057** 3 **058** 3 4 21 61 62 89 98 100 108 109 111 **059** 44 **062** 8 **065** 7 **069** 9 **070** 6 12 **071** 2 4 6 8 15 30 32 37 46 51 54 56 58 58 59 63 **072** 7 42 **073** 7 12 14 36 36 41 52 58 **074** 2 9 14 29 48 50 53 58 67 **075** 4 15 17 26 27 29 47 **076** 6 9 25 27 **077** 24 24 **079** 28 44 53 53 59 78 78 79 83 89 90 92 93 113 **081** 5 15 **083** 7 **084** 4 12 13 **091** 18 26 **096** 3 8 11 13 16 43 **097** 2 3 **098** 2 4 **099** 6 7 8 **100** 2 12

vakar basket (3) **041** 4 11 13

vakela arrow (2) **052** 1 **070** 6

vala able (16) **005** 7 19 **031** 7 **035** 5 **051** 13 **063** 4 **066** 9 **071** 26 49 54 63 **074** 46 **079** 25 **084** 2 4 **097** 12

taro.sp (1) **049** 14

valak swell (2) **085** 13 14

valalangan lizard (3) **053** 13 17 18

valałuvał monster (4) **032** 6 8 13 14

valałvał monster (2) **018** 20 21

valanga mortar (2) **054** 26 **071** 38

valet oppose (1) **062** 12

vali grass.sp (2) **058** 15 80

wind (9) **035** 3 **040** 42 49 **043** 8 **058** 26 28 65 67 **079** 92

vali- RED for *vali* (1) **035** 3

RED for *valit* (3) **002** 47 **014** 2 **022** 3

valisaked worry (3) **096** 47 **097** 2 5

valiseqał wood.chip (1) **085** 13

valit exchange (8) **002** 30 47 **013** 6 **014** 2 **022** 2 3 **040** 31 **081** 4

Valivaliw (place) (2) **074** 60 69

valuku hole (1) **041** 10

Valuliaw (name) (4) **057** 1 2 7 8

valut jab (1) **032** 2

vała- RED for *vałan* (2) **010** 16 22

RED for *vaław* (2) **011** 77 **023** 14

vałan bandolier (2) **010** 16 22

vaław spouse (86) **001** 1 3 4 21 23 33 36 40 41 43 44 47 55 **002** 15 16 23 26 36 40 41 44 48 49 51 54 55 56 58 62 65 65 67 69 **003** 1 11 13 14 15 16 18 23 49 **008** 17 23 **011** 1 5 7 8 9 12 18 20 22 27 28 28 30 32 39 44 47 50 57 58 60 60 62 63 69 74 77 80 82 **013** 1 25 35 46 **021** 2 2 3 4 **023** 10 14 **031** 14 **053** 29 33

vałetjuk citrus (3) **001** 37 38 50

vałitjuq money (6) **004** 3 4 11 24 25 27

Vałuan (name) (1) **033** 1

Vałulu (place) (2) **079** 2 3

vałut alive (19) **005** 28 **009** 60 **023** 5 **042** 28 30 31 **044** 13 14 **051** 10 14 17 18 **052** 7 **056** 46 **074** 61 **079** 67 69 **090** 12 **096** 25

vałvał palm.sp (1) **059** 52

vana- RED for *vanaw* (1) **077** 28

vanaw bathe (12) **003** 14 18 27 28 **013** 9 11 **056** 21 22 **072** 30 31 32 **077** 28

vanga- RED for *vangał* (1) **091** 7

vangał fruit (4) **031** 5 **069** 11 **071** 44 **091** 7

vangas thistle (2) **065** 15 16

vangavang play (6) **007** 9 12 **039** 2 **050** 41 **053** 24 **058** 105

vangaw sky.light (3) **042** 39 41 **051** 8

vangeraw rainbow (2) **005** 40 42

vangsangsar handsome.man (1) **002** 30

vaqa= RED for *savaqar* (1) **013** 3

vaqesing sneeze (1) **087** 16

vaqu millet (34) **008** 11 **016** 46 49 **017** 19 **027** 13 **047** 4 14 **053** 23 25 **057** 5 5 **058** 33 42 **064** 5 **066** 4 5 9 11 **071** 35 42 **077** 6 7 8 9 18 **078** 6 8 19 21 **085** 6 27 **087** 4 6 **090** 6

vaqu- RED for *vaqu* (1) **077** 7

varu- RED for *varung* (1) **003** 44

varukur ship (2) **097** 5 13

varung chest [also means 'mind'] (23) **001** 6 **003** 31 44 44 **011** 13 **016** 24 29 **017** 7 8 12 **022** 5 **033** 2 5 **037** 30 **077** 2 17 **079** 57 **085** 14 **092** 16 19 21 28 45

vasa taro (16) **040** 12 **048** 2 6 **053** 23 25 **056** 19 **059** 1 9 **078** 1 4 6 8 10 11 16 18

vat grain (7) **016** 46 **066** 4 5 9 **071** 21 23 28

vateq wash (3) **008** 18 **084** 12 13

vatjułayan iron (1) **085** 8
Vatjułayan (name) (4) **052** 4 8 10 16
vatsa- RED for *vatsaq* (2) **075** 33 **077** 11
vatsał pool (4) **032** 3 5 **061** 15 **062** 19
vatsaq carry.pole (7) **003** 8 **038** 17 **040** 28 44 46 48 **074** 25
emerge (2) **075** 33 **077** 11
vatsu- RED for *vatsuk* (2) **071** 10 12
vatsuk clear.land [note *tsuk* 'vine.sp'] (5) **071** 10 12 **078** 6 7 7
vatsvats earring (1) **088** 6
vatu dog (35) **003** 60 **007** 17 20 **017** 17 18 18 19 19 20 **033** 3 4 5 6 8 9 10 14 15 16 19 **036** 1 2 3 8 9 13 13 15 **052** 3 5 8 8 9 10 14
vaung sea (4) **091** 4 5 6 10
vava alcohol (32) **005** 44 **010** 28 28 31 31 32 **011** 14 14 15 16 22 34 37 38 39 **032** 9 9 10 13 **039** 14 **054** 9 11 13 **069** 2 4 **072** 6 16 19 20 20 **073** 38 **089** 2
vava- RED for *vava* (2) **011** 22 39
vavayan female (96) **002** 3 12 18 21 28 31 38 49 52 54 71 72 76 77 **003** 13 14 15 20 22 25 26 29 31 34 35 42 47 49 51 54 **006** 3 **007** 5 6 9 12 13 19 20 21 **008** 15 26 27 **010** 2 4 5 6 7 9 10 **011** 7 12 22 31 32 33 34 36 37 60 63 65 74 85 **016** 2 5 **021** 1 **035** 1 5 9 11 13 **036** 14 **037** 9 **040** 3 **050** 13 **054** 9 23 27 **057** 2 **062** 17 **072** 14 39 **073** 5 **084** 2 4 30 31 **088** 6 7 17 **092** 2 2 6 15 29 50
vavu- RED for *vavuy* (1) **027** 2
vavulung ? (2) **050** 49 52
Vavuluvulungan (name) (6) **044** 1 **050** 36 40 50 60 66
vavuy pig (6) **027** 2 29 30 **028** 2 **036** 3 **073** 40
vaw above (76) **001** 32 **004** 3 **008** 1 8 **009** 4 4 5 **013** 16 20 39 **016** 12 35 38 **035** 8 **040** 21 **042** 4 6 20 **043** 4 **049** 5 6 9 26 **052** 12 14 **054** 26 **056** 8 44 **058** 7 10 72 75 **059** 39 **061** 14 **064** 6 **067** 1 7 8 **070** 8 **071** 29 **074** 1 50 53 55 58 58 59 62 67 **076** 7 8 14 29 35 **077** 4 **079** 44 114 **083** 8 **085** 22 23 24 **091** 1 6 24 25 26 29 **092** 46 **096** 15 16 **097** 5 13 **098** 10 **099** 2 8 8
-vaw see *-aw*
vay give (28) **002** 3 14 24 **004** 24 25 27 **016** 46 **040** 29 40 47 56 58 **043** 19 **051** 25 **055** 12 **058** 110 **062** 5 10 **072** 10 13 **073** 57 57 57 **079** 58 **085** 5 8 30 **096** 18
vay- RED for *vay* (1) **062** 5
vaya= RED for *vavayan* (17) **002** 3 **010** 2 4 5 6 7 9 10 **035** 1 9 13 **050** 13 **062** 17 **084** 2 4 30 31
vayar cape (1) **059** 38
vayvay hang (1) **073** 20
ve- ? (9) **038** 13 **054** 26 **058** 11 13 19 77 79 85 88
vela= RED for *tevela* (1) **092** 5
velak receive (1) **095** 6
velay net.needle (?) [F345 'trapezium shaped net'] (4) **074** 28 31 37 39
veli buy (10) **029** 3 4 7 **030** 3 5 7 **050** 22 **077** 25 **079** 27 30
veli- RED for *veli* (1) **077** 25
Velikił (place) (3) **034** 1 3 31
vełatan bow (2) **015** 7 8
vełatj hit (2) **001** 2 **065** 13
vełeng dam (2) **060** 7 10
venan deer (10) **027** 29 30 **036** 3 **037** 1 5 7 8 16 17 19
veng (EXCL) (1) **053** 18
vengetj tie (2) **003** 8 **087** 43
vengin night (1) **001** 46
verits discard (16) **002** 72 73 **004** 18 **013** 5 8 27 28 **040** 30 **042** 9 **045** 3 **061** 21 **073** 43 49 50 51 **080** 22
verung hole (1) **001** 3
veseqitj flog (2) **050** 9 **059** 52
vetje- RED for *vetjek* (5) **092** 9 31 **094** 2 **096** 39 47
vetjek segment (1) **085** 24
sibling (10) **049** 25 **092** 6 9 31 **094** 1 2 10 **096** 36 39 47
vetsa lie (5) **010** 21 35 **012** 14 **013** 35 **069** 2
vetseluq break (5) **012** 18 **038** 4 9 15 **074** 59
vetsengel crop (2) **058** 38 **090** 7
vetseqel grasp (2) **016** 42 **056** 39
vetsi- RED for *vetsik* (5) **037** 8 14 **097** 13 **100** 6 16
vetsiar flower (9) **002** 2 4 6 9 14 15 17 17 22
vetsik mark (14) **020** 2 **037** 8 14 **058** 14 **079**

5 89 95 **096** 2 **097** 13 14 **099** 4 **100** 6 15 16
via grass (6) **009** 25 26 35 45 46 **056** 8
via- RED for *via* (5) **009** 25 26 35 46 **056** 8
vikił lap (2) **072** 43 **073** 54
vila- RED for *vilad* (1) **081** 18
vilad flee (19) **001** 59 **006** 23 **008** 11 29 **010** 7 36 **011** 25 **012** 20 **013** 30 40 **014** 20 **025** 23 **034** 27 27 **038** 6 **052** 9 **069** 5 7 **081** 18
vili- RED for *vilił* (6) **005** 39 **020** 4 **050** 6 **080** 21 **088** 15 **096** 35
vilił behind (32) **005** 39 **011** 28 39 44 47 50 58 **018** 15 **020** 4 **034** 6 **038** 7 **039** 14 **042** 37 **050** 6 **059** 41 **074** 9 65 **078** 19 **080** 21 **088** 15 **089** 26 **091** 29 **092** 54 **096** 35 40 **097** 4 11 15 16 **100** 16 17 18
vił-vił pull (5) **012** 19 19 **027** 9 **065** 15 **071** 25
viri left (2) **087** 30 31
visvis shake (2) **011** 79 **013** 23
vua field (29) **002** 37 55 60 **011** 76 **012** 2 4 **014** 6 **016** 1 **040** 8 9 17 **047** 3 5 20 **048** 2 **057** 3 4 **066** 2 **071** 2 22 24 37 39 43 **074** 2 **076** 3 **084** 11 **087** 16 30
vua- RED for *vua* (7) **002** 37 55 60 **011** 76 **012** 2 4 **014** 6
vuaq today (1) **084** 8
vuka digging.stick (4) **010** 9 11 13 **014** 17
vuki- RED for *vukid* (3) **087** 12 13
vukid forest (3) **087** 12 13 13
vukuts bend (1) **007** 11
Vulavulat (place) (1) **034** 8
vuled mountain (1) **053** 7
vuli- RED for *vuliq* (1) **049** 17
vuliq striped (1) **049** 17
vulu- RED for *vulung* (27) **002** 1 8 13 16 17 18 19 24 38 42 45 **006** 3 7 **017** 5 **040** 28 30 32 36 55 58 **041** 1 9 **049** 15 **050** 66 **051** 8 **081** 8 20
vulung millet.sp (1) **049** 15
old (48) **002** 1 8 13 16 17 18 19 24 38 42 45 49 52 54 **004** 3 4 5 7 12 14 15 15 16 25 31 **006** 3 6 7 24 **016** 2 5 13 17 25 **017** 5 **040** 28 30 32 36 55 58 **050** 66 **051** 8 **055** 2 4 6 **081** 8 20
snake.sp (4) **025** 14 20 **041** 1 9
vuluq spear (9) **032** 2 7 **051** 4 **052** 1 **054** 2 5 18 **080** 4 10
Vuluvulung (name) (14) **027** 1 4 6 9 14 18 19 24 27 28 **071** 3 22 25 63
vułu pluck (1) **043** 7
vułu- RED for *vułuq* (1) **009** 6
vułuq throw (11) **001** 22 27 **009** 6 **050** 9 **059** 18 20 21 **085** 15 **087** 12 12 32
vunavuq bamboo.sp (1) **052** 2
Vungaliz (place) (3) **039** 15 18 20
Vungavan (name) (7) **051** 10 15 **058** 5 8 32 34 70
vungelay pregnant (9) **018** 20 **035** 4 **043** 10 11 13 **061** 27 **087** 18 19 37
vuqa- RED for *vuqał* (1) **033** 3
vuqał white (1) **033** 3
vur- RED for *vurvur* (1) **058** 52
vurasi sweet.potato (7) **006** 4 8 **053** 23 25 **078** 22 24 **080** 23
Vurivuri (name) (2) **058** 39 41
vurvur worry (2) **058** 30 52
vusa- RED for *vusam* (1) **092** 31
vusam chief (1) **088** 7
seed (9) **049** 13 15 15 **087** 2 8 **092** 11 22 31 51
vuta appear (6) **055** 8 16 **065** 11 **075** 42 **080** 17 **083** 7
vutju- RED for *vutjuł* (1) **058** 19
vutjuł meat (7) **025** 5 **039** 14 **058** 19 88 **077** 20 **083** 9 **085** 11
vutsa blind (7) **008** 6 **023** 11 12 13 15 **053** 30 32
vutselay pale (?) (2) **092** 39 42
vutsiar flower (2) **091** 7 8
vutsil set.down (1) **059** 16
vutsiq cut (2) **042** 29 **058** 79
Vutsuł (place) (4) **070** 1 10 13 14
vutu enemy (3) **054** 19 **096** 35 41
vutu- RED for *vutu* (1) **096** 35
vuvu grandchild (9) **057** 2 **092** 8 9 13 14 20 25 42 49
grandparent (44) **027** 17 22 22 26 **040** 27 40 42 47 **050** 51 58 **054** 12 **057** 5 **058** 8 34 41 70 116 116 **071** 9 10 10 16 19 34 50 51 52 52 55 57 63 **074** 13 18 20 21 26 35 49 50 53 57 66 **090** 1 1
ya- RED for *yaya* (1) **009** 6

ya= RED for *qiyaw* (1) **044** 15
yaya harvest (6) **001** 38 **002** 3 4 6 **009** 4 6
Yiriku Jericho (1) **096** 6
Yirusałim Jerusalem (1) **096** 6
Yisu Jesus (19) **079** 115 **094** 2 **095** 7 **096** 3 5 19 21 22 26 27 30 32 35 42 43 43 46 48 **099** 8
za → *zua*
za- RED for *zeka-* (22) **003** 14 **024** 5 10 **032** 16 **033** 19 **034** 21 31 **036** 9 **038** 1 **040** 11 37 **091** 17 **092** 32 **093** 12 **095** 4 **096** 37 44 **097** 4 **098** 11 **100** 5 7 8
zaing call (4) **002** 58 **006** 30 **008** 9 **011** 41
załum water (32) **003** 14 16 **013** 9 10 **023** 1 4 **024** 4 8 **032** 10 **040** 50 51 52 56 62 63 **050** 8 **053** 1 **060** 11 **061** 13 **066** 9 11 **068** 1 3 3 4 5 10 **072** 30 31 **077** 11 **083** 7 **087** 2
zaman torch (5) **042** 13 **080** 4 8 9 22
zang guard (8) **053** 9 **079** 89 **093** 11 **095** 3 5 **096** 46 47 **100** 15
zanga- RED for *zangal* (2) **087** 44 **097** 11
zangal hard (3) **087** 44 **092** 43 **097** 11
hope (4) **083** 1 **091** 24 **092** 29 **100** 18
zangaq necklace (4) **021** 9 **040** 29 38 **050** 31
zangar joy (1) **095** 6
zangaw betel.pepper (1) **077** 5
zangił chief (37) **004** 22 23 23 26 27 28 30 **005** 45 **011** 73 76 84 **020** 3 **038** 8 **051** 8 **054** 4 15 21 23 **055** 17 **058** 6 9 71 74 **068** 11 12 15 **069** 1 **077** 4 **087** 29 33 **088** 1 2 4 18 **091** 28 **092** 1 2
zaqu crystal.bead (2) **085** 20 30
tree.sp (2) **055** 11 14
zaqu- RED for *zaqu* (2) **055** 11 14
zar- RED for *zarzar* (1) **091** 8
zarzar shine (1) **091** 8
zatja level (1) **034** 22
zatjak arrangement (1) **085** 10
zaya up (3) **018** 1 **040** 50 **050** 24
zaya- RED for *zaya* (3) **018** 1 **040** 50 **050** 24
zeka- RED for *zekatj* (13) **003** 14 **011** 36 **091** 17 **092** 32 **093** 12 **095** 4 **096** 37 44 **097** 4 **098** 11 **100** 5 7 8
zekatj share (18) **003** 14 **011** 36 **035** 13 **091** 17 **092** 32 45 54 **093** 12 **095** 4 **096** 37 44 47 **097** 4 19 **098** 11 **100** 5 7 8
zeli weariness (2) **093** 9 **100** 11
zeli- RED for *zeliuł* (1) **040** 8
zeliuł work (3) **040** 8 9 **055** 10
zełu= RED for *kazełu* (1) **070** 11
zeme= RED for *qezemetj* (10) **017** 22 **041** 2 **063** 3 4 **064** 7 **077** 17 17 **082** 1 2 **092** 55
zeng- RED for *zenger* (1) **094** 12
zenge- RED for *zenger* (1) **094** 16
zenger beg (4) **013** 29 **094** 12 16 17
zep- RED for *zepzep* (1) **074** 46
zepzep converse (9) **074** 46 **077** 27 **081** 3 4 **092** 1 2 54 55 56
zia- RED for *zian* (5) **013** 14 17 19 **054** 10 25
zian dance (10) **005** 44 **013** 7 14 15 17 19 **054** 10 22 25 27
zini blame (1) **084** 28
zu- RED for *zung* (1) **016** 51
zua that (821) **001** 3 9 15 16 20 44 55 **002** 9 14 17 19 22 28 30 31 33 36 36 37 38 44 45 48 49 49 51 52 54 59 60 64 65 65 66 70 72 72 74 77 78 **003** 3 4 17 18 20 22 24 31 35 40 44 47 48 54 **004** 5 7 13 18 18 19 21 23 31 **005** 10 18 33 37 **006** 1 6 13 19 24 **007** 13 19 20 21 **008** 3 7 15 23 26 27 30 31 35 **009** 8 10 13 14 15 18 31 32 34 35 44 46 57 65 65 **010** 9 10 12 14 15 16 18 19 27 30 32 35 36 **011** 5 12 18 19 20 22 23 27 28 28 30 31 32 32 33 36 37 38 39 42 44 45 45 46 47 47 48 49 50 51 54 55 57 58 60 63 63 65 66 68 69 71 76 78 79 82 84 85 **012** 1 3 9 11 19 **013** 2 5 9 16 21 27 30 34 37 40 41 42 44 47 **014** 4 5 6 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 19 20 **015** 5 **016** 10 10 13 14 17 18 24 25 28 31 31 35 40 45 52 **017** 10 11 14 18 21 22 **018** 1 5 6 7 20 **019** 1 1 2 **020** 1 2 2 6 **021** 1 2 7 9 10 **022** 5 **023** 1 2 3 5 7 9 10 13 **024** 2 4 5 7 9 10 **025** 1 2 4 5 5 7 10 10 10 10 18 18 20 **026** 2 2 4 4 **027** 1 1 3 6 6 14 15 17 22 22 27 26 30 **028** 2 4 **030** 6 **031** 1 3 4 5 7 7 13 15 **032** 6 8 14 16 **033** 3 4 14 19 **034** 1 7 8 21 28 31 **035** 1 7 9 10 11 13 **036** 1 1 2 4 8 8 9 9 10 **037** 3 4 6 7 8 11 12 14 14 16 17 17 18 19 19 20 20 22 24 25 26 28 31 32 **038** 1 1

2 3 3 4 7 9 11 12 13 19 20 20 21 **039** 1 1 2 2 6 10 11 11 13 15 16 17 **040** 1 2 2 3 4 4 5 5 6 6 7 7 8 11 12 13 14 16 16 19 22 24 27 28 29 31 32 33 36 36 37 37 39 43 44 44 45 47 49 51 55 **041** 1 1 4 6 10 14 **042** 1 7 9 43 **043** 1 1 3 **044** 1 2 3 4 5 8 18 18 22 **045** 1 **046** 1 7 8 9 10 10 12 **047** 1 7 8 15 17 18 19 22 23 32 **048** 1 3 **049** 1 27 **050** 1 3 3 4 5 8 13 24 30 31 36 36 37 44 48 48 65 68 **051** 1 14 19 19 20 20 21 26 **052** 4 6 8 11 13 **053** 2 2 4 5 6 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 21 22 26 27 33 **054** 16 **055** 1 15 **056** 1 2 5 34 36 47 **057** 1 2 2 5 **058** 1 1 6 6 6 7 9 9 9 10 54 71 71 72 74 74 74 75 82 82 106 111 119 **060** 1 **061** 1 4 14 21 24 31 32 33 **062** 1 4 8 11 19 21 **063** 4 5 **064** 7 **065** 1 1 3 8 9 9 10 10 11 14 15 **066** 1 1 5 **067** 1 **068** 1 1 1 2 3 4 6 6 7 8 8 8 8 8 9 10 11 11 13 14 15 **069** 1 1 2 6 9 13 **070** 1 6 14 **071** 1 3 4 29 29 41 42 48 62 63 **072** 1 17 22 28 34 44 **073** 1 21 24 26 42 52 53 58 58 **074** 1 8 9 9 16 64 66 69 **075** 1 1 10 40 73 **076** 1 1 3 5 7 8 15 18 18 19 23 24 25 27 28 29 31 36 37 **077** 14 18 18 19 19 22 **078** 4 **079** 10 11 21 22 25 28 39 40 44 58 58 58 59 65 66 66 66 67 67 69 82 85 86 88 89 89 93 93 109 109 113 **080** 8 8 17 25 **081** 1 1 1 1 2 2 3 4 14 16 18 19 19 21 **082** 4 **083** 6 7 8 **084** 1 1 14 14 30 31 **085** 3 8 10 10 11 13 13 14 20 22 24 28 **086** 2 2 2 5 **087** 1 15 31 **088** 4 7 15 17 18 19 19 **090** 1 3 4 4 5 6 6 6 6 7 11 **091** 1 1 1 2 5 6 7 8 11 11 13 14 17 19 23 23 23 23 23 23 28 28 28 28 **092** 2 2 2 2 7 18 31 32 32 38 52 56 **096** 3 3 3 6 6 6 7 8 8 9 9 12 15 15 17 17 18 19 20 33 43 43 **097** 9 12 **098** 10

zua- RED for *zua* (34) **018** 6 **025** 7 **026** 4 **037** 6 7 14 14 16 17 20 22 26 28 **038** 9 19 20 **039** 6 17 **040** 5 6 12 24 37 51 **041** 1 4 10 **053** 18 20 26 27 33 **091** 7 **092** 31

-zua that (92) **001** 50 **002** 14 15 17 22 **004** 4 15 **005** 16 **006** 18 18 **007** 9 **009** 20 45 **010** 7 34 **011** 7 36 39 69 70 74 75 **016** 5 36 **017** 15 20 **021** 4 **035** 11 **037** 14 14 16 16 17 **038** 13 **039** 16 **040** 48 58 **047** 27 **049** 26 **050** 24 37 43 **052** 2 2 17 **053** 18 19 **054** 9 12 **056** 24 **058** 103 **065** 5 7 9 **072** 14 37 39 **073** 19 **075** 41 41 42 **076** 24 24 26 26 **079** 12 16 99 109 **081** 8 15 20 **083** 7 7 **084** 6 16 28 **085** 26 **086** 5 **092** 2 10 15 16 21 29 50 **096** 15 15 21 43 **098** 9 **100** 11

zukatj husband [= *zekatj* 'share'?] (1) **041** 14

zuker arrive (19) **071** 24 39 49 **074** 55 59 **076** 3 26 31 **079** 94 **091** 19 20 **093** 6 9 10 **096** 31 **097** 5 13 18 **098** 6

zuku tribe [Jap] (1) **100** 8

zuliuł wage (2) **011** 19 20

zułu add (1) **037** 22

zuma other (18) **011** 22 **025** 17 **041** 3 **052** 13 **078** 7 13 14 **079** 90 **081** 19 19 **085** 7 11 28 29 **086** 2 2 2 **088** 18

zung thunder (1) **016** 51

zurung push (2) **002** 53 **085** 17

4 *English–Paiwan finderlist*

able *kaya, laut, paka-, tsaqu, vala*
above *vaw*
accept *gawgaw*
actor/agent focus *em=, en=, m-, m=, me-, mi-, min-, n=*
add *zułu*
adult *ramałeng*
after *ka, ka-, -ka*
agree *tsungułł*
ah *aa, iya, qa*
aha *ha*
alcohol *vava*
alert *tseged*
alight *djekets*
align *rasudj*
alike *tu, tu-, -tu*
alive *vałut, pułat*
allot *penetj*
allot food *patjada*
alone *tsidił*
alongside *łungu*
alright *tsulis*
also *uta*
always *raketj*
ambush *biłung, talaw*
amen *qaming*
and *ka-, -ka, sa*
angry *dudu, mutseng, tjalaw, tsikal*
animal *quzip*
answer *tevela*
ant *sasiq*
ant-eater *qam, qaruqaruman*
anxious *sepeł*
apart *tju-*
appear *vuta*
approach *dut*
apron *dangiłan*
around *linguł*
arrangement *zatjak*
arrive *djałun, zuker*
arrow *panaq, vakela*
arthritis *kalakala*
ash *qavu*
ashamed *lumał*
aside *papaw*
ask *vadaq*
ask help *tjałava*
assist *qiyaw*
associate *qepu*
attain *tarev*
attic *laukung*
avoid *lagaw*
awaken *tega*
awkward *kulung*
axe *putjaw*
back *likuz, uquł*
bad *kuya, lutjuk*
badger *ngaḍi*
bake *tapi*
ball *tjukutjuku*
bamboo *kavayan, navuq, qau, vunavuq*
bamboo tube *bungbung, tjułung*
bandit *tsaḍ*
bandolier *siatj, vałan*
banyan *djarałap*
bare teeth *navungisir*
bared teeth *naḍungałis*
bark *gurugur*
barrier *qetseng*
basket *pungki, vakar*
basket type *kałaudjul, tjakaz*
bathe *vanaw*

be at *tji*
be firm *kezeng*
be in *łia-*
be still *ineseg*
be thus *aya, -aya*
bead *qata*
beak *tjuktjuk*
bean sp. *puk, qarizang*
bear *tsumay*
beat *djukul*
beautiful *bulay*
become *ka-*
bed *gałigał, surur*
bedspace *tala*
bee *tjainan*
beg *zenger*
behind *vilił*
being *tsau*
believe *salu*
believer *sinzia*
belt *ledeled*
bend *vukuts*
bend over *tjugułudj*
betel *apu*
betel palm *saviki*
betel pepper *zangaw*
betroth *paukez*
Bible *siisiu*
big *qatsa*
big seeds *tjałayan*
bird *kełis, qayam, tsungaw*
bischoffia *tsuqu*
bite *kats*
bitter *qadid*
blame *zini*
blanket *tjalikuvał*
blind *vutsa*
block *qełev*
blood *djamuq*
body *tsavan*
boil *pinatuk*
bone *tsuqelał*
book *sunat*
borrow *sedjam*
boundary *qedi*
bow *velatan*
bow head *sukub*
box *lukuł, tjałev*
boy *ading*
bracelet *kałat, latip*
braid *qapiz*
branch *ritsing*
brave *rakats*
break *palak, vetseluq*
break down *teperuk*
break wind *qetjutj*
breakfast *kenama*
breast *tutu*
breath *nasi*
breathe *djapes*
bride price *lisi*
bring back *sikilił kauław*
brown owl *tjugelui*
bully *padang*
bump *tsagtsag, tsugtsug, tsuk*
burn *łama*
burst *gutsal*
bury *tsevel*
busy *qutjela*
but *ala, łakua*
butcher *tsułu*
butterfly sp. *kadiadi*
buy *veli*
buzz *lengleng*
by *na, ni, ni-, nu-, nua, nua-*
call *djauł, uda, zaing*
camel *lakuda*
cape *vayar*
care for *łivak*
carry *katsu, masi, qalu*
carry cloth *ała*
carry on back *kavits, seval*
carry on shoulder *tsavulid*
carry pole *vatsaq*
carry water *tsałum*
cat *ngiaw*
catch *djameq, djekep*
cause *pa-*
cave *łiv*
cease *paetez*
chaff *lavu*
chant *senay*
charcoal *qidung*
chest *varung*

chew *nguḍay*
chicken *kuka*
chief *vusam, zangił*
chief's meat *vadis*
child *ałak, łałak, qunu*
choose *piliq*
chop *seqas*
church *kiukai*
citrus *vałetjuk*
class *ła, ła-*
claw *getsel*
clay *djukel*
clear *łaluay*
clear cut bush *qułits*
clear land *vatsuk*
cliff *djełeqi, pungayan*
clog *tjukap*
close eyes *tjikezem*
close to *djungus*
cloth *itung, kaikapu, liław*
clothing *kava*
cold *łałeqer, qesang, tseleł*
come *id, keł, ngetjez, pangetjez, ruram*
commoner *qetit*
companion *saladj*
compete *łuvaq*
complement *tu, tu-, -tua*
complete *tsuvung*
console *sasa*
construct marker *a, a-*
consume *ke-, ken-*
container *tuvung*
continue *łules*
converse *zepzep*
copulate *uḍe*
copy *tsual*
correct *ḍia*
count *supu*
counterpart *qetsev*
cover *limu*
covering *quleng*
cow *gung*
crab *gagang, gang*
crag *tjagułł*
creak *tseneq*
create *qati, tjavang*
crippled *piłay*
crop *vetsengel*
cross river *tjełu*
crow *qaqa, qeqe*
crumb *lunung*
cry *qaung*
crystal *talau*
crystal bead *zaqu*
cup *tjavang, tjutjung*
curl *tuvtuv*
cut *tsingtsing, vutsiq*
cut bush *dangdang*
cut off *djaqut*
Dad *tjama*
dam *vełeng*
dance *zian*
dare *turu*
dark *selem, sulem*
dawn *łia, tangtang*
dazzle *levelev, qiłqił*
decay *tsemu*
deceive *ligił, pasukangalu*
decide *lanaw*
deer *venan*
deficit *pułu*
delay *laqets*
depend *rukuz*
descend *ledep*
desire *łinga*
determined *reqereq*
dew *ładjek*
die *patsay*
different *ałi, małi*
dig *kali*
dig roots *qusul*
digging stick *vuka*
disappear *lipat*
disappointed *suḍam*
disarray *qurepung*
discard *verits*
discuss *tjumał*
disgust *savaqar*
dislike *sengats*
distribute *qarut*
do *ki, ki-, te-*
do at *tje, tje-*
do much *djavay*

do what *kuda*
dog *vatu*
don't *maya*
doorway *pałing*
down *lauz, teku*
drag *rakats*
dread *qazał*
dream *sepi*
dried food *kurił*
drill *patut*
drink *tekel*
drongo *tjatjiw*
drunk *pulaw*
dry *ḍasi, kułi, siqsiq, tad, tsapa*
dry clothes *tsukar*
dry taro *ragrag*
dumpling *qavay*
dung *tsaqi*
dusty *qunvuł*
each *tjara*
eagle *ritał*
eagle feather *łayłay*
ear *tsalinga*
ear of millet *makuzan*
earring *vatsvats*
earth *djunang*
earthquake *luni*
eat *kan*
edge *tagaw*
eight *alu*
embrace *qevet*
emerge *pe-, vatsaq*
end *tjektjek*
enemy *vutu*
engage *ukuz*
England *Igiris*
enough *meseng, tsengtseng*
enter *tjemala*
entire *lingetj*
envy *qauban*
equal *sełang*
erect *qeḍu*
even *nuka*
exact *avan*
example *łuan*
exceed *tjekuł*
exchange *valit*

exclamation *ngangay, teng, tjugelui, tsevuk, veng*
expert *djułam*
exterminate *quang*
extinguish *qevutj*
extract *petjuq*
eye *matsa*
focus *ti-*
focus (honorific) *ti*
focus (first person) *aken*
focus we(EXC) *amen*
focus we(INC) *itjen, tjen*
focus you(P) *mun*
focus you(S) *sun*
face *mudingan*
faith *sinku*
fall *ipuq, kelu, kulasu, tjani*
fan *paiz*
far *tsadja*
fasten *tsaing*
fat *kuḍal*
father *kama*
fear *rekutj*
female *vavayan*
female friend *ḍava*
fence *qapaz*
festival type *łeveq*
field *quma, vua*
fight *qetsi*
find *djumak*
find game *luku*
finished *maka, maka-*
fire *sapuy*
firearm *kuang*
firefly *qutsivauvaw*
fireplace *likezał*
first *sangas*
fish *marutsiqełap, tsiqaw*
fish with hook *panadip*
fist *gemgem*
fit *djałep*
five *lima*
flee *vilad*
flog *veseqitj*
flow *tsevud*
flower *vetsiar, vutsiar*
flower sp. *łakaraw*

fly *langaw, layap*
follow *laing*
food *kesa*
foot *kula*
foothill *sadip*
forbidden *qiłi*
force *qadił*
forecourt *sasaw*
forest *vukid*
fortune *luqem*
four *sepatj, simatj*
fowl *djurikuku*
fragrant *ngułinguł*
friend *ngeli, qali, uti*
frisk *kulat*
from *kasi, kasi-, masi*
front *qayaw*
fruit *tsepis, vangał*
fry *qirqir*
full *pełuq, tjanu*
gather *łułu, tevuk*
ginger *łamłam*
give *vay*
give gift *qunevuł*
glare *pinatseqisan*
glass *iłung*
go *sa, sa-, sau*
go aside *livay*
go between *muilang*
go on *ari*
go to *łe-*
goat *sizi*
God *Tsemas*
god *tsemas*
goitre *ḍaquł*
good *nguaq*
gourd *łui*
grab *djadjas*
grain *vat*
grain store *salang*
granary *tjiłivar*
grandchild *vuvu*
grandparent *vuvu*
grasp *vetseqel*
grass *via*
grass root *tjapunguł*
grass sp. *gagaz, vali*
grave *luvang*
grind teeth *qitjqitj*
grip *qetsap*
groan *ḍungal*
grope *dadip*
guard *zang*
habit *tavak*
hair *quvał*
hand *lima*
hand over *patumu*
handle *tuzung*
handsome man *vangsangsar*
hang *kelay, paḍal, vayvay*
hard *kuḍesul, tsałeqił, zangal*
harvest *yaya*
harvest rite *salut*
hat *kuidi, łinay, tjalupun, tjalupung*
have *pu, pu-*
hawk *qaḍis*
head *qulu*
head hunt *qatsap*
headband *tjukuḍ*
headcloth *lepets*
headdress *gamuts*
hear *ladenga, langeda*
heart *qavuvung*
heat *łała, tsage*
heaven *tinkuku*
heavy *sadjelung*
he *madju*
hee *hi*
herd *uagu*
here *maza, uza, uza-*
hey *ii, łaqa, ua*
hide *qiła*
hit *vełatj*
hoe *titaw*
hold *kałung, pitsipits*
hold hand *tjiak*
hold in mouth *tangepats*
hold liquid *talaw*
hole *berung, buang, valuku, verung*
honorific *sa, -sama*
hoof *qułquł*
hook *teqits*

hope *zangal*
horn *tequng*
hornet *pangats, tjiḍiuł*
hortative *-i*
house *umaq*
how *aki, ki*
how many *pida*
howl *qengal, tulats*
hundred *iday*
hungry *tsuła*
hunt *qałup*
hurry *latjak, qutjaw*
husband *zukatj*
hut *tapaw*
I *aken, ke, ku*
instrument focus *si-*
imperative *-u*
in order *ridiw*
incise *tsukis*
incomplete *lingzał*
increase *udał*
indeed *anga, -anga, numa*
indoors *qumaq*
infant *lumamad*
insert *suksuk*
inside *taladj*
inspect *łiław, qayam*
intend *ranaw*
intercourse *ivulungan*
interested *talidu*
interrupt *gula*
invade *livu*
involuntary *se-*
iron *vatjułayan*
isolate *salił*
it *madju*
itch *keving*
jab *valut*
jacket *kułup*
Japan *ḍipung*
jar *djilung*
jealous *talaq*
Jericho *Yiriku*
Jerusalem *Yirusałim*
Jesus *Yisu*
join *kian, tevel*
joke *bereq*
joy *zangar*
jungle *tepez*
keep animal *quzip*
kick *djakadjak*
kind *tji-*
kiss *sangutj*
kite *tjakanga*
knee *tsengal, tsungal*
knife *tjakit, tseqełap*
know *kełang, lingaw*
lack *ula*
ladder *tjekeza*
lake *djanaw*
land on *djekets*
landslide *tjiłev*
lap *tapułu, vikił*
large *mere, mere-*
late night *salim*
later *sauni*
laugh *djeli*
lazy *laqut*
leaf sp. *lamud*
leave *adjuq, vaik*
left *viri*
leggings *katsing*
letter *tigami*
level *łevetj, zatja*
Levi *Łibi*
locational focus *-an, -aw, -ay*
lid *tsaqev*
lie *vetsa*
lie down *qazaw, qereng*
lie flat *kebung*
lift up *tsiłik*
like *tjenglay, tsug*
lime box *tjangtjang*
line *lesles*
lion *tangapuł*
lizard *ngaḍuy, valalangan*
locational *i, i-, -i*
long *laḍuq*
long time *tsuay*
look *łizaw*
look at *łeng*
loquat *itju, kaludjeł*
lose *lavut, qałudj*
lose appetite *tsuli*

lost *ulaw*
louse *kutsu*
love song *ɬayuz*
luck *qimang*
lunch *tsengeɬ*
lynx *karang*
magic *paɬi*
magnificent *saregem*
main *ka-*
main post *qeluz*
maize *ɬapanay*
make *alang, sane, sane-*
make fire *petsungu*
make offering *djali*
male *uqaɬay*
mango *kamaya*
many *liaw, mareka, ru-, tjuru-, tjuruvu*
mark *vetsik*
mature *ɬetu*
may *iɬa*
maybe *sa*
meadow *kuvuɬ*
meal *kaiv*
meat *seti, vutjuɬ*
meet *tsevung*
melt *iraw*
middle *tsekad*
might *lemek*
millet *ɬailiman, ɬumay, tjamekuɬ, vaqu, vulung*
mind *varung*
Miss *kiḍi*
miss *singelit*
missing *qusaw*
mix *luvluv, taud*
mix with soy *tau'iyu*
moisture *tjeveng*
molest *nganga*
money *paisu, vaɬitjuq*
monkey *ḍail, ɬavingan*
monster *ḍakasi, valaɬuvaɬ, valaɬvaɬ*
month *gatsu*
moon *qiɬas*
more *tja, tja-*
morning *djama*
mortar *valanga*
most *tjaɬa, tjaɬa-*
mother *kina*
mother (honorific) *tjaina*
mountain *gade, gadu, vuled*
mouse *qiqi*
mouth *angaɬ*
mouth organ *ɬaɬegean*
move *sakuts*
mud *ɬitsaq*
muntjac *takets*
mutual *pareka*
my *ku*
nail *kezkez*
name *ngadan*
names in texts *Dakudakuts, ḍaḍamelamen, Ḍaḍengeraw, Ḍangaḍang, Ḍiququ, Giɬgiɬaw, Idjuidjung, Kadaladalavan, Kaḍangiangian, Kai, Kaleskes, Kaɬaɬuɬaɬu, Kaɬikaɬi, Kapurar, Kemay, Kidadaw, Kului, Kuɬe-, Kuɬeɬeɬeɬe, Kuɬeɬuɬeɬu, Lavuɬian, Lavuɬivuɬian, Luvaniaw, Luvutsi, Ɬautu, Ɬemud, Makuɬuɬu, Muakai, Muakakai, Muatjuku, Muatjukutjuku, Ngangay, Paitudjan, Paɬaiɬai, Pangil, Pasusu, Piri, Piyaqan, Pulelelelengan, Puɬaɬuɬaɬuyan, Puɬaɬuyaɬuyan, Qalamudis, Qaquangan, Qavulung, Qeɬung, Rapar, Rungiɬingan, Salakats, Sapayas, Sapulungan, Saulivan, Savaɬi, Simidalu, Suɬaɬuɬaɬui, Suɬupɬupan, Tail, Taruvar, tatalaven, Taupili, Tequng, Tjamuakakay, Tjamuakakaya, Tjavenikiniki, Tjikunal, Tjimu, Tjinekaɬ, Tjisavaɬi, Tjugeluy, Tjukutjuku,*

Tjulung, Tsabłiłaq, Tsudjuy, Tsuluł, Tukanivun, Ulung, Valuliaw, Vałuan, Vatjułayan, Vavuluvulungan, Vuluvulung, Vungavan, Vurivuri

nap *tjengez*
near *det, dungdung*
nearby *łapiłapi*
neck *liqu*
necklace *ḍeqer, zangaq*
need *uram*
needle *łigim*
net bag *sikau*
net needle *velay*
night *qezemetj, vengin*
no *neka*
no more *amin*
noise of gun *teztez*
nominaliser *-an, -in*
nose flute *linged*
not *ika, ini*
number *ma-, maka-, małe, małe-, man, matja-, mau, mau-, sika, sika-*
number of day *sipaka-*
oblique argument *ta, tjai-, tjanu-, tu, tu-, tua, -tua*
oblique argument (honorific) *tjai*
of *na, ni, ni-, nu, nu-, nua, nua-*
officer *taizin*
oh *ai, ḍi, ia, kaw, mai, qai, ła*
oil *ławław, qalev*
old *vulung*
once *kintał*
one *ita, -ita, łita, ta, ta-*
one day *tiaw*
one of pair *tail*
only *sakamaya, sedjeł*
open *tselak*
open eyes *tsimeraw*
oppose *valet*
originate *tagił*
ornament *tedek*

other *uma, zuma*
our(EXC) *nia*
our(INC) *tja*
out of action *lunay*
outside *tsasaw*
outsider *qała*
outskirts *tsavał*
overdone *djapeng*
overnight *ułay*
ow *adadadadadada, anana, anananananananana, kii*
owl sp. *łequ*
pain *ngilu*
painful *lutud, saqetju*
pair *mare, mare-, pare, pare-*
Paiwan *Payuan, Payuang*
pale *vutselay*
palm sp. *vałvał*
pass *tsalivat*
pass wind *beluuk*
past era *miling*
past tense *ka-, na, na-, si-, ta-*
patient/object focus *-en, -i*
peace *djalu, sułivatj*
peanut *sutjaw*
penis *kulits, qalitsi*
people *tami*
perfective aspect *in-, in=*
perhaps *kaumaya, lingu, nasa, nasa-, qadjaw*
person of *se, se-*
pestle *qaselu*
pet *kuku*
phoenix bush *qanivung*
piece *ułay*
pierce *patsek*
pig *ḍiḍi, qatsang, vavuy*
pine sp. *seray*
pipe *qungtsuy*
pity *sełseł, simsim*
place names in texts *Alikang, Dinualan, Dinukapan, Djaładjałay, Djałalu, Ḍaqaḍaqa, Gurułan, Hiitu, Kałuyung, Kanavanavał, Kapayuanan, Karinku, Kaviangan, Kavulungan,*

	Kazazałan, Lingutjał, Livulivuan, Lunguan, Łaitaw, Łinasalas, Makalaulauz, Makazayazaya, Małipa, Masilid, Padain, Padingulay, Paiquluvuy, Pakuvadavaday, Palasidang, Palilaliław, Pałul, Pełeti, Pinaqaqułatan, Pinavavuqatsang, Pungudan, Putjazaran, Qalu, Qutsapungan, Qutsułi, Riłuriłuan, Rusivavan, Siniłizaw, Takaw, Tenatseng, Tjakuvukuvuł, Tjanumaq, Tjauvalivali, Tjauzayazaya, Tjavaliłuk, Tjuakalangan, Tjuaqatsiłay, Tjuavudas, Tjulutun, Tjuruqułivangerangeraw, Tjuvałułukay, Tjuvasavasai, Tumapalapalai, Valivaliw, Vałulu, Velikił, Vulavulat, Vungaliz, Vutsuł
plain	*lizuk*
plains	*łazuk, pairang*
plane wood	*tseqadj*
plant	*talem, tsemel*
plant early	*talu*
plant sp.	*djulis, łangaw*
platform	*taqtaq, tsakar*
play	*vangavang*
pleased	*leva*
plentiful	*razek*
pluck	*vułu*
plug	*łupetj*
plural	*a-, -a, marka*
point	*tseludju, tulek*
police station	*kungkuan*
pool	*vatsał*
portend	*qałay*
portion	*pangał*
possess	*tjuay*
possession	*uzay*
post	*tsukes*
pot holder	*sapeł*
pound	*paisu, tjuqtjuq*
pray	*inuli*
pregnant	*ḍali, vungelay*
prepare	*rava*
present at	*łavak*
press	*qezetj*
pretend	*mi-*
private part	*kaḍang*
proceed	*susu*
prod	*luslus*
profit	*tan*
progress	*tudur*
pull	*vilvił*
push	*zurung*
put	*pi, pi-, tsatsułu*
put beside	*lungulungu*
quality	*al=, ał=, ar=, li-, sa-*
quarrel	*rivu*
quartz	*mui*
quick	*rimu*
quickly	*djaław*
quiet	*litseng*
quilt	*tjakumuł*
rabbit	*lutjuk*
rag	*kaḍaḍi*
rain	*qudjał*
rainbow	*qułivanglaw, vangeraw*
randomly	*ar=, qeteleng*
rattan	*quay*
rattan basket	*kavatjes*
ravine	*tseva*
reach	*tjału, tsalum*
ready	*djulu*
real	*qulid*
really	*ła-, sipalut, ła*
reason	*sika*
receive	*velak*
recite	*ningats*
regret	*telip*
reluctant	*qelam*
rely	*rangez*
remain	*tjeza*
remainder	*lauł*
remove	*su, su-*
repeat	*gedged*

reputed	*ligu*
rest	*sekez*
resting place	*ɬuvung*
return	*satjez, tsepeliw, tsikel*
revolve	*lidi*
rice	*paday*
rice with husk	*kasaɬ*
right	*navaɬ*
ripe	*lum*
ritual	*lada*
rival	*qaḍiw*
river	*pana*
road	*djalan*
roast	*kuɬaw*
robe	*ɬungpaw*
rock bed	*djelapaɬ*
roll	*luḍay, ruqu*
roof	*qaɬiw*
rope	*tsalis*
rumble	*tsuqitsuq*
run	*tuluq*
sad	*ramuɬu, talimuzaw*
Samaria	*Samalia*
same	*amaw, savid*
satiate	*sila*
save	*qeɬing*
say	*aya, -aya*
scale	*qauɬivan*
scaly	*kurap*
scatter	*inevar*
school	*gaku*
scold	*garang*
scoop	*suad*
scorch	*ɬengis*
scratch	*sapsap, sigsig*
scream	*gerits*
scree	*tsunuq*
scrofulous	*tjubang*
sea	*ɬavek, vaung*
search	*kim*
see	*qenetj, tadaɬ, tsun*
seed	*vusam*
segment	*tseviq, vetjek*
self	*ki-*
send	*sekauɬ*
separate	*vaday*
sesame	*ɬangga*
set down	*vutsil*
settle	*djuɬe*
seven	*pitju*
sever	*ngeḍuq*
severe	*lapay*
sew	*tsaqis*
shade	*ɬaung*
shake	*ḍuqaḍuq, gesges, legleg, visvis*
shallot	*ɬaugiu*
shame	*siaq*
share	*zekatj*
sharpen	*tataq*
she	*madju*
shelf	*tavi*
shell	*kaɬipa*
shelter	*liɬing*
shine	*zarzar*
ship	*varukur*
shop	*tsiam*
short	*ḍikitj*
short time	*lamu*
shout	*gugu, kuts, qalats, qawqaw*
shout war cry	*panang*
shrimp	*Quzang, quzang*
sibling	*kaka, vetjek*
side	*ɬaving*
side dish	*djamay*
signal	*tjuap*
silence	*qeɬetep*
simple	*djele*
sin	*saliw*
sit	*qiladj*
six	*unem*
skill	*saigu*
skin	*ngitsu*
skirt	*kun*
sky light	*vangaw*
sleep	*taqed*
sleep together	*sulid*
sleep with	*salud*
slice	*kitj*
slide	*ḍelas*
slip	*laput, qelas*
slope	*tsalisi*
slow	*gaɬu*
small	*keḍi*

smell *sequ*
smoke *tsevuł*
snail *ḍuł i, ngatsi, tsirat*
snake *qatjuvi, vulung*
snap *tsikem*
sneeze *vaqesing*
so *qau*
so that *uła*
soil *qipu*
soldier *kuaping*
soon *sauni, -sauni*
sorcery *palak*
sorghum *qalu*
soul *avak, tamasi*
source *masi-*
south *navał*
sow *tjugut*
space *tideq*
span *tjatał*
speak *łavar, qivu*
spear *vuluq*
speech *kai*
spider sp. *tsatsagał*
spit *djilay*
split *tsekas, tsuḍeq*
splutter *tseliliq*
spoon *kizing*
spouse *tsekeł, vaław*
spread *sekam*
spring *tjatjan*
sprout *tsuvuq, udjudju*
stake *tsektsek*
stand *gatsał*
stand on end *lingdjeł*
staple food *lami*
startle *keduts*
startled *pingtjus*
stative *ka-, ma-, ma-, na-*
steal *tsakaw*
step on *djulat*
step over *laketsuł*
sticky *djayadjay*
still *anan, -anan*
sting *tsałedj*
stink *qangsel*
stomach *tjiał*
stone *qatsiłay*
stool *sangel*
stop *sukuz, tseker*
storage box *qałutsuv*
store *layu, padjung*
story *tjautsikel*
straight *puarut*
stranded *tsingul*
strawberry *tjavuvuk*
stretch *łauław*
striped *vuliq*
strong *pitsul*
study *binkiu*
stump *ngudjuł*
suck *teptep*
sudden *mintu*
sun *qadaw*
sunrise *tsedas*
supply *kuletj*
surely *tjara, tjara-*
surround *lingeł*
swear *kavaruk*
sweep *suap*
sweet *ału, qemqem*
sweet potato *vurasi*
sweetheart *sudju*
swell *puḍu, tsangavu, valak*
swim *kavakav, łanguy*
swing *łakay*
taboo *palisi*
tail *iku*
Taiwan *Tayuang*
take *alap*
take time *laylay*
tangled *kauvu*
taro *qaliḍuḍu, vala, vasa*
tax *kazełu*
teach *tulu*
teacher *sinsi*
tear *pedi*
tell *malaw, salaw*
tell lie *buru*
ten *puluq*
terrible *paramur*
thank you *małimałi*
that *zua, -zua*
then *manu, -na*
there *tju, tju-, tjua, uzing, uzay*

they *madju*
think *kinemnem*
thirst *qusaw*
third person *madju*
this *tsa, tsu, -tsu*
thistle *vangas*
thorn *djui*
thorn plant *łudjełudje*
thread *alay, kala, tsusu*
three *tjelu*
throw *vułuq*
thrush *sisił*
thunder *zung*
tidy *masudj, rimasudj*
tie *qadjay, vengetj*
times *-ł*
tip *tsuru*
tired *łułay, piq, supil*
tobacco *tjamaku*
today *vuaq*
together *tsiur*
tolerate *tezeng*
tongue *lidjam*
tool *turivetsan*
tooth *ałis*
torch *djałiq, zaman*
toss *salitj*
touch herbage *kivinkatan*
trail *qiłu*
train *kisia*
translate *hunyaku*
trap *raung*
treat *tsemel*
tree *kasiw*
tree sp. *aluvetjułatan, daringungu, ḍipupun, ładju, łavilu, qelutseqets, zaqu*
tremble *igerger*
tribe *zuku*
trip *kulił*
true *ravats*
trunk *łangi, pulu*
tuber *qaqił*
tug *tsiḍtsiḍ*
turban *tarar*
turn *qułis*
tussle *qułuts*

twig *rugus*
twine *leklek*
twist *peniḍ*
twist grass *puḍung*
two *ḍusa, musa, usa*
ulcer *pumuqan*
unclear *łimek*
undercooked *qałidjelaw*
undo *saksak*
unripe *matjaq*
until *tjału-*
up *zaya*
upright *tavał*
urgent *samuła*
usurp *qizing*
utmost *pautez, tjari-*
vagina *kutji*
via *maka, maka-, paka-*
vine sp. *tsuk*
visit *łiłi*
wage *zuliuł*
wail *tsangitj*
wait *łava*
walk *djavats*
wall *djełep, upu*
want *sa-*
wash *ramata, senaw, vateq*
wasp sp. *łałuvur, tsalukuł*
waste *qulip*
water *załum*
waterfall *tjałitiw*
waterwell *laku*
watery *qasaw*
waves *ḍaluł*
we(EXC) *amen, ne, nia*
we(INC) *itjen, tjen, mitja, tja, tje, tji*
weak *parut*
weariness *zeli*
weave *tjenun*
weaver's sword *vaida*
wedding swing *tjiuma*
wedding type *marepalikuz, marepaukuz*
wedged *tsingas*
weed *asik*
well *djalung, ku, ma, na, pai, pai-, qu, uaa, uzi*
what *nema*

when	*nu, nu-, ngida*
where	*inu, -inu*
whet stone	*taɬiw*
which	*i*
white	*vuqaɬ*
white hair	*quḍas*
white owl	*ngangay*
white pig	*levut*
Whitehorn	*Uaitu, Uaituun*
who	*ima*
why	*aku*
wide	*lava*
wild game	*satsemel*
will	*-ay, ki, ki-, ru, uri*
will not	*iru*
win	*djalim*
wind	*vali*
window	*qezung*
wing	*palaɬ*
wobble	*ɬeqad*
wok	*pariuk*
wood chip	*valiseqaɬ*
work	*sengseng, zeliuɬ*
worm	*qatjulaɬ, qatjulay*
worry	*valisaked, vurvur*
wound	*piqay*
wrapping	*tsavu*
wriggle	*gavagaw*
yawn	*suaw*
year	*tsaviɬ*
yes	*tsauan, ui*
you(P)	*nu, mun*
you(S)	*sun, su*
your(P)	*nu*
your(S)	*su*

Appendix: Paiwan sketch grammar

Notes on the Paiwan Language

[This Appendix contains the text of an early sketch grammar of Paiwan written by John Whitehorn in 1967, with some corrections. Note that the orthography and grammatical terms of the original have been kept intact, and are slightly different from the orthography and terminology used earlier in this volume. One change that should be noted is that the vowel that was originally written *o* is represented here, as earlier in this volume, as *u*.]

Introductory location

There are about 35,000 to 40,000 speakers of the language, living in the southern tip of Taiwan (Formosa), south of a line from Chishan to Taitung. The concentration of Paiwan-speaking villages forms a V, with a west side of 55 miles and an east side of 50 miles, and with about 30 miles separating the northern tips. There is a small colony of Paiwan-speakers 10 miles outside this area in the city of Pingtung.

Those who live in the north-west area have not traditionally spoken of themselves or their language as 'Paiwan'; but have used the term *katsarisian*, meaning 'people of the slopes'. Since this term is also used by some Drukai (alias Rukai) villages near the north-west Paiwan area, some old maps show this area as inhabited by the 'Tsarisen' people.

Relationships to other languages

The article on Austronesian languages in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gives the Formosan non-Chinese languages, including Paiwan, the following place:

Indonesian Languages		
A. Western Group:	1. Malagasy	
	2. North section:	Formosan languages
		Philippines
		Marianas
		N.E. Celebes
	3. South section:	Malay
		Batak
		Dayak
		Javanese etc.
B. Eastern Group:	Little Sundas	
	Moluccas	

For relationships within the Formosan languages, the following 'rough table of affinity' is given in 'A study in the Yami language' by E. Asai:

Northern Group:	Original Atayal	Atayal	
		Sedeq	
		Saisiyat	
Bunun Group			
Tsou-Paiwan Group:	Tsou		
	Original Saaroa-Kanakanavu	Saaroa	
		Kanakanavu	
	Original Paiwan	Paiwan	Southern dialect
			Central dialect
			Northern dialect
		Pyuma	
	Original Rukai	Rukai	
		Taromak	
		Tordukana-Kongadavanu	
		Mantaulan	
Amis Group			
Batan Group:	Yami		
	Batan (Philippines)		

In the volume *The myths and traditions of the Formosan native tribes* (Institute of Linguistics, Taihoku Imperial University, 1935) there are comparative lists of 265 items. A rough check shows an approximately equal number of correspondences between Paiwan and Pyuma and between Paiwan and Rukai-Taromak – 100 items out of the 265. There are about 75 correspondences with the other branches of Rukai.

Trade languages

Many Paiwan speakers of middle age and older are bilingual in Japanese; many of the younger generation are bilingual in National Language Chinese (alias Kuo-yu, Mandarin). A small number also speak Formosan Chinese (alias Fukien, Hokkien, Amoy).

Previous study

The major work by Japanese scholars is the volume mentioned above – *The myths and traditions of the Formosan native tribes.* For each language there is a short description of the phonetics and grammar of the language. The stories are recorded in International Phonetic Script, with Japanese equivalents printed beneath each word and a running translation into Japanese printed at the side. There are also the comparative lists of 265 items, as mentioned above.

In E. Asai's 'A study of the Yami language' reference is made to a Paiwan Japanese dictionary by N. Ogawa (Taihoku 1930). The writer has not seen this work; unless the reference is in fact to a Japanese Paiwan word list, and giving 6,000 Japanese words. The dialect studied in that work is that of Cuaqatsilai in the extreme south. The Paiwan words are printed both in a romanised script and in an adaptation of the Japanese katakana syllabary.

Articles by N. Ogawa on the 'Q-sound in Paiwan' and the 'Ts-sound in Paiwan' (Gengo to Bungaku, vols 1 and 2) are also listed by Asai.

In 1952 the writer [Whitehorn] began to study the Paiwan language, and in the same year the first Paiwan book printed in a practical orthography was published; this orthography being of the 'romanised' type. Later, because of political pressure, a change was made to another orthography, based on the Chinese National Language Phonetic system. Several books – reading primers, Christian hymnbooks and Scripture portions – have been published in this script.

Miss E. Giebel (USA) studied the Pacaval dialect of Paiwan for a short time; and Mr A. Raynham (UK) studied the Cauvali dialect for 18 months. Two Roman Catholic priests are said to be fluent speakers, one of the Pacaval and one of the Tjimur dialect, but have not been consulted by the writer; they are not known to have made any written study of the language. Otherwise nothing is known of outsiders having studied Paiwan.

As will become clear in these notes, the writer is most familiar with the north-west dialect.

Phonetics

Vowels

The four vowels to be differentiated in Paiwan are: front closed *i*, back closed *u*, central *e*, and open *a*. There is a tendency for the closed vowels to have a more open form immediately before or after a velar stop or trilled *r*. The central vowel is very rarely found initial to a stem.

Vowel clusters

The following diphthongs are found in stems: *iu*, *ia*, *ui*, *ua*, *ai*, *au*, and also the triphthong: *uai*.

Other vowel clusters are formed through affixation to stems: for example *aya-u-anga*, *la-ui-u-aken*.

Consonants

Stops

All stops are unaspirated or lightly aspirated.

Unaffricated voiceless stops: labial *p*, alveolar *t*, velar *k*, uvular *q*, and glottal *?*.

There are complicated dialectal variations in the distribution of the voiceless velar, uvular and glottal stops; and of the three, each dialect usually has only two. Ten dialects are represented in *Myths and traditions* (see above). Where the majority (six) have the velar stop, one has the velar stop in most stems and the glottal in most affixes; one has the glottal consistently; and two have the glottal, with the velar in certain exceptional cases. Where seven have the uvular stop, three have the glottal. The following table shows the distribution:

Cuaqatsilai	south	*k* (affixes *ʔ*)	*q*
Caquvuquvul	south	*ʔ*	*q*
Raukrek	south-west	*k*	*q*
Kulalau	south-west	*k*	*q*
Pacaval	south-east	*k*	*q*
Cauvali	north-east	*ʔ* (exceptions *k*)	*q*
Calaqavus	west-centre	*ʔ* (exceptions *k*)	*ʔ*
Kaviangan	west-centre	*k*	*ʔ*
Kapaiwanan	north-west	*k*	*q*
Cukuvul	north-west	*k*	*ʔ*

In the following material the commonest combination – i.e. velar (*k*) and uvular (*q*) – has been taken as standard. In north-west dialects there is also a palatalised voiceless alveolar stop; some Paiwan speakers clearly differentiate the two, but others claim that they do not differentiate. In south and east dialects the sound corresponding to the palatalised alveolar stop is an affricated voiceless alveopalatal stop.

Unaffricated voiced stops: labial *b*, alveolar *d*, retroflex *ḍr*, and velar *g*.

In north-west dialects there is also a palatalised voiced alveolar stop, matching the voiceless one. In south and east dialects the corresponding sound is an affricated voiced alveopalatal stop.

In north-west dialects the retroflex stop has strong 'r' quality; and it is represented in the following material by the digraph *dr*. In some south and south-east dialects the sound corresponding to the retroflex stop is an alveolar trilled vibrant.

Affricated voiceless stops: alveolar *ts* and alveopalatal *t̠s̠*.

In dialects which use the palatalised voiceless alveolar stop rather than the affricated alveopalatal, the affricated voiceless alveolar is heard as palato-alveolar before the front closed vowel.

Affricated voiced stops: alveolar *dz* and alveopalatal *d̠z̠*.

Because of free variation with the voiced alveolar fricative, the alveopalatal is represented in the following material by *z*.

Fricatives

Central voiceless fricatives: alveolar *s* and velar *x*.

Except in loan words, the velar is only heard in certain north-west dialects as a variant of the alveolar and with restricted usage.

Central voiced fricatives: labiodental *v* and alveolar *z*.

Sometimes the frictionless equivalent of the labiodental is used instead of the fricative. Although it does not make for a neat phonetic pattern, all research up to now suggests that there is free variation between the alveolar voiced fricative and the affricated voiced alveolar stop. In general the fricative is more common in initial and medial position, and the stop in final position. In the following material both are represented by *z*.

Nasals

Nasals: labial *m*, alveolar *n*, and velar *ŋ*.

Laterals

Laterals: alveolar *l* and palatal *ʎ*.

The palatal lateral is used only in some south dialects as a variant of the alveolar. A fricative version of the alveolar is used at times in final position.

Vibrants

Flapped: alveolar *ɾ*.

In some south-west and south-east dialects a uvular frictionless continuant is used instead of this.

Trilled vibrants: alveolar *r* and uvular *ʀ*.

The uvular is only used, in place of the alveolar, in dialects which have the alveolar vibrant rather than the unaffricated voiced retroflex stop.

Frictionless continuants

Labial *w*, palatal *j* and uvular *ʁ*.

The labial continuant can be considered as a variant of the voiced labiodental fricative; where the north-west dialects have the fricative in final position, other dialects have the continuant.

The uvular continuant is found as a variant of the flapped alveolar vibrant.

Consonant clusters

In simple stems consonant clusters are not common. They are not found in final position. There is no easily observable restriction on the composition of clusters. In reduplicated stems clusters are more common: for example *ngisngis*, *qalemqem* (*e* represents the central vowel).

For orthographical purposes it is often difficult to decide whether or not a central vowel should be represented as present between two consonants. For example a cluster may be heard usually in the word *spi*, but in some circumstances of affixation or accentuation for emphasis, the spelling *sepi* is preferable. The problem is most acute in a word like *tsmkmkl* or *tsemkemkel* or *tsemekemekel*, derived by infixation and reduplication from a stem *tsekel* or *tskel*.

The problem is made more complicated by variation in common syllable accentuation as between dialects; accentuation on the ultimate is common in the north-west, on the penultimate elsewhere.

Intonation

This is not phonemically significant. Sentence intonation patterns are similar to those of English; for example, rising intonation differentiates interrogation from declaration.

Orthography

In the following material the following orthographical usages require explanation, in addition to those mentioned already:

c – palatalised voiceless alveolar stop and affricated voiceless alveopalatal stop.
j – palatalised voiced alveolar stop and affricated voiced alveopalatal stop.
ng digraph – velar nasal.
r – flapped alveolar vibrant.
r̲ – trilled alveolar vibrant.
y – palatal frictionless continuant.

Phonetic chart for standard Paiwan.

Consonants

p	t		k	q	
b	d	ɖr	g		
	ts	c			
	z	j			
	s				
v	(z)				
m	n		ng		
	l				
	r				
	r̲				
w			y		

Vowels

i		u
	e	
	a	

Morphology

Non-verbal stems

These are stems which are not regularly inflectable. Note that the term non-verbal does not include personal pronouns or particles.

Simple stems

Monosyllabic

CV	*va* 'lungs' (very rare)	CCVV	*snai* 'song' (if the *sn* is a cluster; rare)
CVV	*kai* 'word'	CCVC	*spac* 'four' (if the *sp* is a cluster; rare)
CVC	*vat* 'grain'	CVVC	*cial* 'stomach' (rare)
VVC	*uats* 'vein' (very rare)	CVVV	*quai* 'rattan' (very rare)
CCV	*spi* 'dream' (if the *sp* is considered as a cluster; more usually considered as CVCV *sepi*; rare)		

Disyllabic

These are by far the commonest.

VCV	*iku* 'tail'	CVVCVC	*cainan* 'bee' (very rare)
CVCV	*vaqu* 'millet' (very common)	CVVCVV	*raimai* 'goose' (very rare)
VCVC	*umaq* 'house'	CVVCVVV	*qainguai* 'a certain plant' (loan word?; very rare)
VCVV	*arai* 'net'	CVCVVC	*vetsiar* 'flower' (very rare)
CVCVV	*padai* 'rice' (common)	CVCCV	*saqcu* 'ill, painful' (or *saqecu*?; very rare)
CVCVC	*jaran* 'path' (very common)	CVCCVV	*qungtsui* 'tobacco pipe' (loan word?; very rare)
CVVCV	*paisu* 'money' (loan word?; very rare)	CVCCVC	*qapdang* 'salty' (or *qapedang*?; very rare)

Trisyllabic

CVCVCV	*varanga* 'mortar'	CVCVCVC	*varukur* 'boat, trough'
VCVCVC	*avavak* 'soul' (very rare)	CVVCVCVC	*qaumadas* 'a certain insect' (very rare)
CVCVCVV	*qatsilai* 'stone'		

Polysyllabic

These seem to be confined to a few words beginning *quli-* which contain no identifiable shorter stem.

CVCVCVCV	*qulipepe* 'a certain moth'	CVCVCVCVCVC	*qulitsapudus* 'a certain insect'
CVCVCVCCVV	*qulivangrau* 'rainbow'		

Stems with reduplication

Disyllabic

CVVCVV	*tsautsau* 'human being'	CVCCVC	*ngisngis* 'beard'

Trisyllabic

CVCVCVC	*tsatsarag* 'mosquito' *qujijil* 'red'	CVCVCCVC	*qacimcim* 'flea' *qalemqem* 'sweet'

Polysyllabic

CVCVCVCV	*qacacipi* 'gekko'	CVCVCVCVC	*qacacungal* 'whirligig beetle'
CVCVCVCVCCVV	*qulitsatsingrau* 'dragonfly'		

Reduplication of existing simple stems

Reduplication is a very common feature of Paiwan, with several connotations, for example continuity, mutuality, plurality, smallness.

Also some words are formed by reduplication of a simple stem; and the original stem and the reduplicated form have related but distinct meanings: for example

alu	'honey'	*alualu*	'sweetmeats'
kama	'father'	*kamakama*	'leader'
vukid	'wooded peak'	*vukivukid*	'eyebrows'
qacuvi	'snake'	*qacuvicuvi*	'insects'
qaravas	'rain cape'	*qaravaravas*	'ceremonial robe'

It will be seen from these examples that the last two syllables are reduplicated; thus *qacuvicuvi* not *qacuviqacuvi.* Also that a final consonant on the stem is not reduplicated; thus *vukivukid* not *vukidvukid.*

When a stem ends in two vowels, the second vowel of the two is not reduplicated; thus *vutseratserai* not *vutseraitserai* 'very white'. To connect this with the rule about final consonants, it may be helpful to regard such endings as vowel and semi-vowel rather than as two vowels or a diphthong.

Complex non-verbals

Many non-verbals (words not regularly inflectable) are formed by affixation to stems.

Some components of complex non-verbals

1. In cases of double or multiple affixation, some components are found further from the stem.

   a. Prefixes:

ca-	'more'	*maru-, matu-*	(similarity)
cai-	'further'	*masi-*	(carrying..., having...)
cua-	'place having…'	*masu-*	(had something removed)
ma-	(state)	*sika-*	(means of attaining a state)
mare-	(plurality, reciprocity)		

   b. Prefix and suffix combined:

cala-...-an	'most' (stem often reduplicated)	*mi-...-an*	(pretence)
ka-...-an	(genuineness)		

2. Components found closer to the stem than those under 1., in cases of double or multiple affixation.

   a. Prefixes

canu-	with numerals – so many containers full	*maca-*	with numerals – so many dwelling-places, etc.
ka-	direction; time past	*maka-*	'by way of; in the direction of'
i-	'at'	*masan-*	'having become...'
kina-	quality – turns adjective into noun	*nu-*	future time
		pu-	with numerals – so many times
la-	'of...family/clan/people'	*ru-*	habitualness
ma-, man-, male-	with numerals – so many people	*se-*	'of ... village/country'
		si-	instrumental
		ta-	time past

   b. Suffixes

-an	(place, time, instrument etc.)	*-in, -en*	(plus reduplicated stem, place of many...)

c. Prefix and suffix combined

ka-...-an	'place of...'; quality – turns adjective into noun
kace-...-an	'containing...'
kala-...-an	'time of...' habitually, for example annually
kana-...-anga	'every...'
kina-...-an	'place of...'; 'time of...', past
kin-...-l	used with numerals - so many times
maka-...-l	used with numerals - so many times/days
maka-...(reduplicated stem)-l	used with numerals - so many times in succession
masan-...-l	used with numerals - so many items
pu-...-an	'place of...; container of...'
si-...-an	'time of...'
sika-...-an	means of a state being attained
sika-...-l	used with numerals – 'so manieth day'
ta-...-an	'a single...'
ca-...-an/-in/-en	'habitually used place/thing' C = first stem consonant

d. Infix and suffix combined:

-in-...-an	'thing done, or place of past event'

Free verbals

Some verbals are 'free' in that they can occur without inflexion.

1. Simple

This class is very rare.

CVVC	*vaik*	'go'	reduplicated form: *vaivaik*
CVCV	*qivu*	'say'	exceptional reduplicated form: *qivuivu*
CVCVC	*karim*	'seek'	
VCV	*aya*	'say'	reduplicated form: *ayaya*

2. Complex

There is a great variety in this class, and only a few examples are given.

a. With identifiable basic stem and corresponding bound form:

CVCVC	*pa-kan* *ki-kan*	'feed' (transitive) 'feed' (intransitive – of animals)
CVCVCV	*pa-veri*	'sell'
CVCVCVC	*pa-kelang* *pa-ki-kan*	'inform' 'take to feed' (transitive – of animals)
CVCVCVCVC	*pa-se-kelang*	'witness to'
CVCVCCV	*ki-rangda*	'listen'

b. With identifiable basic stem but no corresponding bound form:

CVVCVC	*pu-alak*	'have a child' (*alak* 'child')
CVCVCV	*ce-pana* *le-teku*	'go fishing' (*pana* 'river') 'descend' (*i-teku* 'below')
CVCVCVC	*pa-sejam* *ki-sejam* *pe-jamuq*	'lend' 'borrow' 'bleed' (intransitive) (*jamuq* 'blood')

c. Without identifiable basic stem:

			Reduplicated form
CVCVC	*patsun* *kiyan*	'see' 'accompany'	*paxuxun*, not *paxupaxun* *kiyayan*, not *kiyakiyan*
CVCVCV	*kivara*	'go for fun'	*Kivaravara*
CVVCVV	*siulai*	'stay overnight'	*siulaulai*
CVCVCVC	*papatsun*	'show'	*papaxuxun*, not *papaxupaxun*
CVCVCVV	*papatsai*	'kill'	*papaxaxai*, not *papaxapaxai* (cf. *maxai* 'die')
CVCVCw	*pasariw*	'make a mistake'	*pasarisariw*
CVCVCVCVw	*pasemaraw*	'tell'	*pasemaramaraw*

Prefixed components of complex free verbals

The relative orders of common occurrence of the prefixed components is shown in this chart:

ki- *ma-* *me-*	*san-*	*ru-* *si-*	*pa-*	*re-* *se-*	*pu-* *pi-* *pe-* *le-* *sa-* *tu-*	*ka-* *ki-*	*su-* *ca-* *cu-* *ce-*	*u-* *i-* *la-* *lu-*

It will be seen that the component *ki-* has two places on the chart. Examples:

ki-pa-ki-qenec 'have oneself seen' (for example by doctor)
ki-pa-ki-rauraw 'have oneself baptised'
ki-san-ru-ki-tsiqaw 'become a fisherman'

Some components are found in other relative positions from those on the chart; for example *pa-ru-, pe-re-*.

Suffixed component of complex free verbals

-an

Semi-free verbals

Some verbals are free in so far as they do occur alone without inflexion, but they have a component which is subject to variation when there is inflexion. For example:

CVCVCV	*ma-reva* 'be glad'	but *ka-reva-i* 'Let us be glad!'
CVCCVC	*ma-ngcez* 'come'	but *pa-ngcez-u* 'Come!'
CVCVCV	*mi-rima* 'wash hands'	but *pi-rima-u* 'Wash hands!' (some dialects only)

Bound verbals

Bound verbals do not occur without inflexion; except after *sa* in the *sa* phrase of a complex sentence, and also, in some dialects, after *ini*, with a definite negative meaning.

1. Simple bound verbals

Compare the related words, under Complex Free Verbals a. Note that the infinitives are formed with the infix *-em-* or *-m-*, except when the initial consonant is labial or labiodental, in which case the infix is *-en-* or *-n-*.

The great majority of these Simple Bound Verbals are disyllabic stems; a few are monosyllabic, and a few are polysyllabic, for example CVCVCVC *vetseruq* 'break'; infinitive: *ve-n-tseruq*, reduplicated infinitive: *ve-n-tserutseruq*.

Further examples of Simple Bound Verbals:

			infinitive	reduplicated infinitive
VCVC	*umal*	'do again'	*m-umal*	*m-umaumal*
	arap	'take'	*m-arap*	*m-ararap*
CVCVC	*gatsal*	'get up'	*mi-gatsal*	*mi-gatsagatsal*
	tsuvung	'meet'	*me-tsuvung*	*me-tsuvutsuvung*

With reduplicated stems:

			infinitive	reduplicated infinitive
CVVCVw	*rauraw*	'rinse'	*r-em-auraw*	*r-em-aurauraw*
CVCCVC	*tsugtsug*	'knock into'	*ts-em-ugtsug*	*ts-emugtsugtsug*

Some Non-verbal stems can also act as Bound Verbals; or, in other terminology, some nouns and adjectives can be given a verbal form by inflexion. For example:

Simple stems:

			infinitive	reduplicated infinitive
CCV	*spi*	'dream'	*mi-spi* 'dream'	*mi-spispi*
CCVV	*snai*	'song'	*s-em-nai* 'sing'	*s-em-nasnai*
CVCV	*rima* *nasi*	'hand' 'breath'	*r-em-ima* 'use hand' *mi-nasi* 'breathe'	*r-em-imarima* *mi-nasinasi*
CVVw	*riaw* *siaw*	'many' 'soup'	*me-riaw* 'increase' *s-em-iaw* 'drink soup'	*me-riariaw* *s-em-iasiaw*
CVCVC	*cukudr*	'headband'	*c-em-ukudr* 'carry with headband'	*c-em-ukucukudr*

Stems with reduplication:

CVVCVV *tsautsau* 'human being'; *ts-em-autsau* 'use human strength'; *ts-em-autsautsau.*

2. Complex Bound verbals

Some components of complex bound verbals are easily identifiable:
Prefixes: *san-*, *sa-*, *su-*. For example:

san-tapaw	*tapaw*	'hut'	*s-em-an-tapaw*	'build a hut'
san-katsarisian	*tsarisi*	'slopes'	*ka-tsarisi-an* *s-em-an-ka-tsarisi-an*	'people of the hills' 'treat as hill people (patronisingly)'
sa-inu	*inu*	'where'	*s-em-a-inu*	'go whither?'
sa-caiqayaw	*caiqayaw*	'in front'	*s-em-a-caiqayaw*	'go to the front'
sa-angal	*angal*	'mouth'	*s-em-a-angal*	'use the mouth'
su-ngisngis	*ngisngis*	'beard'	*s-em-u-ngisngis*	'shave of beard'
su-vutsa	*ma-vutsa*	'blind'	*s-em-u-vutsa*	'cure blindness'

Suffix: *-an.* For example:

katsarisian-an	*katsarisian*	'hill people'	*k-em-atsarisian-an*	'speak hill people's language'
dripung-an	*dripung*	'Japan'	*dr-em-ipung-an*	'speak Japanese'

Prefix and suffix combined: *kala-...-an.* For example:

kala-masaru-an	*ma-saru*	'trust'	*k-em-ala-ma-saru-an*	'fully trust'
kala-papenguaq-an	*pa-pe-nguaq*	'cure'	*k-em-ala-papenguaq-an*	'completely cure'

Personal pronouns – Free forms

There are also bound forms, as affixes, of the first and second person pronouns, as listed subsequently.

There are three sets of free forms, as follows:

	Subject/Topic	**Agent/Possessive**	**Object**
1st sing.	*tiaken*	*niaken*	*canuaken*
1st plur. exclusive	*tiamen*	*niamen*	*canuamen*
1st plur. inclusive	*ticen (NW)* *timica*	*nicen (NW)* *nimica*	*canuicen*
2nd sing.	*tisun*	*nisun*	*canusun*
2nd plur.	*timun*	*nimun*	*canumun*
3rd sing.	*timaju*	*nimaju*	*caimaju*
3rd plur.	*tiamaju*	*niamaju*	*cayamaju*

Some of these forms are, in certain circumstances, inflectable and subject to affixation. For example: *tisun-ay-anga* 'now it will be you (ie. your turn)'.

Particles

1. Exclamations

For example, *ui* 'yes'; *ini* 'no'; *maya* 'don't'; *pai, bu* (surprise).

2. Modifiers

a. Negatives: *ini, inika* 'not'; *iniangaka* 'no longer'; *inianka* 'not yet'.
b. Interrogatives: *aku, aqu* 'why?'; *aki* (doubt)
c. Others: Preposed: *ki* (indefinite future); *cara* (definite intention; probability); *ula* (wish); *paremek, ringu, kaika, kimaya* 'perhaps'. Postposed: *sakamaya* 'only'; *uta* 'also'; *kaumaya* 'perhaps'.

3. Sentence links

qau, pai, saka, manu 'and then, so then, well then'; *lakua, gata* 'but'; *ayatua* 'because'.

4. Phrase links

a. Placed in protasis: *ka* 'when (past)'; *nu* 'if; when (present or future)'; *nuka* 'even if'; *kumali, sumali* 'even, even if'.
b. Placed between phrases: *sa* 'and'; *sana* 'and only then'.
c. Combination of links: *nu kana..., kana...* 'if..., would...'; *nu ka..., iru...* 'if..., would not...'.

5. Word links

a. Construction markers

	General	Names and titles	
		sing.	plur.
Subject/Topic	*a*	*ti*	*tia*
Object	*tua, ta*	*cai*	*caya*
Agent	*nua, na*	*ni*	*nia*

b. Descriptive

tu	for example '(know) that; to the number of'
nu	for example *neka nu...* 'there is none of...'
a	for example *timun a kama* 'you fathers'; *semnai a pasiqaxa* 'sing loud'
i	for example *vuvu i Pari* 'Grandfather Pari'

c. Place: *i, itua, icua* 'at'; *pasa* 'to'; *kasi* 'from'.
d. Addition: *katua/kata, kati, katia* (cf. a. above) 'and'; *ka* 'and' (for example *tisun ka tiaken* 'you and I').
e. Possession: *nua/na, ni, nia* (cf. a. above) 'of' (for example *vatu nua xauxau* 'dog of the person; the person's dog').

Personal pronoun affixes

	Prefix		Suffix		
	i.	**ii.**	**i.**	**ii.**	**iii.**
1st sing.	*ku-*	*ke-*	*-aken*	*-ken*	*-ken*
1st plur. exclusive	*nia-*	*ne-*	*-amen*	*-men*	*-men*
1st plur. inclusive	*ca-*	*ce-*	*-icen*	*-icen*	*-cen*
2nd sing.	*su-*	*su-*	*-sun*	*-sun*	*-sun*
2nd plur.	*nu-*	*nu-*	*-mun*	*-mun*	*-mun*
Prefix form i:	agent/possessive				
Prefix form ii:	subject/topic in *sa* phrase. In the case of 2nd pers. pronouns, subject/topic also in non-*sa* phrase, when there is a 1st pers. pronoun agent/possessive; for example *ku-su-alak* 'my you child (i.e. you are my child)'				
Suffix form i:	subject/topic				
Suffix form ii:	subject/topic, when word to which affixed ends in *a*				
Suffix form iii:	subject/topic, when word to which affixed ends in *i*				

Aspect Affixes

Prefixed

na- completion; *muṛi-*, *uṛi-*, *ṛu-* intention

Suffixed

-anga, *-nga* certainty; *-angata*, *-ngata* emphatic certainty; *-anan*, *-nan* incompleteness, continuance. The shorter forms occur when the word to which affixed ends in *a*.

Order of affixation

Prefixes:
1. Aspect prefixes precede
2. First person pronoun prefixes precede
3. Second person pronoun prefixes.

Suffixes:
1. Aspect suffixes precede
2. Personal pronoun suffixes

For example, *uṛi-su-raingen-anga-ken* 'will by-you chased certainly I'

Inflexions

Prefixed

m-	active (vowel – initial stems)	*maka-*	completion
me-	active	*in-*	passive past (vowel – initial stems)
mi-	active	*si-*	instrumental

Infixed

-em-	active	*-n-*	active (stems beginning with a labial and with central vowel as first vowel)
-m-	active (stems with central vowel as first vowel)	*-in-*	passive past
-en-	active (stems beginning with a labial)		

Suffixed

-en	passive	*-i*	passive future; passive (*sa* and *ini* phrases)
-in	passive (stems ending with vowel except *i*)	*-ai*	place, goal, etc. future (only in combination with 1st pers. pronoun prefixes *ku-*, *nia-*, and *ca-*)
-n	passive (stems ending with *i*)	*-aw*	passive future
-an	place, goal, beneficiary, instrumental (*sa* and *ini* phrases)	*-vaw*	passive future (stems ending in *a* in some dialects)
-u	imperative		

Combination of inflexions

s-in-i-	instrumental past
si-...-an	instrumental future (only in combination with 1st pers. pronoun prefixes prefixes *ku-*, *nia-*, and *ca-*)
in-...-an	place, goal, etc., past (stems beginning with vowel)
-in-...-an	place, goal, etc., past

Syntax

Paiwan sentences are made up of a statement or a combination of statement and topic (or topics).

Topics

The following kinds of topic can occur.

Simple

1. Non-verbal stem or complex non-verbal.
2. Free verbal, with or without passive or instrumental inflexion.
3. Semi-free verbal, with or without passive or instrumental inflexion.

4. Bound verbal with active, passive or instrumental inflexion.
5. Personal pronoun. The use of stem or affix form for 1st or 2nd person depends on the sentence pattern; see below.

Complex

1. Non-verbal stem or complex non-verbal with words which describe, qualify or identify it, for example:

vatu	*'dog'*
vatu a nanguaq	*'a good dog'*
vatu nua vuvu	*'the old person's dog'*
vatu ni vuvu	*'Grandfather's dog'*
vuvu i Pari	*'Grandfather Pari'*
imaza i katsauan	*'here in the world'*

2. Verbal, as in 2, 3 and 4 above, with qualifying words. For example:

keman	*'eating'*
keman tua vucul	*'eating meat'*
vaik	*'going'*
vaik a sema zua	*'going there'*
sipangcez	*'reason for coming'*
sipangcez tutsu	*'reason for coming now'*

3. Personal pronoun with words to describe or identify the person(s). The use of stem or affix form for 1st and 2nd person pronouns depends on the sentence pattern; see below. For example:

tiaken a ti Pari	'I Pari'
timun a nia-kaka	'you our brethren'
timaju a na-masan-mamazangilan	'he who has become chieftain'

4. Groups of two or more of the above topics, simple or complex, usually linked by *katua/kata, kati, katia* or *ka*, For example:

vatu katua ngiaw	'dog and cat'
keman kata temker	'eating and drinking'
Pari kati vuvu	'Pari and Grandfather'
tisun katia sinsi	'you and the teachers'
tiaken ka tisun	'I and you'

However, two topics of the same status may be put side by side, each preceded by the topic marker (see below) and without any link.

Statements

The following kinds of statement can occur.

Simple

1. Non-verbal stem or complex non-verbal.
2. Free verbal, with or without inflexion.
3. Semi-free verbal, with or without inflexion.
4. Bound verbal with any inflexion.
5. Personal pronoun stem in the subject/topic or agent/possessive form, with or without inflexion.
6. Interrogative pronoun.

Complex

1. Non-verbal stem or complex non-verbal with words which describe, qualify or identify it, as under Complex Topics, 1. Further examples:

   Time: *neka* 'none' *neka katiaw* 'were-none yesterday'
   Place: *neka i-maza* 'are-none here'
   Negation: *neka nu vatu* 'are-none of dogs (i.e. there are no dogs)'
   Goal: *mamazangilan* 'chieftain'; *mamazangilan tua se-Valuru* 'chieftain over the Valuru people'

2. Verbal, as in 2, 3 and 4 above, with qualifying words. Further examples:

   Place: *kemakan* 'are eating'; *kemakan i-maza* 'are-eating here'
   Agent: *kinan* 'eaten'; *kinan nua vatu* 'eaten by a dog'
   Subordination: *patsun* 'see'; *patsun tu namatsai* 'see that (it) is-dead'
   keman 'eat'; *keman tu sepac* 'eat to-the-number-of four'

3. Personal pronoun stem, in the subject or agent/possessive form, with or without inflexion, with words to describe or identify the person(s), for example:

   timun-ai-anga a tia kaka 'now-it's-(the turn of)-you brethren'

4. See below under Complex sentences of linked phrases.
5. Certain particles, with 1st or 2nd person pronoun suffix with qualifying words. See above under Particles:

   2a. *inika, iniangaka, inianka*, for example: *inika-ken a keman* 'not-I eat (i.e. I don't eat.)'
   2b. *aku, aqu, aki*
   2c. *ki, cara, ula*
   4a. *nuka*
   4c. *kana*

Sentence Patterns

The following patterns are found:

1. Statement only.

2. Topic marker–Topic–Statement. With this pattern the topic cannot be a first or second person pronoun; cf. patterns 4 and 6. For the Topic markers, see under Morphology, Particles, 5a: General marker *a*: names and titles, singular *ti*, plural *tia*, for example:

a vatu nanguaq	'the dog, (it) is-good'
ti Pari mamazangilan	'Pari, (he) is-a-chieftain'
tia sinsi kemakan	'the teachers, (they) are-eating'

Note that the demonstrative and personal pronouns have non-separable topic markers, for example:

aitsu vatu	'this, (it) is-a-dog'
azua nanguaq	'that, (it) is-good'
timaju nanguaq	'he, is-good'
tiamaju nanguaq	'they, are-good'

3. Statement–Topic marker–Topic, for example:

nanguaq a vatu	'is-good the dog'
mamazangilan ti Pari	'is-a-chieftain Pari'
kemakan tia sinsi	'are-eating the teachers'
mamazangilan tua se-Valuru ti Pari	'is-chieftain over the Valuru-ites Pari'
kemakan tua padai tia sinsi	'are-eating rice the teachers'

Note: The topic marker *a* may be elided, for example:
matsula (a) vatu 'is-hungry the dog'

4. Statement–Topic. This pattern is used only when the topic is a first or second person pronoun. The suffix form of the pronoun is used, for example:

mamazangilan-aken	'am-a-chieftain I'
kemakan-aken	'am-eating I'

5. Topic marker–Topic-Statement–Topic narker–Topic, for example:

ti Pari mamazangilan ti Pari	'as-for Pari is-a-chieftain Pari'
tiamaju kemakan tiamaju	'as-for-them are-eating they'

Note that a pronoun may stand for the topic, after the statement, for example:

ti Pari kemakan timaju	'as-for Pari is-eating he'

6. Topic marker–Topic–Statement–Topic, cf. pattern 4, for example:

tiaken mamazangilan-aken	'as-for-me am-a-chieftain I'
tiaken a ti Pari mamazangilan-aken	'as-for-me Pari am-a-chieftain'

7. Topic marker–Wider topic–Statement–Topic marker–Topic, for example:

a i-Valuru nanguaq a vatu	'as-for the-ones-at-Valuru are-good the dogs'
a se-Valuru nguanguaq a vavayavayan	'as-for Valuru-ites are-beautiful the women'

8. Topic marker–Wider topic–Statement–Topic, cf. pattern 4, for example:

a se-Valuru calananguaqan-sun	'as-for Valuru-ites best you (i.e. among the Valuruites you are the best)'

9. Topic marker–Wider topic–Statement. The topic is omitted, having been mentioned previously or otherwise easily understood, for example:

a se-Valuru neka	'as-for Valuru-ites none (i.e. they have none of the thing previously mentioned)'

According to context this sentence could also mean: 'as-for Valuru-ites there are none of them present', which is pattern 2.

tiaken neka	'as-for-me none (i.e. *I* have none.)'

Note that *tiaken neka-ken* 'as-for-me not-present I' is pattern 6 and might be said when looking at a group photograph, for example.

10. There are also common variations of patterns 3, 5 and 7. Instead of ending S–TM–T, they may end Part of S–TM–T–Rest of S, for example:

Variant of pattern 3:

kemakan tia sinsi tua padai	'are-eating the teachers rice'
kemakan tutsu tia sinsi tua padai	'are-eating now the teachers rice'
kemakan tua padai tia sinsi tutsu	'are-eating rice the teachers now'

Variant of pattern 5:

ti Pari kemakan ti Pari tua padai	'as-for Pari is-eating Pari rice'
ti Pari kemakan tutsu timaju tua padai	'as-for Pari is-eating now he rice'

Variant of pattern 7:

a se-Valuru kemakan a vavayavayan tua padai	'as-for Valuru-ites are-eating the women rice'

11. There are also variations of patterns 4, 6 and 8, common in the cases of 4 and 6. Instead of finishing S–T, they may finish Core of S–T–Rest of S, for example:

Variant of pattern 4:

kemakan-aken tua padai	'am-eating I rice'

Variant of pattern 6:

tiaken mamazangilan-aken tua se-Valuru	'as-for-me am-chieftain I over the Valuru-ites'

Variant of pattern 8:
aitsu a siasin neka-sun a paqurid 'this photograph not-present you truly'

Note that the 'core' of a complex statement is that part of it which could stand as a simple statement.

12. A further pattern is found which may be thought of as an exception to patterns 4, 6 and 8 and to the variants of these in 11. The pattern is constructed as:

1st pers. exclusive pronoun prefix i.-Topic (2nd pers. pronoun prefix ii.) - Statement, for example:

ku-su-alak 'my you child (i.e. you are my child)'
nia-nu-raingen 'our you chased (i.e. you(pl.) are chased by us'

cf. 6. *tisun ku-su-alak* 'as-for-you, you are my child'
cf. 8. *tiaken ku-su-alak* 'as-for-me, you are my child'

13. Within the general framework of most of the patterns given above, there may be two statements, one positive and one negative, placed side by side without any link, for example:

cf. 1. *inika nanguaq, nakuya* '(it is) not good, it is bad'
cf. 2. *a vatu inika nanguaq, nakuya* 'the dog is not good, it is bad'
cf. 3. *inika mamazangilan, parakalai ti Pari* 'not chieftain, priest Pari (ie. Pari is not a chieftain but a priest)'
cf. 10 (variant of 3) *inika kemakan tia sinsi tua padai, temketeker tua vava* 'not eating the teachers rice drinking beer (i.e. the teachers are not eating rice but drinking beer)'
cf. 11 (variant of 4) *inika-ken a kemakan tua padai, temketeker-aken tua vava* 'not I eating rice drinking I beer (i.e. I am not eating rice but drinking beer)'

14. Pairs or larger numbers of phrases or parts of phrases may be put side by side without any linking word, and, with interrogative sentence intonation, may form interrogative sentences, for example:

cf. 1. *nanguaq, nakuya?* 'is-good, is-bad? (i.e. is it good or bad?)'
cf. 4. *mamazangilan-sun, parakalai-sun?* 'chieftain you, priest you (i.e. are you a chieftain or a priest?)'
cf. 7. *a se-Valuru calananguaqan ti Pari ti Palang?* 'as-for Valuru-ites best Pari Palang? (i.e. is Pari or Palang the best?)'
cf. 10 (variant of 3) *kemakan tia sinsi tua padai tua pang?* 'are-eating the teachers rice bread? (i.e. are the teachers eating rice or bread?)'

Complex sentences of linked phrases

1. With phrase-link word in the protasis (see Complex bound verbals). Either protasis or apodosis may come first, but it is more common for the protasis to come first, for example:

nu	*mangcez*	*timaju,*	*uri-vaik-aken*
if/when(fut.)	come	he	will-go-I

OR *uri-vaik-aken, nu mangcez timaju*

2. With phrase-link words in both protasis and apodosis. The protasis normally comes first, for example (with dialectal variations):

nu kana ika ti Yisu, kana ika-cen a valut
nu ka inika ti Yisu, iruka-cen a valut
'If it were not for Jesus, we would not be alive.'

3. With phrase-link word between the phrases. A different set of inflexions is used in the second phrase (alias *sa*-phrase), for example:

keman ti Pari sa vaik	'eats Pari and goes'
keman ti Pari sana vaik	'eats Pari and-only-then goes'

4. With *aya*-phrase introducing words of direct speech or thought. The *aya*-phrase always comes after the words of direct speech or thought, for example:

kanu, aya ti Pari	'Eat!, says Pari'
kanu, ayain ti Pari	'Eat!, is-told Pari'
kanu, ku-ayain ti Pari	'Eat!, by-me is-told Pari'
kanu, ayain-aken ni Pari	'Eat!, am-told I by Pari'
uri-vaik ti Pari, ayaken a kinemnem	'Will go Pari, say I thinking (i.e. I think Pari will go)'

Select bibliography

This listing contains bibliographical details for various materials in, about, or relating to the Paiwan language which were consulted during the preparation of this volume. It is not an exhaustive list of items in Paiwan studies, and certainly does not reflect the material that has been produced in Chinese, but it does contain reference to some items that are not widely known in the literature. Brief annotations are given for some items. Publication details of some items are not available.

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Whitehorn, John, 1992, 'Review of Egli', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 55, pp. 380–381.

[This review needs to be carefully read by anyone who is considering studying the Paiwan language and has access to this grammar. Whitehorn considers that 'a major criticism of the book is that so high a proportion of the examples of sentences and longer phrases are taken from translations of Bible books.' Further, 'the lay-out of the first part of the long section on morphology (is) confusing,' and Whitehorn is 'somewhat suspicious that Paiwan is being pressed into an Indo-European mould when we read, for example: "The Paiwan verb has 3 tenses, 5 aspects, 4 moods, 2 voices and 2 participles."' The book includes 'a very full account of the key topic of Focus.']

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Really Want To Go Home

by DagaNow *(Paiwan/Rukai)*

Indigenous Peoples straying in the city
Do not have much luxury to dream
Blood with special mark flowing in the body
Do not know if tomorrow will still be the same
Indigenous Peoples living under uncertainty
Wounded souls want to go back to their homeland
Have been reluctantly in disguise for so long
Do not know if tomorrow will still be the same
Really want to go home
Really want to go home
At the end, Indigenous Peoples are all the same
Young men earn their livings in city factories
Young girls are forced into prostitution
Realized that life is no easy task
Do not know if tomorrow will still be the same
What will be the future for Indigenous Peoples
To speak of it made my heart feel sore
Ask for the answer made my heart go panic
Do not know if tomorrow will still be the same
Really want to go home
Really want to go home
At the end, Indigenous Peoples are all the same.