Text: Gas a ima Boilei – The story of the subclan Boilei
Speaker: Christina Dalap
Recorded in Panaras village, New Ireland on April 14 1998

1. [[I-to gas] lɔ [tu-ga ta-rɔma-ŋ]]
3m-here story(m) RELR 1sS-want/be.about.to 1sS.fut-tell-3sO.fut
a [i-to ima paŋ], Lɔubikkibap.
3m.PossI 3m-this subclan(m) 1px.PossII.s L.
‘This story (that) I will tell (is) of this subclan of ours, Lɔubikkibap.’

2. /I-to/
3m-here
‘this’

3. [Non=arɔ tɔrɔ], lɔ i-onɔma [non makabun] tiro Panaras, some=ASP time RELR 3fS-live some woman here P.
ɔ Lɔubikkibap, [i-sik ima Lɔubikkibap].
3f.PossI L. 3m-DEM subclan(m) L.
‘Once (there) lived a woman here in Panaras, of Lɔubikkibap, this subclan Lɔubikkibap.’

4. Maki=ien [u-sik makabun], ga [u-sik makabun]
marry=3fS 3f-DEM woman and 3f-DEM woman
lɔ [bonim o], Lerago.
REL name 3f.PossI L.
‘This woman was married, and this woman, her name (was) Lerago.’

5. [Pappa ian] lɔ [bonim a], Samɔtmɔrun.
sibling 3f.PossII.m RELR name 3m.PossI S.
‘Her brother, his name (was) Samɔtmɔrun.’

6. Samɔtmɔrun lɔ [tɔle [u-me ubi]].
S. RELR NEG 3mS-HAB work=Ø.
‘Samɔtmɔrun didn’t use to work.’

7. [Mɔn u-me=t gura] agarit.
CONT 3mS-HAB=just ‘walk.around’=Ø without.purpose
‘He’d just idle.’

8. [Mi-tie=r la-p gana-m] [i-me te-i-arɔ] Lerago
3p-DEM=ASP day-nsg every-3p 3fS-HAB get.up-3fS-stm2 L.
me na ubi ga [lai ian],
to in garden with husband 3f.PossII.m

pa i-sik lo [mən u-me=t gura],
but 3m-DEM RELR CONT 3mS-HAB=just ‘walk.around’=Ø
‘Every day, Lerago would go to the gardens with her husband, but that one just used to idle.’

9. [Na buit-iap], Lerago lo [i-me te-i-arə],
in afternoon-nsg L. RELR 3fS-HAB get.up-3fS-stm₂

[i-me=kan o-kosar] pəpparək
3fS-HAB=EMPH 3O-make=Ø food

ga [i-me a-akat] [pappa ian],
and 3fS-HAB 3mO-think=Ø sibling 3f.PossII.m
‘In the afternoons, Lerago would make food and she’d remember her brother.’

10. U-tie, [i-sik lai ian] lo [u-me muk-muka-i]
3f-there 3m-DEM husband 3f.PossII.m RELR 3m-HAB RED-be.grumpy-3m

[a-i-me [i-sik mela ayan]],
3m-near-to 3m-DEM man’s.brother-in-law 3m.PossII.s

me mani lo [eba a-me parak].
for what RELR FUT 3m.fut-HAB eat=Ø.
‘Alright, this husband of hers used to be grumpy about this in-law of his, because he would eat.’

11. [Non=arə la], te-u-arə ga o-buk-u-la=rə
some=ASP day/time get.up-3m-stm₂ and 3fO-scold-3mS-stm₂=ASP

[u-sik kuala ayan]:
3f-DEM wife 3m.PossII.s
‘One day, he got up and scolded (this) his wife:’

12. “Mani lo [u-me a-kosar]
what(m) RELR 3mS-HAB 3mO-make=Ø

[i-sik [pap/ pa’ppa muay]]
3m-DEM sibling 2s.PossII.m

ga [nu-ga na-me a-kəm-na-iŋ] pəpparək?
and 2Ss-want 2sS.fut-HAB 3mO-give-2sS.fut-stm₂.fut food(f)
‘“What does that brother of yours do (so that) you want to give him food?’

13. [Mən u-me=t te-kali]
CONT 3mS-HAB=just RELF-walk.around=Ø
irǝ-a /kaule a/ kaure.”
concerning-3m useless.thing(m)
‘He just fools around.’

14. U-tie, [inɔ=r non la],
3f-there again=ASP some day/time

[inɔ=r li-la] na ubi, mu-li-o,
again=ASP 3dS-go to garden come-3dS-stm₂

[inɔ=r te-i-arɔ] Lerago,
again=ASP get.up-3fS-stm₂ L.

[inɔ=r i-ua] iouna,
again=ASP 3fS-cook.3mO stone.oven(m)

[inɔ=r a-mat-i-bɔ]
again=ASP 3mO-do-3fS-stm₂

[[non kapa] aŋ [pa’ppa iay]],
some food.parcel(m) 3m.PossII.s sibling 3f.PossII.m

Samǝtmǝrun
S.
‘Alright, another day again, they(2) went to the garden again, they came (back), again Lerago got up and again she cooked, and again she made a food parcel for her brother, Samǝtmǝrun.’

15. U-tie, i-alu-am=arɔ kapa-ip;
3f-there 3fS-cover-3pO=ASP food.parcel-nsg

[lai iay] la [mɔn o-mat=ɔŋ=kɔn tikit],
husband 3f.PossII.m RELR CONT 3fO-look=3mS=EMPH secretly
‘Alright, she wrapped the food parcels; her husband was watching her secretly.’

16. I-abu-a [kapa aŋ [pɔppa iay]] tie,
3fS-put-3mO food.parcel 3m.PossII.s sibling 3f.PossII.m there

[kapa meiay] na [non nɔŋ],
food.parcel 3p.PossII.m in some place

te-i-arɔ, [nɔmɔ=r i-la ma-ko=ieŋ]
get.up-3fS-stm₂ want/be.about.to=ASP 3fS-go 3pO-throw=3fS

[ˈipɔp / e / marɔ -p/ sigaup],
leaf.to.cover.mumu.nsg // whatsit-nsg tuber.peels.nsg,
‘She put his food parcel in one place, theirs in another place, she got up, (and) went (to) throw away the [leaves to cover mumu /eh/ whatsit] peelings, (and) get leaves to cover the mumu.’

17. **U-tie, la la i-la,**
3f-there time RELR 3fS-go

*me* [e i-la i-arɔ-am] ipɔp
for IMM.FUT 3fS-go 3fS-take-3pO leaf.to.cover.mumu.nsg

*ga ma-ko=ieŋ panap,*
and 3pO-throw=3fS rubbish.nsg

*te-u-arɔ=t [lai iay] kak-kalait,*
get.up-3mS-stm=just husband 3f.PossII.m RED-quickly

*a-pik=onŋ*
3mO-loosen=3mS

[[i-tta kapa] aŋ] [mela aŋ]].
3m-ANAPH food.parcel 3m.PossII.s brother-in-law 3m.PossII.s

‘Alright, when she went, to get the leaves and throw the rubbish, her husband got up quickly, he loosened this food parcel of his in-law.’

18. **A-pik=onŋ, u-arɔ-am** [parip ma [marɔ-p/ kumep]],
3mO-loosen=3mS 3mS-take-3pO faeces.nsg 3p.PossI whatsit-nsg pig.nsg

*u-abu-am na kapa.*
3mS-put-3pO in food.parcel

‘He loosened it, he got pigshit, he put it in the food parcel.’

19. **Kak-kalait=it tie u-lu-a**
RED-quickly=just there 3mS-cover-3mO

*ga [inɔ=ro kak-kalait a-pis=onŋ ga u-abu-a],*
and again=ASP RED-quickly 3mO-fasten=3mS and 3mS-put-3mO

*are lo’ta la i-abu-a [kuala aŋ].*
like earlier RELR 3fS-put-3mO wife 3m.PossII.s

‘He quickly wrapped it and quickly fastened it back again and put it as his wife had put it before.’

20. **Mu-i-o** [kuala aŋ],
come-3fS-stm=wife 3m.PossII.s

[[mu-i-o ma-ko=ieŋ] ipɔp],
come-3fS-stm 3pO-throw=3fS leaf.to.cover.mumu.nsg
21. **Kap-i-in=arǝ, ga narien**, put.cooking.stones.on.food-3F-stm$_2$=ASP and over

\[ u\text{-tie} \quad [mǝn \text{ me-onǝma}=rǝ]. \]
3f-there CONT 3pS-sit=ASP

‘She put the food among the stones, alright, they were sitting there.’

22. \[Mǝn \text{i-la=r]} \quad muabari tapmaidǝŋ, te-i-ara,\]
CONT 3F-go=ASP sun(f) downwards get.up-3F-stm$_2$

\[ [iǝ=r \text{ i-me a-mat-i-bǝ} \] \quad iouna, \quad again=ASP 3F-HAB 3mO-do.something-3F-stm$_2$ mumu(m)

\[ i\text{-abǝ-a}. \]
3F-get.food.out.of.mumu-3mO

‘The sun was going down, she got going, she took the food from the mumu.’ [lit: ‘...she whatsit the food from the mumu, took it out’]

23. \[I\text{-abǝ-a}=r \quad iouna, te-i-arǝ \]
3F-get.food.out.of.mumu-3mO=ASP mumu(m) get.up-3F-stm$_2$

\[/iara//iai iau/ \text{i-arǝ-am} \quad kapa-ip, \]
3F-get-3pO food.parcel-nsg

\[ i\text{-abu-am na tape-bip,} \]
3F-put-3pO in basket.for.kapa-nsg

\[ i\text{-arǝ-a} \quad [aŋ \text{ [pǝppa ianj]}], \quad \text{Samǝtmǝrun}, \]
3F-get-3mO 3m.PossII.s sibling 3f.PossII.m S.

\[ [\text{i-la=r} \quad i\text{-amu-a}]. \]
3F-go=ASP 3F-give-3mO

‘She got the food out of the mumu, she got going // took the food.parcel, put them in the baskets, she took her brother’s, Samǝtmǝrun(‘s), she went (and) gave it.’

24. \[I\text{-la i-amu-a}. \quad u-arǝ-a \quad [pǝppa ianj], \quad te-u-arǝ, \]
3F-go 3F-give-3mO 3mS-take-3mO sibling 3f.PossII.m get.up-3mS-stm$_2$

\[ nǝmo \quad gǝ \quad [e=r \text{ a-pǝno-ŋ}] \quad kapa; \]
thought and IMM.FUT=ASP 3mS.fut-open-3sO.fut food.parcel(m)

\[ [pǝnim \text{ ma parip}] \]
heat(f) 3p.PossI faeces.nsg
She gave it, her brother took it, he got going, and thought he’d (just) open the food parcel; the smell of the (hot) faeces was going into his nose.’

‘Alright, he was opening the food parcel, (because) he wanted to eat, he wanted to look again, he saw the faeces on top of the food.’

‘He got up, (quietly) refastened whatsit/ quietly left the food parcel there, he went, he went (and) gave it to his sister, and he was crying (now).’

‘He went (and) gave it to his sister, he returned again, he took his things, he ran away.’

‘That was in the night.’

‘He took a torch/dry coconut frond (and) he left.’
30. **O-faka=on=ar** /pi/ mar/ pirit ga u-la.

3fOI-make.fire=3mS=ASP dry.coconut.fron(m) and 3mS-go

‘He lit the frond and went.’ [better verb than *faka: u-alabi-a* ‘light’]

31. **U-la ga u-la ga u-la**, 3mS-go and 3mS-go and 3mS-go

* ga u-la todɔŋ Naiama, u-la tatuan,*
and 3mS-go down/NW N. 3mS-go up

*na [[i-sik=arɔ nɔp] la me-ipo-ar Boilei].*

at 3m-DEM=ASP part RELR 3P-coll-3mO B.

‘He went and went, and went down to Naiama, he went up, to this place called Boilei.’

32. **U-la=rɔ ga [u-la=rɔ u-onɔma] tie,** 3mS-go=ASP and 3mS-go=ASP 3mS-live there

* [i-sik=arɔ Samɔtmɔrun].*

3m-DEM=ASP S.

‘He went and he went (and) lived there, this Samɔtmɔrun.

33. * [U-la=rɔ u-onɔma] tie, ga ubi=on ga ubi=on, 3mS-go=ASP 3mS-live there and work=3mS and work=3mS

* a-kosar=on [lukuan ay],*

3mO-make=3mS house(m) 3m.PossII.s

* a-kosar=on [i-sik ubianɔma],*

3mO-make=3mS 3m-DEM fish.net(m)

* [u-la a-ko=on] ubianɔma, o [non la], 3mS-go 3mO-throw=3mS fish.net 3f.PossI some day(f)

* la a-kosar=on ga [u-la a-ko=on],*

RELR 3mO-make=3mS and 3mS-go 3mO-throw=3mS

* [tale=kan mu-u-o] abuluma ba,*

NEG=EMPH come-3mS-stm2 fish(m) ‘one’

* ga [mu-a-ɔŋ sop=ay] irɔ-a ubianɔma,*

and come-3mS.fut-stm2.fut hang=3mS.fut at-3m fishnet(m)

‘He went (and) lived there, and worked and worked, he built himself a house, he made this fish net, he went (and) threw the fishnet, one day, [RELR] he made this net and went (and) threw it, no fish came (to) hang from the net.’

34. * [Inɔ non la] inɔ got te-u-arɔ, u-gama to:*

again some day again too get.up-3mS-stm2 3mS-say here

‘Another day he set about it again and he said:’
35. “Oo, atamo poga i-sik ī te le tu-abu-a”.  
Oh maybe thing(m) 3m-DEM RELR NEG 1sS-put-3mO  
“Oh, maybe this (is) the thing (that) I haven’t put yet.”

36. [Ino u-la] ga [u-la u-abu-am] [/u-s/ mi-sik kuadap],  
again 3mS-go and 3mS-go 3mS-put-3mO /3m-/ 3p-DEM weight.nsg  
‘He went again and he went (and) put // these weights on this fishnet.’

37. U-tie, [in=bot u-la], [u-la a-ko=onj], /em/  
3f-there again=now 3mS-go 3mS-go 3mO-throw=3mS /TP/  
[mu-i-o=rə sop=ieŋ] [u-sik ləbot],  
come-3fS-stm2=ASP hang=3fS 3f-DEM triggerfish(f)  
‘Alright, now he went again, he went (and) threw it, this triggerfish came (and) hung.’

38. U-tie, u-gama to:  
3f-there 3mS-say thus  
‘Alright, he said:’

39. “Oo, atamo i-to=rə, na-i=rə [i-to ubianəma]”.  
oh maybe 3m-here=ASP finished-3m=ASP 3m-here fishnet(m)  
“Oh, maybe this is it, this fishnet is finished.”

40. U-tie, [u-me=rə u-sin] ma abulap,  
3f-there 3mS-HAB=ASP dummy.O-hunt=Ø 3p.PossI fish.nsg  
[u-me u-la] tuan, [mən u-onəma=rə] tie.  
3mS-HAB 3mS-go up CONT 3mS-live=ASP there  
‘Alright, (so) he used to hunt for fish, he used to go up, he was living there.’

41. [Non=arə təɾə]  
some=ASP time  
[ə te-i-arə [u-sik lou aŋ], Lerago,  
RELREL get.up-3fS-stm2 3f-DEM man’s.sister 3m.PossII.s L.  
i-arə-o [tətak poi ieŋ]; li-la=rə.  
3fS-take-3fO little child 3f.PossII.f 3dS-go=ASP  
‘Another time, this sister of his, Lerago, got up, she took her little daughter; they(2) went.’

42. [Li-la=rə dus=liŋŋ] todŋŋ, kale=ieŋ=arə.  
3dS-go=ASP stand=3dS down sing.out=3fS=ASP  
‘They went (and) stood below, (and) she called out.’
43. Te-u-arǝ=rǝ i-sik, u-gama to:
   get.up-3mS-stm2=ASP 3m-DEM 3mS-say here
   ‘He got up (and) said:’

44. “Mimi aka tie?”.  
   2p who there
   ‘Who are you(pl) there?’

45. “Turuo=t, ga [talau  nuy].”
   1s=just and sister’s.child 2s.PossII.f
   ‘Just me, and your niece.’

46. “Eh, mu-ma-ŋ to.”
   oh come-2d-stm2.fut here
   ‘Oh, come here.’

47. Li-la=rǝ tatuan na lukuan.
   3dS-go=ASP up in house
   ‘They went up to the house.’

48. Li-la, [li-la li-onǝma], u-arǝ-am sobuk-up
   3dS-go 3dS-go 3dS-live/sit 3mS-take-3pO sugar.cane-nsg
   u-amu-am un [u-sik tǝtak talau aŋ],
   3mS-give-3pO RECIP.f 3f-DEM little sister’s.child 3m.PossII.s
   u-tie, [mǝn li-onǝma=rǝ] tie,
   3f-there CONT 2dS-live/sit=ASP there
   lǝ [mǝn me-lo=rǝ], popori=men, te-i-arǝ=t u-sik,
   RELR CONT 3pS-talk=ASP tell.stories=3pS get.up-3fS-stm2=just 3f-DEM
   [inǝ i-me o-madikk] [u-sik tǝtak kulǝmut].
   again 3f-HAB 3fO-pinch=Ø 3f-DEM little girl
   ‘They(2) went, they went (and) sat, he took sugar canes, gave them to [this] his little
   niece, alright, there they sat, and were talking, telling stories, she got going, [again]
   she was pinching this little girl.’

49. [I-me i-liba], [inǝ u-me u-gama to] i-sik:
   3fS-HAB 3fS-cry again 3mS-HAB 3mS-say here 3m-DEM
   ‘She cried, [again] he would say:’

50. “Mani lǝ i-aliba-a u?”.
   what(m) RELR 3fS-cry-3mO DEM.3f
   ‘What is she crying for/about?’

51. “Aa, [nǝmo i-mani-ŋ] sobuk.”
   oh want 3fS-want-3sO.fut sugar cane
   ‘She wants sugar cane.’
52. [U-me u-la ma-kof] sobuk-up,
   3mS-HAB 3mS-go 3pO-break=Ø sugar.cane-nsg

   [ins u-me mu-u-o u-amu-am] un,
   again 3mS-HAB come-3mS-stm 3mS-give-3pO RECIP.f

   [ins=r i-me o-madikk] [u-sik Lerago]
   again=ASP 3fS-HAB 3fO-pinch=Ø 3f-DEM L.

   [u-sik tʊtak kulɨmɨt].
3f-DEM little girl
‘He would go and cut sugar cane, again he would come and give them to her, again this Lerago was pinching this little girl.’

53. “Mani [lmo /a-mani-ɭ/ i-mani-ɭ] u? ”
   what want /3mS-want-3sO.fut/ 3fS-want-3sO.fut DEM.3f
   “What does she want?”

54. “[Nmo /a-mani-ɭ/ i-mani-ɭ] /marɭ/ saguru.”
   want /3mS-want-3sO.fut/ 3fS-want-3sO /whatsit.m/ vegetable(m)
   “She wants vegetables.”

55. Popori=ieŋ=arə ma [mi-tmat pɔɡə-p] na ubi].
   talk=3fS=ASP 3p.PossI 3p-DEM thing-nsg in garden

   ga [mən o-madik=ieŋ] [u-sik tʊtak poi ieq].
   and CONT 3fO-pinch=3fS 3f-DEM little child 3f.PossII.f
   ‘She mentioned all the things in the garden, and (/as?) she was pinching [this] her little daughter.’

56. U-tie, bit=arə, duri=meŋ,
   3f-there afternoon= ASP sleep=3pS

   parabira te-u-arə [i-sik Samətmərun].
   morning get.up-3mS-stm 3m-DEM S.

   o-u-lo=ɾə [lou aŋ]:
   3fO-3mS-tell=ASP man’s.sister 3m.PossII.s
   ‘Alright, it got afternoon, they slept, in the morning this Samətmərun got up (and),
told his sister:’

57. “[Eba ins ɭeriki=maŋ] me toma, [lukkuan Panaras].
   FUT again return=2dS to SE village P.
   “You will go back there, to Panaras village.’

58. Ga ma-la ga a-lagi=maŋ [ira meŋ]
   and 2dS-go and 3mO-fetch=2dS father 2d.PossII.s

   ga mu-ма-əŋ.”
   and come-2dS-stm 2.fut
   ‘And you will go and get your father (here=father/husband) and come.’”

get.up-3dS-stm=just morning 3dS-walk=ASP down-/NW-wards

‘They(2) just got up in the morning, and were walking, down.’

60. *Mu-li-ǝ ga mu-li-ǝ,*

come-3dS-stm2 and come-3dS-stm2

[mu-li-ǝ bet=liǝŋ] tiro, Panaras,

come-3dS-stm2 arrive=3dS here P.

/a-lǝ-gi-li../ a-li-lo=rǝ [ira liaŋ].

They came (this way) and got here, to Panaras, they /fetch../ told their
father/husband.’

61. *Le-kima=ǝŋ=arǝ [ira liaŋ] ǝ:

come-3dS-stm=ASP father 3d.PossII.m and

3dO-see=3mS=ASP father 3d.PossII.m and

‘Their father/husband saw them and:’

62. “*Oo, ma-ma-ǝ lakum ma-un [mi-tie pǝgǝp]?*”

oh, come.from-2dS-stm2 where 3p-with 3p-there thing-nsg

“Oh, where are you coming from with those things?”

63. “*Ei! Nu-ga ga sagu=ǝŋ=it*

ha 2sS-think and play=3mS=just

/[ira iaŋ [u-to kǝλǝmut]] ǝ 3f-to kǝla eh/

/father 3f.PossII.m 3f-here girl RELR 3mS-go /

[ǝta iaŋ [u-to kǝλǝmut]]

maternal.uncle 3f.PossII.m 3f-here girl

3f-here girl 3mS-live up and work=3mS

‘Ha! Do you think that /this girl’ s father.. eh/ this girl’s uncle is just playing
(who/when he) lives up (there) and works?’

64. *Pa [nǝmo [mu-ǝŋ no-lagi=iǝŋ]] tiro*

but want/say come-1dxS-stm2.fut 2sO-fetch=1dxS here

me [eba bu-la] tatuan, Boilei, [bu-la bu-onoŋ] tatǝŋ.”

for Fut lPNs-go up B. lPNs-go lPNs-live/stay down/NW

‘But he wants us(2) (to) come (and) fetch you here for us to go up (there), (to) Boilei,
go (and) live over there.’

65. “*Tie, [eba=r bu-la].*”

there Fut=ASP 1PNs-go

“Alright, we’ll go.”
66. U-tie, [non=ar\ø la], la me-la=rø.
   3f-there some=ASP day/time RELR 3pS-go=ASP
   ‘Alright, one day, they were on their way.’

67. [Møn // i-on=ôma ka] [u-sik makabun] tako, [møn me-on=ôma] to,
   cont // 3fS-live first 3f-DEM woman here cont 3pS-live here
   Samôtmørun it-tuan la [møn kore=on=ar\ø].
   3m-up RELR 3m-up cont prepare=3mS=ASP
   ‘First the woman was living here, they were living here, Samôtmørun was up there
   getting ready.’

68. [Møn kore=on=øj],
   cont prepare=3mS
   lø [eba a-n=ômu-øj] [i-sik mela aøj].
   RELR FUT 3mS.fut-kill-3sO.fut 3m-DEM brother-in-law 3m.PossII.s
   ‘He was getting ready (to) kill [this] his in-law.’

69. A-kau=øj [i-sik lu],
   3mO-dig=3mS 3m-DEM hole(m)
   u-la me [mi-sik /maraŋ/ koræp],
   3mS-go for 3p-DEM /whatst.nsg/ sharpened.sticks
   [mu-u-o /ma-/ maset ma-kasim=øj], u-abu-am,
   come-3mS-stm2 /3pO-/ well 3pO-sharpen=3mS 3mS-put-3pO
   u-royli-am tapma insait na lu, ma-bo̱kkab=øy,
   3mS-erect-3pO inside inside(<TP) in hole 3pO-cover.up=3mS
   a-kosar=øy=bøt luaga.
   3mO-make=3mS=now bench(m)
   ‘He dug this hole, he went for sticks, he came (back), he sharpened them well, he put
   them, he erected them inside this hole, he covered them up, now he made a bench.’

70. [I-sik luaga] lø mani [mø-mar=an-i=køn],
   3m-DEM bench RELR NEG(what) RED-strong-m=EMPH
   orait, // o-u-it=ar\ø lø nømø,
   alright // 3fO-3mS-know=ASP RELR that
   [eba=rø mu-a-øj [i-sik mela aøj],
   FUT=ASP come-3mS.fut-stm2.fut 3m-DEM man’s.brother.in.law 3m.PossII.s
   teiliat=ar\ø u-on=ôma],
   quietly=ASP 3mS-sit/live/stay
   u-tie, la lø [i-la=rø bet=ieŋ] [u-sik Lerago]
   3mS-there time/day RELR 3fS-go=ASP arrive=3fS 3f-DEM L.
ga [i-sik lai ian]. u-la=rǝ, and 3m-DEM husband 3f.PossII.m 3mS-go=ASP

[u-la=rǝ mǝn dus=onǝ] tapmat
3mS-go=ASP CONT stand=3m around

mani [u-la=kan u-onǝma], NEG(what) 3mS-go=EMPH 3mS-sit

are teasik ǝ mǝli-u-ba,
like that RELR be.ashamed-3mS-stm2

/irǝ-al/ ǝ a-kirǝra=onǝ [i-sik mela anǝ]. /at-m/ RELR 3mO-make.bad=3mS 3m-DEM brother-in-law 3m.PossII.s
‘This bed wasn’t strong at all, alright, he already knew that this in-law of his would come, be subdued, alright, when this Lerago came with her husband, he went, went (and) stood about, didn’t go (and) sit down, as though he was ashamed /before him/ (because) he had done bad to [this] his in-law.’

71. Te-u-arǝ [i-sik Samǝmǝrǝn] ga:
get.up-3mS-stm2 3m-DEM S. and

‘This Samǝmǝrǝn got up and:’

72. “Mi-onoŋ muo nakkap bo [i luaga!]”
2pS-sit.fut there up on DEM.3m bench(m)
“Sit here on that bench!”

73. Te-u-arǝ=t i-sik,
get.up-3mS-stm2=just 3m-DEM

lǝmo ga [e=t a-la a-ononǝ], pa karuk.
think and IMM.FUT=just 3mS.fut-go 3mS.fut-sit.fut but no
‘He got up, and thought he’d just sit down, but no.’

74. Dudun=onǝ=it luaga a-un,
shake=3mS=just bench 3m-with

lǝ [u-me=kan u-lum] tie tataŋ na [[i-sik lu],
RELR 3mS-HAB=EMPH 3mS-fall there down in 3m-DEM hole(m)

lǝ a-raŋǝ=onǝ=arǝ i-sik leikke a],
RELR 3mO-prepare=3mS=ASP 3m-DEM in.front 3m.PossI
‘The bench just shook with him, (and) he fell into this hole, (that) he/that one had prepared ahead of him.’

75. [U-lum=kan
3mS-fall=EMPH

lǝ [nomǝ ga e=t ibir=an] i-sik un alabun
RELR think and IMM.FUT=just run=3mS.fut 3m-DEM with.3f axe(f)
228

TOPICS IN THE GRAMMAR OF KUOT

me [e a-la o-ko=aŋ]
for IMM.FUT 3mS.fut-go 3fO-throw=3mS.fut

bo [u-to bukom a],
on 3f-here head(f) 3m.PossI
‘He fell, (and) that one was going to run with the axe to go (and) whack it on his
head,’

76. “Ee! [Buat to-nu-nɔm], mela!
oi PROHIB 1sO-2S-kill brother-in-law
‘Oh, don’t kill me, in-law!’

77. [Tɔt-teiliat na-la na-abu-ŋ].
red-carefully 2sS.fut-go 2sS.fut-put-3sO.fut
‘Go put it carefully.’

78. [Tɔt-teiliat=it [to-na-airaj] ga [to-na-manja]].
red-carefully=just 1sO-2S-leave.fut and 1sO-2S-bury.fut
‘Just leave me and bury me carefully’

79. [Eba a-kima=naŋ] [[pɔɡɔ ba] lɔ [eba bet=aŋ]].
FUT 3mO-see=2sS.fut thing(m) one RELR FUT arrive=3mS.fut
‘You will see something (which) will come.’

80. U-tie /te-me-a./ te-u-arɔ=t muo,
3f-there /get.up-3pS/ get.up-3mS-stm2=just there

lɔ [[u-/] teiliat u-la u-abu-o] [u-sik alabun],
REL 3mS-/ quietly 3mS-go 3mS-put-3fO 3f-DEM axe(f)

[maset mu-u-o a-mat-u-bɔ] una
well come-3mS-stm2 3mO-do.something-3mS-stm2 grave(m)

nakkap bo [mela aŋ].
up on brother-in-law 3m.PossI.s

u-tie, me-onɔma=rɔ.
3f-there 3pS-live/sit=ASP
‘Alright, he just got up (and) // carefully went (and) put the axe, he came properly
(and) made a grave over his in-law, alright, (then) they lived (there).’

81. Me-onɔma, i-la i-la i-la;
3pS-live/sit 3fS-go 3fS-go 3fS-go

sik=ieŋ=arɔ [u-sik tabarabo] o [u-sik nirob],
grow=3fS=ASP 3f-DEM new.shoot 3f.PossI 3f-DEM coconut.palm
‘They stayed, (time passed); the new shoot of the coconut grew’

82. Me-la=rɔ, [me-la mɔn /a-kimɔ=meŋ/ o-kimɔ=meŋ],
3pS-go=ASP 3pS-go CONT 3mO-see=3pS 3fO-see=3pS
‘They went (now), they went (and) saw it’
83. “Ei, [[i-tori pɔɡɔ] [lɔ u-aramɔ-a [i-sik mikana]]]?!
oh 3m-DEM thing(m) RELR 3mS-talk.of-3mO 3m-DEM man
‘Oh, (is) this the thing (that) that man talked about?!’

84. [Manikuot buaŋ] i-to?”
what 1pn.PossII.m 3m-here
‘What [for us] (is) this?’

85. /U-me/ te-u-arɔ,
/3mS-HAB/ get.up-3mS-stm
[u-me u-arɔ-am] [[mi-sik /marɔp/ bɔbɔp]
3mS-HAB 3mS-take-3pO 3p-DEM whatsit.nsg leaf.nsg
o [u-sik purun]] ga [u-me u-o-am].
3f.PossI 3f-DEM young.coconut(f) and 3mS-HAB 3mS-eat-3pO
‘He got up, he’d take these leaves of this young coconut and he’d eat them.’

86. “Karuk, karuk! Tole ka mu-mur-um.”
no no NEG yet RED-good-3p
‘No, no! They’re not good yet.’

87. // [Inɔ=r u-airɔ-o].
// again=ASP 3mS-leave-3fO
‘He left it again.’

88. Inɔ i-la, ga i-la, i-la, i-la,
again 3fS-go and 3fS-go 3fS-go 3fS-go RED-big-3f=ASP
// i-maniŋ=arɔ sokopit-ip, [inɔ=r u-la ma-traim=ɔŋ].
// 3fS-have=ASP midrib-nsg again=ASP 3mS-go 3pO-try(<TP)=3mS
‘Again a long time passed, it got big, it [already] had midribs, he went (and) tried
them again.’

89. Nɔmo “Karuk, tole ka mu-mur-um.”
say no NEG yet RED-good-3p
‘He said “No, they’re not good yet.”

90. U-airɔ-o.
3mS-leave-3fO
‘He left it.’

91. I-la i-la i-la i-la,
3fS-go 3fS-go 3fS-go 3fS-go
/iŋɔ/ [mɔn mat-i-bɔ=ɾɔ] maro, nirobu,
/again/ CONT do.something-3fS-stm2 whatsit.f coconut.palm(f)
[i-abu-am marɔp ɔ], [pagaribɔp ɔ],
3fS-put-3pO whatsit.nsg 3f.PossI ?? 3f.PossI
i-la, /u-gama to/ [in= r u-la m-an u-mer=am].
3fS-go /3mS-do/say here/ again=ASP 3mS-go CONT 3mS-try-3pO
‘A long time passed, /again/ the /whatsit/ coconut palm /whatsit/ put its /whatsits/, its
[??], time passed, /he did/said thus/, again he went (and) tried them.’

92. Pa “Karuk ka”.
but no yet
‘But “Not yet”’

93. I-la, [i-la=r lop-lip-i-at] nirobu,
3fS-go 3fS-go=ASP RED-bear.child/fruit-3fS-stm2 coconut.palm(f)
again 3m-go 3pO-do.something-3fS-stm2 flower.sheath.of.coconut-nsg
‘Time passed, the coconut palm [went (and)] bore fruit, [again] he tried the flower
sheaths.’ [The informant interprets u-mera-m ‘try’ for u-la ma-mat-u-bɔ; the tape is rather
unintelligible here.]

94. U-mera-am, “Karuk ka.”
3mS-try-3pO no yet
‘He tried them, “Not yet.”’

95. [U-la a-fuk=on]*** pikɔka,
3mS-go 3mO-break=3mS flower.sheath(m)
[in= bun /u-ar=ɔ-a/ u-ar=am=it] [purubup*]
again /3mS-take-3mO/ 3mS-take-3pO=just flower.of.coconut.nsg

/ma mar=ɔ-p/ o u-sik /ma../ nirobu/.
/3p.PossI whatsit.nsg/ 3f.PossI 3f-DEM /whats../ coconut.palm(f)
‘He went and broke the sheath, again /he tried it(m)/ he just tried the flowers /of the
whatsts/ of this /whats/ coconut palm.’
*normally purubap.
***Given according to informant’s interpretation; U-la fuk=on ‘it(m) broke’ also
possible.

96. “Tɔle=ka mu-mur-um.”
NEG=yet RED-good-3p
“They’re not good yet.”

97. /U-ai../ u-air=ɔ-am=arɔ.
/3mS-le../ 3mS-leave-3pO=ASP
‘/He le../ he left them.’

98. [Me-la bet=meg] [mi-sik tɔtak /mar=ɔ-p/]
3pS-go arrive=3pS 3p-DEM little whatsit-nsg
tutu-p ma kubup],
tiny.coconut-nsg 3p.PossI green.coconut.nsg
me-la, [kak-kan-im=arə kirət], u-gama to:
3pS-go RED-big-3p=ASP badly/little 3mS-do/say here
‘Those little /whatsits/ baby coconuts of the green coconuts developed, they went, they got quite big, he said thus:’

99. “[Mi-to=rə mi] pəgə-p!”
3p-here=ASP DEM.3p thing-nsg
“These are the things!”

100. [U-me u-merə-am], nəmo:
3mS-HAB 3mS-try-3pO say
‘He tried them, he said:’

101. “Karuk=ka.”
is.not=yet
“Not yet.”

102. Ma-kimə=ən=arə [[tətak kubup]
3pO-see=3mS=ASP little green.coconut.nsg
lə [mən sop-sop=mey]], ləmo:
RELR CONT RED-hang=3pS say
‘He saw the little green coconuts (that) were hanging, he said:’

103. “Atamo [təla [gət inə sagu=tuŋ] irə-ma,
maybe NEG.fut more again play=1sS with-3p
me-ot, pəgə i-to.”
3pS-stay thing(m) 3m-here
“Maybe I won’t play with them any more, they’ll stay, this is something.”

104. Me-la, [me-la=rə kak-kan-im]. “Em nau”.
3pS-go 3pS-go=ASP RED-big-3p em nau(<TP)
‘They went, they went big, “That’s it”.’

105. [U-merə-am=bət].
3mS-try-3pO=now
‘He tried them then.’

106. U-tie, [u-merə-am=bət],
3f-there 3mS-try-3pO=now
/ləmo u-ga/ [u-gama=bət mə-to):
say/want 3mS-say/do 3mS-say/do=now ʔʔ-here
‘Alright, he tried them, // he said:’

107. “Oo, [i-to=bət i]
oh, 3m-here=now DEM.3m
108. $\text{Tap-me-o na [u-sik kubunm]}$, drink-3pS-stm$_2$ in 3f-DEM green.coconut

$\text{me-o, u-gama to:}$
3pS-eat.3sO 3mS-say here

‘They drank from this green coconut, they ate, he said thus.’

109. “$\text{Mikat=arɔ pogɔ u-to.}$”
true=ASP thing 3f-here

“True, this is something.”

110. $\text{U-tie, [me-me=rɔ parak] bo [u-sik nirobu], i-la=rɔ,}$
3f-there 3pS-HAB=ASP eat=Ø on 3f-DEM coconut.palm 3fS-go=ASP

$\text{[u-ga=rɔ ma-to] [i-sik Samɔtmɔrun],}$
3mS-say=ASP ??-here 3m-dem S.

$\text{o-u-lo=r [lou ay]:}$
3FO-3mS-tell=ASP man’s.sister 3m.PossII.s

‘Alright, they used to eat off this coconut palm, time passed, this Samɔtmɔrun said thus, he told his sister:’

111. $\text{[Tɔla=got bu-me bu-arɔ-o] [}/maro/ ba, kubunm]/}$
NEG.fut=longer 1pnS-HAB 1pnS-take-3fO whatsit.f one green.coconut

‘We won’t be taking any /whatsit/ any more, green coconut’

112. $\text{/I-ot=arɔ/ [me-ot=arɔ tɔt-teiliat],}$
3fS-stay/lie=ASP/ 3pS-stay/lie=ASP RED-quietly

$\text{me [eba me-lamiŋ]}$
for FUT 3pS-fall.fut

$\text{ga /bet m/ [pappauliap ba] ma nur-up,}$
and /arrive m/ many FUT 3p.PossI dry.coconut-nsg

$\text{u-pɔt nirobu.}$
3F-under coconut.palm(f)

‘/It stays/ they stay in peace, so that they will fall down and /arrive m/ (there will be) many dry coconuts, under the coconut palm.’

113. $\text{[Mɔn tiri=ieŋ]}$
CONT drop.fruits=3fS coconut.palm to there 3f-under

$\text{ga [mɔn tiri=ieŋ],}$
and CONT drop.fruits=3fS,
The (nuts) were falling under the coconut palm, and they were falling, this Samotmørun got up then, (and) tied together pairs of dry coconuts.

He (had) tied them together and, one day he stood up there, on this place Boilei, this mountain Boilei, and he was throwing pairs of dry coconuts.

He threw downwards to the East Coast, to here, to there, alright, that’s it (of) this little story of this subclan Boilei, ( ) this woman started here, Lerago, here (in)
Panaras, and she went and lived over there, // she followed that brother of hers to(wards) over there, over there (at) Naiama, up in the bush (at) Boilei.

116. **U-tie**, [[i-sik=ar non ima]]
    3f-there  3m-DEM=ASP some subclan

\[ \lambda [u-la=r oot=oy tiat\eta] \]
    RELR  3m-go=ASP  arrive=3mS  there.SE

\[ \lambda [me-me me-ipa-a] \] **Boilei.**
    RELR  3pS-HAB  3pS-call-3mO  B.
    ‘Alright, this subclan (that) originated over there, they call Boilei.’

117. **U-tie=t.**
    3f-there=just
    ‘That’s it.’