

# Appendix I Example texts

## *Simon Korela Hwafo* — ‘The Story of Simon Kore’

This is a brief autobiographic text by Simon Kore. Simon Kore was born in the 1950s and was from Menggau. Probably due to his wife who speaks Dla proper and having lived in Kamberatoro Station for around ten years, Simon’s pronunciation of Menggwa Dla shows one sign of influence from Dla proper: the phoneme /s/ for other Menggwa Dla speakers are all pronounced as [t] by Simon (see §1.4.2). In the text below, /s/ <s> and /t/ <t> are kept distinct according to the speech of other Menggwa Dla speakers. Also notice how he code-switches into Tok Pisin when referring years of the western calendar.

This text was recorded on 19<sup>th</sup> April 2004. Unfortunately, Simon Kore died on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2004 from acute malaria. The text was not interlinearised and translated fully before his death, and there is a small section where no one understood what he meant.

**Simon Kore=la Hwafo**  
**Simon Kore=GEN talk**

yo dani=hi [[dani=mbe misin-la=mbe da=mbe ilo-ha-a-hi]  
 1 this=ADS [[this=INS mission-LIG=INS this=INS work-1SG-3FSG:O-SIM]  
 num-aha-hya]=mbo tikyewi hwafo hoho-mba-mbo.  
 sit-1SG-PAST]=OBJ small talk tell-POST-DEP  
 ‘I will now tell (you) a small talk about me working and living in this mission station.’

long naintin seventi tri bihain indipendens,  
 in nineteen seventy three after independence  
 Papua Niugini indipendens semi-wa-hi semi fefi-mbo,<sup>i</sup>  
 Papua New.Guinea independence take-3FSG-SIM take COMPL-DEP  
 rani=hi yo Ø-hof-a-mbo,  
 DEM=ADS 1 CR-come-1SG-DEP  
 ‘In 1973 after independence, after Papua New Guinea achieved independence, at that point I came, and’

<sup>i</sup> Simon Kore said that *semi fefi-mbo* was meant to be a correction of *semi-wa-hi* while I was transcribing this text immediately the recording.

[Papua New Guinea actually achieved independence in 1975]

[*misin-la=mbe da=mbe ilo-ha-a-hi* num-aha-hya.  
[mission-LIG=INS this=INS work-1SG-3FSG:O-SIM] sit-1SG-PAST:FOC  
'I worked and lived in this mission station.'

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*mome Nangani afila=lofo [mome ilohwe (< ilo-hwa-a-hi)]*  
together Nangn father=COM [together work-1DU-3FSG:O-SIM]  
Ø-num-ehi-mbo,  
CR-sit-1DU-DEP  
'Together with Nangn's father we worked and lived (there), and'<sup>ii</sup>

*Nangani afila fa-Ø-ya-a-mbo,*  
Nangn father leave-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'Nangn's father left, and'

*ye wuli=na ye ny-efu saf-u famo-Ø-u-mbo,*  
then house=ALL then COP:PRES-1PL ?-3MSG ?-CR-3MSG-DEP  
'then ??? to (his) house, and'

*ye wuli=na pi-Ø-hwa.*  
then house=ALL go-3MSG-PAST  
'he went back to his village.'

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*yo=pa [ilohe (< ilo-ha-a-hi)] Ø-num-a-mbo,*  
1=only work-1SG-3FSG:O-SIM CR-sit-1SG-DEP  
'Only I work and live (there), and'

*ye dahoni dani=na yet tu tausen en fo nau.*  
then now this=TOP already two thousand and four now  
'this is already 2004 now.'

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*rani=hi Ø-num-a-mbo,*  
DEM=ADS CR-sit-1SG-DEP  
'There I live, and'

*dahoni awiya num-aha-hi n-o.*  
now still sit-1SG-PRES:CONT COP:PRES-3FSG  
'I still live (there) now.'

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[*ilohe (< ilo-ha-a-hi)] num-aha-hi.*  
[work-1SG-3FSG:O-SIM] sit-1SG-PRES:CONT  
'I am working and living (there).'

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<sup>ii</sup> *Nangani* is the Menggwa Dla equivalent of the Dla proper name *Nangn*. Donald Nangn Yawa speaks Menggwa Dla. Nevertheless, his native name *Nangn* is from Dla proper.

## *Nimi Wami Kaku* — ‘Hunting in the Mountains’

This text recounts a hunting trip by the author Donald Yawa and his father David Yawa. Donald Yawa was born in early 1980s and he is from Wanggurinda. He went to high school in Vanimo and has a very good command of English. He volunteered to transcribe the text after recording it on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2002. His rendition of /wa/ varies between <oa> and <wa> (§2.1.3.6). Otherwise, except for the word <lohama> /luxama/ [loɣama] ‘ridge’, all instances of /ʊ/ in older speakers’ speech were rendered as <u> (rather than <o>) by Donald; he represents the younger generation which has merged /ʊ/ into /u/ in virtually all words (§2.1.3.7). See also §7.2.2.2 on the innovative switch-reference system used by younger speakers.

*Nimi Wami Kaku*  
mountain above hunt

*gwi sumbani aya=lofo uli=mbe num-ehi fa-∅-hwa-a-mbo,*  
another time father=COM house=INS sit-1DU COMPL-CR-1DU-3FSG;O-DEP  
‘Once with my father we were at home, and’

[*nimi wami pi-mba-mbo*] *sa-∅-hwa-a-mbo,*  
[mountain above go-POST-NOML] think-CR-1DU-3FSG;O-DEP  
‘we thought of going up the mountain, and’

*pi-ehye-hya.*  
go-1DU-PAST:FOC  
‘we went.’

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*ye wuli=mbe fa-hwa-a ∅-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
then house=INS leave-1DU-3FSG;O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP  
‘Then we left the house, and then’

*aya ifali kwemi-∅-∅-mbo,*  
father spear take:MASS-CR-3MSG-DEP  
‘father took spears, and’

*yo=amba aha yowala ifali tamnia kwami-∅-a-mbo,*  
1=too 1SG:RSUMP 1SG:GEN spear small:MASS take:MASS-CR-1SG-DEP  
‘me too I took my small spears, and’

*alu yari blufa imbu semi-∅-ehi-∅,*  
string.bag sago short two take-CR-1DU-DEP  
‘we took a string bag and two pieces of sago, and’

*ye han-yehye-hwa.*  
then go.down-1DU-PAST  
'then we left (the house).'

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*Dulufu ambya=nambo sa-Ø-hwa-a-mbo,*  
Dulufu hole=ALL think-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
'We thought (of going) to Dulufu Cave, and'

*Ø-han-yehi-Ø,*  
CR-go.down-1DU-DEP  
'we went down into it, and'

*wamla imbu fa-ha-a-hwa.*  
betel.nut two pick.betel.nut-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST  
'I picked two (bunches of) betel nut (from the betel palm next to the cave).'

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*alu=mbe saku-Ø-hwa-a-Ø*  
string.bag=INS put.in-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
'We put them into the string bag and'

*semi-ehye-hwa.*  
take-1DU-PAST  
'took the string bag (with us).'

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*ruhwa Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
down.below CR-stand-1DU-DEP  
'We were there down below, and'

*pi-ehye-hwa.*  
go-1DU-PAST  
'we went.'

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*pi-Ø-ehi-Ø,*  
go-CR-1DU-DEP,  
'We went, and'

*Yamu bena hafa-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
Yamu side go.pass-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP  
'we went across Yamu (Creak), and'

*[rani=hi nu-mbo] "hwangu wami gak-yehi-Ø" sa-Ø-hwa-a-mbo*  
[DEM=ADS COP-DEP] "cave above go.up:FUT-1DU-JUS" think-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
'at that point we thought "let's go up to the cave," and'

*Ø-hah-yehi-Ø,*  
CR-go:up-1DU-DEP  
'we went up, and'

*Dilambi wami hwangu=hi alu=mbi ifali ku-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
 Dilambi above cave=ADS string.bag=PROP<sup>iii</sup> spear leave-1DU-3FSG:O  
 CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP

‘at the cave on top of Dilambi (Mountain) we left the string bag and spears, and’

*nimi wami hah-yehye-hwa.*  
 mountain above go:up-1DU-PAST  
 ‘we went (further) up the mountain.’

*nimi wami Ø-hah-yehi-Ø,*  
 mountain up CR-go:up-1DU-DEP  
 ‘We went up the mountain, and’

*[tu kwa klei-mba-Ø] sa-Ø-hwa-a-mbo,*  
 [bird MOD make:nest-POST-NOML] think-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
 ‘we thought that the birds must be making nests, and’

*hwatu-hi-ehye-ni gwa,*  
 search-MASS-1DU-TENT but  
 ‘maybe we searched (for the birds), but’

*“awe” aya Ø-nung-u-mbo,*  
 “no” father CR-stand-3MSG-DEP  
 “no (there aren’t any),” father said,’

*“dufa=mbi” me-h-u-mbona*  
 “enough=PROP” DR-say-3MSG-DEP  
 “don’t worry about it” he said, and’

*“yapali=mbopa hwatu fa-Ø-hwa-a-Ø, gan-yehi-Ø”*  
 “tree.kangaroo=OBJ=only search COMPL-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP go.down:FUT-1DU-JUS”  
*me-h-u-mbona,*  
 DR-say-3MSG-DEP  
 “we will look for tree kangaroos only and after that we go (back) down,” he said,  
 and’

*“yambi=ke” sa-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
 “OK=EXCLM” think-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP  
 ““that’s OK!” we thought, and then’

*[aya yapali hwatu-Ø-hi,] dukumi po-me-Ø-mbona,*  
 [father tree.kangaroo search-3MSG-SIM] valley go-DR-3MSG-DEP  
 ‘while father was searching for tree kangaroos, he along the valley, and’

*yo lohama=rongo pi-aha-hwa.*  
 1 ridge=PER go-1SG-PAST  
 ‘I went along the ridge.’

<sup>iii</sup> *alu=mbi* (string.bag=PROP): the string bag plus the aforementioned things which exist inside the string bag.

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*pi-Ø-ehi-Ø,*  
go-CR-1DU-DEP  
'We went, and'

*hihili-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
turn.back-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP  
'we turned back, and then'

*aya dukumi Ø-pih-ya-a-mbo,*  
father valley CR-go-3MSG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'father went along the valley, and'

*amungwa sela bena=pa hya klei fa-Ø-ya-a-Ø*  
first.born tail side=only INTJ fence COMPL-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'from the small valley ('first born tail') onwards, (the birds) have finished nest-  
building, and'

*ma-ek-wa-mbona hamblu hwila,*  
DR-exist-3FSG-DEP red mother  
'the red mother (fouls) were there, and'

*ra=pa uru-Ø-Ø-mbo,*  
DEM=only dig-CR-3MSG-DEP  
'only that he dug, and'

*imbu=pa foha-Ø-ya-pu-mbo,*  
two=only take.egg-CR-3SG-N1DU:O-DEP  
'he only took two eggs, and'

*hutumu=hi humu-Ø-ya-a-mbo,*  
leaf=ADS tie-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'he wrapped them in leaves, and'

*alu=mbe saku-ya-a semi-Ø Ø-hof-u-Ø,*  
string.bag=INS put:in-3SG-3FSG:O take-3MSG CR-come-3MSG-DEP  
'he put them inside the string bag and brought it,'

*Ø-hof-u-Ø,*  
CR-COME-3MSG-DEP  
'he came, and'

*yoambo hwafo-ya-i Ø-nung-u-mbo,*  
1SG:OBJ talk-3SG-1SG:O CR-SEQ-3MSG-DEP  
'he said to me,'

*"awe" reh-ya-a Ø-nung-u-mbo,*  
"no" say-3SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-3MSG-DEP  
"no (there weren't many)" he said, and then'

*hwangu=na han-yehye-hwa.*  
cave=ALL go.down-1DU-PAST  
'we went down to the cave.'

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*∅-han-yehi-∅,*  
CR-go.down-1DU-DEP  
'We went down, and'

*sumblufu hwangu=na efi-∅-ya-a-mbo*  
afternoon cave=ALL get.dark-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'at the cave in the evening it was getting dark and'

*me-wa-mbona,*  
finish:DR-3FSG-DEP  
'it got totally dark, and'

*tu imbu=pa ka-∅-hwa-pu-mbo,*  
egg two=only break-CR-1DU-N1DU:O-DEP  
'we broke only two eggs, and'

*fufa-∅-hwa-a-∅*  
cook:egg-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
'we cooked the eggs and'

*ser-yehi fa-hwa-a ∅-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
eat-1DU COMPL-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP  
'after we have eaten them,'

*wara ambya bena wangu=mbo sa-∅-hwa-a-mbo,*  
then hole side sparrow=OBJ think-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
'then we thought of the sparrows inside the cave, and'

*“tikiyewi ap-ehi fa-∅-hwa-a-mbo, sumbli ulyambo*  
“small sleep-1DU COMPL-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP night perfectly  
[wangu harifi-mbo, num-wa-hwani] butya-hwa-a-∅”  
[sparrow enter-DEP sit-3FSG-when] hit.with.stick-1DU-3FSG:O-JUS”  
*me-h-u-mbona,*  
DR-talk-3MSG-DEP

“let’s take a small sleep, and at midnight when the sparrows have entered and stayed (in the cave), we will catch them,” he said, and<sup>iv</sup>

*tikiyawu ap-ehye-hwa.*  
small sleep-1DU-PAST  
'we slept a little.'

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*ap-ehi fa-hwa-a ∅-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
sleep-1DU COMPL-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP  
'After we have slept,'

<sup>iv</sup> *butya*: people hit the sparrows with sticks and then collect the stunned sparrows.

*ye [pi-mbo] murua=mbe sumbli rani murua=mbe me-wa-mbo*  
then [go-NOML] middle=INS night DEM middle=INS finish:DR-3FSG-DEP  
'then in the middle of our journey when it became midnight and'

*ye har-yehye-hwa.*  
then enter-1DU-PAST  
'then we entered (the cave).'

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*Ø-haf-ehi-Ø,*  
CR-arrive-1DU-DEP  
'We arrived, and'

*wangu mambutyahwa (< mamo butya-Ø-hwa-a-Ø) aflambli,*  
sparrow one hit.with.stick-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP many  
'we caught plenty of sparrows and,'<sup>v</sup>

*me-wa-mbo,*  
finish:DR-3FSG-DEP  
'after that was finished,'

*semi-Ø-ehi-mbo,*  
take-CR-1DU-DEP  
'we took them, and'

*Ø-han-yehi-Ø,*  
CR-go:down-1DU-DEP  
'we went down, and'

*ninala pupu-Ø-hwa-a-Ø,*  
hair pluck.feather-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
'we removed the feathers,'

*pupu-ahwe-ehi Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
pluck.feather-MASS-1DU CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP  
'we removed lots of feathers, and'

*nimi sama-Ø-hwa-a-Ø,*  
stone burn-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
'we burnt some stones (for cooking), and' [we cook the birds, and]

*siha-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
remove.food-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP  
'we removed the food from the fire, and'

*imbu-mamo=pa yari=na ser-yehi fa-hwa-a Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
two-one=only sago=ALL eat-1DU COMPL-1DU-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP  
'after we have eaten only three (birds) with sago,'

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<sup>v</sup> *mamo*: one whole lot of.

*ap-ehye-hwa.*  
sleep-1DU-PAST  
'we slept.'

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*simbu ye, [saftu=mbe nu-mbo] simbu ye uli=nambo pi-ehye-hwa.*  
morning then [Saturday=INS COP-DEP] morning then house=ALL go-1DU-PAST  
'In the morning, being Saturday, in the morning we went home.'

*wuli=na pi-Ø-ehi-Ø,*  
house=ALL go-CR-1DU-DEP  
'We went home, and

*mi lambuli ani wuli kumya*  
mother group there house near  
*bani kaha-Ø-hi-a-mbo Humlali baya,*  
sago chop-CR-3FPL-3FSG:O-DEP Humlali collect.side  
"my mother and other women were chopping sago (grown) close to (our) house at  
in Humlali (Creak),"<sup>vi</sup>

*haf-ehi Ø-numb-ehi-mbo,*  
arrive-1DU CR-SEQ-1DU-DEP  
'After we arrived at the house, and'

*"awe, munika hof-ehye-mbi. wangu=pa no" sa-Ø-hwa-a-mbo,*  
"no nothing come-1DU-PRES sparrow=only COP:3FSG" say-CR-1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
"No, we are coming back with nothing. It is only sparrows (that we got)," we two  
said, and'

*"a yanu" sa-Ø-hu-a-mbo,*  
"ah enough" say-CR-1PL-3FSG:O-DEP  
"ah that's enough," we all said, and'

*sumblufu yari-Ø-hu-a-mbona,*  
afternoon sitr.sago-CR-1PL-3FSG:O-DEP  
'in the afternoon we stirred some sago, and'

*ser-yefa-hwa.*  
eat-1PL-PAST  
'we ate (the sparrows).'

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<sup>vi</sup> *baya*: the side where things are foraged.

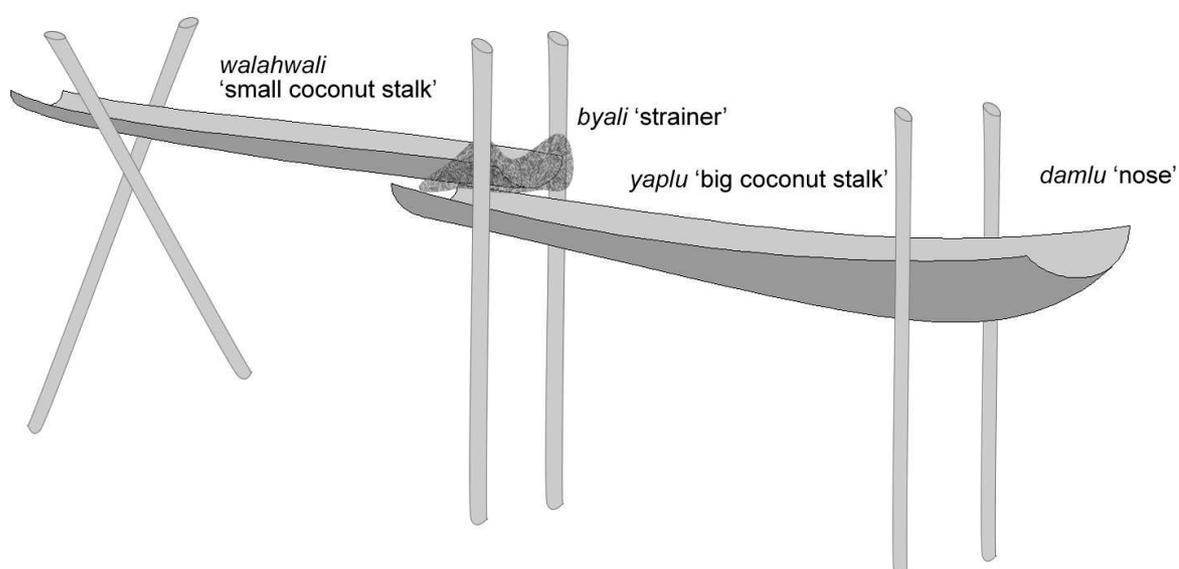
## *Banila Hwafo* — ‘The Story of Sago’

In this text, the author Stanis Kore describes the process of making *yari* ‘sago jelly’ from *bani* ‘sago (pith)’. Stanis Kore was born in 1970s and he is from Menggau. He is a cousin of Simon Kore. This text was recorded on 10<sup>th</sup> November 2004.

Notice that after the first chain clause is a section of nine non-finite chain clauses (marked by a curly bracket on the left; §7.3.1). These non-finite chain clauses have generic subject references (‘people in general’). After the non-finite chain clauses are chain clauses (§7.2) with the subject cross-referenced as first person singular (‘I’). All clauses in this text — except the last clause — form one clause chain; only the last two clauses of this text contain independent verbs.

The following is a diagram of the sago starch extracting apparatus used by Menggwa Dla people traditionally. The pith is put on the *walahwali* ‘small coconut stalk’ on top and are washed, crushed and kneaded against the *byali* ‘strainer’, which is a piece of coconut fibre cloth. The sago starch, together with water, then flow through the strainer and settle in the *damlu* ‘nose’ (the large bottom end) of the *yaplu* ‘big coconut stalk’ at the bottom. The sago starch is left to settle in the sago water, and then the sago water is scooped out, leaving the sago starch at the bottom. The coconut stalks are suspended at about waist height.

Figure A1.1 Traditional Menggwa Dla sago starch extracting apparatus



**Bani=la Hwafo**  
**sago=GEN talk**

*apa simbu, apa simbu=na [bani kahefi-mba-mbo]*  
 daytime morning daytime morning=TOP [sago chop-POST-NOML]  
*gihali me-Ø-wa-mbo,*  
 hungry COMPL-CR-3FSG-DEP  
 ‘In the morning, people chop sago palm after they got hungry, and’

*ilombo hwambo tamako semi nungu-mbo,*  
 thus thus axe take SEQ-DEP  
 ‘so (people) take axes, and’

*barefu semi nungu-mbo,*  
 scraper take SEQ-DEP  
 ‘take scrapers, and’

*byali waplū semi nungu-mbo,*  
 strainer bucket take SEQ-DEP  
 ‘take strainers and buckets, and’

*bani numu-a=nambo pi-mba-mbo,*  
 sago sit-place=ALL go-POST-DEP  
 ‘(people) go to the place where sago palms are, and’

*hafu-Ø,*  
 arrive-DEP  
 ‘arrive, and’

*kahefi nungu-mbo,*  
 chop SEQ-DEP  
 ‘chop down (sago palm), and’

*[hofahi-Ø, hofo=hi ek-wa-hwani] palangi=nambo hwela numuli-Ø,*  
 [fell-DEP ground=ADS exist-3FSG-when] machete=ALL skin remove-DEP  
 ‘when (the sago palm) fell and stay (on the ground), (people) use machetes to  
 remove the bark, and’

*wepi mefi nungu-mbo,*  
 clean COMPL SEQ-DEP  
 ‘after they have cleared (the exterior of the sago palm), and’<sup>vii</sup>

*ahala=na=pa hya imbu safo tamako=nambo kikifi nungu-mbo,*  
 root=ALL=only INTJ two half axe=ALL chop SEQ-DEP  
 ‘(from the top) to the root (people) chop (the sago palm) into two halves with an axe,  
 and’

<sup>vii</sup> There are spikes on the exterior of sago palms, so the spikes have to be cleared first.

*kala-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
split-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would split (the sago palm into two halves), and'

*barefu sami-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
scraper take-1SG CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would take the scraper, and'

[*hli-aha-hi,*] [*hli-aha-hi*] *pi-a ma-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
[scrape-1SG-SIM] [scrape-1SG-SIM] go-1SG COMPL-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'while scraping (the pith of the interior of sago palm), while scraping I would make  
the pith loose ('go'),'

*ye pi- $\emptyset$ -o-mbo*,  
then go-CR-3FSG-DEP  
'then the pith would become loose ('go'), and'

*hupla=mbe ma-ek-wa-mbona*,  
container=INS DR-exist-3FSG-DEP  
'exist (loosely) in the trunk ('container'), and'

*waplu sa-hya-a hof-a saha-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
bucket carry-1SG-3FSG:O come-1SG put-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would take ('carry-come-put') the bucket here, and'

*waplu=mbe fufefi fa-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
bucket=INS transfer COMPL-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'after I have put the sago pith inside the bucket,'

*sa-hya-a pi-a saha-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo* *yaplu* *sena*,  
carry-1SG-3FSG:O go-1SG put-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP big.coconut.stalk side  
'I would take ('carry-go-put') (the bucket) to the big coconut stalk,'

*sa-hya-a pi-a saha-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
carry-1SG-3FSG:O go-1SG put-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would take it, and'

*ma-ek-wa-mbona*,  
DR-exist-3FSG-DEP  
'(the bucket) sits there, and'

*yaplu* *hya*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
big.coconut.stalk INTJ CR-stand-1SG-DEP  
'I would set up ('stand') the big coconut stalk, and'

*walahwali sana-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
small.coconut.stalk put.on.top-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would put the sago pith on the (upper) small coconut stalk, and'

*byali fungi-hya-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
strainer tie-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'and tie the strainer (to the lower end of the small coconut stalk), and'

*ye me-wa-mbona,*  
then finish:DR-3FSG-DEP  
'then after that is finished,'

*batini fuame-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
sago.pith take.pith-1SG CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would take the sago pith, and'

*walahwali sana-hya-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
small.coconut.stalk put.on.top-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'put the sago pith on the small coconut stalk, and'

*tikyawi waplū sami-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
little bucket take-1SG CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would take a little bucket, and'

*hwi fiame-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
water fetch.water-1SG CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would fetch some water, and'

[pour the water into the small coconut stalk which is filled with sago pith, and]

[*ye kiki-ha-a-hi,* [kiki-ha-a-hi]  
[then wash.sago-1SG-3FSG:O-SIM] [wash.sago-1SG-3FSG:O-SIM]  
*gwi waplū ma-hya-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
another bucket finish-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'then while washing the sago pith, while washing the sago pith another bucket (load of sago pith) would be depleted, and']

*mamefi-wa-mbona,*  
finish:MASS:DR-3FSG-DEP  
'after all that were finished,'

*bani hupla=na pi-Ø-a-Ø*  
sago container=ALL go-CR-1SG-DEP  
'I would go to the sago trunk ("container") and'

*gwi waplū sami-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
another bucket take-1SG CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'take another bucket (load of sago pitch), and'

*sa-hya-a Ø-hof-a-Ø gwatina,*  
carry-1SG-3FSG:O CR-COME-1SG-DEP again  
'I would carry (the bucket now filled with sago pith) and come again, and'

*saha-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
put-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would put it (here), and'

*rani* [*kiki- $\emptyset$* ]=*hi* *pi- $\emptyset$ -a- $\emptyset$* ,  
DEM [wash.sago-NOML]=ADS go-CR-1SG-DEP  
'while (the pith is) soaking I would go and'

*mamefi-wa-mbona*,  
finish:MASS:DR-3FSG-DEP  
'after that is finished,'

[[*wala gwatina pi-aha-hi*] [*imbu-mamu waplumbi ek-wa-hya*]=*mbo*  
[[then again go-1SG-SIM] [two-one bucket=PROP exist-3FSG-PAST]=OBJ  
*hwambo*] *pi- $\emptyset$ -a- $\emptyset$* ,  
being.the.case] go-CR-1SG-DEP  
'while I go again, and there would be three bucket (loads of sago pith), and so I  
would go and'

*sami-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
take-1SG CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'take (the bucket), and'

*sa-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*hof-a- $\emptyset$* ,  
carry-1SG-3FSG:O CR-COME-1SG-DEP  
'take (the bucket with sago pith) back here, and'

*rani kiki- $\emptyset$ -hya-a-mbo*,  
DEM wash.sago-CR-1SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'wash the sago pith, and'

*ye rani mamefi-wa-mbona*,  
then DEM finish:MASS:DR-3FSG-DEP  
'then after that is finished, and'

[letting the sago starch to settle in the sago water, and]

*hwi ti fa-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
water get.rid COMPL-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'after I have finished getting rid of the water (at the lower big coconut stalk),'

*ye bani safa aflambe wu ma-ek-wa-mbo*,  
then sago meat lots oh DR-exist-3FSG-DEP  
'then there would be a big pile of sago starch,'

*kaka-hya-a saha-hya-a*  $\emptyset$ -*numb-a-mbo*,  
break:MASS-1SG-3FSG:O put.horizontally-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would divide (the pile of sago starch) and put them (on the big coconut stalk), and'

*imbu-mamu safa ma-fel-wa-mbona waplu=mbe,*  
two-one meat DR-exist-3FSG-DEP bucket=INS  
'there would be three pieces (of sago starch) in (the three) buckets, and'

*byali fali-hya-a Ø- numb-a-mbo waplu=mbe,*  
strainer spread-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP bucket=INS  
'I spread the strainers inside the buckets, and'

*bani hofahi-a Ø- numb-a-mbo,*  
sago drop-1SG CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I put the sago starch into (the bucket), and'

*bani damlu=mbe hutumu=nambo amama-hya-a Ø- numb-a-mbo,*  
sago nose=INS leave=ALL cover-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I cover the sago starch at the bell ('nose') of the (lower) big coconut stalk with (big) leaves, and'

*me-wa-mbona,*  
finish-3FSG-DEP  
'after that is finished,'

*waplu=mbe bani safa-hya-a Ø- numb-a-mbo,*  
bucket=INS sago put-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would put the sago into a bucket, and'

*bapli=hi hupo-a me-a Ø- numb-a-mbo,*  
head=ADS put.on.head-1SG COMPL-1SG CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would put the bucket on (my) head, and'

*ye sa-hya-a pi-Ø-a-mbo wuli=mbe,*  
then carry-1SG-3FSG:O go-CR-1SG-DEP house=INS  
'then carry it back home, and'

*wuli=mbe saha-hya-a Ø- numb-a-Ø,*  
house=INS put-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would put it inside the house, and'

*pi-Ø-a-Ø,*  
go-CR-1SG-DEP  
'I would go and'

*hwi fiha-hya-a Ø- numb-a-Ø,*  
water get.water-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'fetch water, and'

*sa-hya-a Ø-hahof-a-Ø,*  
carry-1SG-3FSG:O CR-go.up-1SG-DEP  
'I take the water inside the house ('go up') and'

*hupla=mbe hli-hya-a Ø-numb-a-Ø,*  
container=INS pour-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'pour the water into a pot, and'

*hai fofo-hya-a Ø-numb-a-Ø*  
fire blow-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would blow a fire and'

*sana-Ø-hya-a-Ø,*  
put.on.top-CR-1SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'put (the pot) on top (of the fire), and'

*bani waplu=mbe safa-hya-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
sago bucket=INS put-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would put the sago into a bucket, and'

[then the boiling water would be poured into the bucket containing sago starch]

*yari-Ø-hya-a-mbo,*  
stir.sago-CR-1SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'I would stir the sago, and'

*ye ginya ma-ek-wa-mbona,*  
then strength DR-exist-3FSG-DEP  
'then the sago would become tough (jelly-like), and'

*baha-Ø-hya-a-Ø hutumu=hi,*  
cut.put-CR-1SG-3FSG:O-DEP leaf=ADS  
'I would cut the sago (into lumps) and put them on the (big) leaves,'

*hutumu=hi baha-hya-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
leaf=ADS cut.put-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would cut the sago and put them on the (big) leaves, and'

*hwatumali hupla=mbe sama-hya-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
leafy.vegetable container=INS cook-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I would cook vegetables in a pot, and'

*so me-wa-mbona,*  
cooked finish:DR-3FSG-DEP  
'after it has been cooked,'

*ye [tamu-ha-a-hya] Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
then [remove.from.fire-1SG-3FSG:O-PAST] CR-stand-1SG-DEP  
'then I would do (the action of) removing the pot from fire, and'

*hutumu=hi gifuki-hya-a saha-hya-a Ø-numb-a-mbo,*  
leaf=ADS distribute-1SG-3FSG:O put-1SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-1SG-DEP  
'I distribute the (cooked vegetables) amongst the (big) leaves,'

*ye ser-i fa-Ø-hya-a-mbo*  
then eat-1SG COMPL-CR-1SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'I would eat them and'

*ap-aha-hi.*  
sleep-1SG-PRES:CONT  
'sleep.'

---

*ye rani n-o bani=la hwafo.*  
then DEM COP:PRES-3FSG sago=GEN talk  
'That is it, the story of sago.'

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## *Amamola Hwafo* — ‘The Story of the Moon’

This is a text of a mythical story about the moon. The narrator is David Yawa, the father of Donald Yawa. He was born in 1950s and he is from Wanggurinda (his mother was from Menggwal). This text was recorded on 28<sup>th</sup> April 2004. Unfortunately there are portions of texts in section G which I still do not fully understand.

Clause skipping by the switch-reference markers (§7.3.2) is spectacular in this text. Clause skipping is marked by an arrow on the left of the clause. The bulk of section F is a direct quote of the children (in first person) reiterating events described in section E (in third person). Some third person singular (3FSG) cross-reference suffixes are in bold; they are instances where the masculine *amamo* ‘moon’ are ‘wrongly’ cross-referenced as feminine (see §5.2.4).

### *Amamo=la Hwafo* moon=GEN talk

(section A)

*yowala hwafo blufa ilomo=la*  
1SG:GEN story short creator=GEN

[*bofuna afatu tumulu hohoa-Ø*]=*hi nungu-mbo*,  
[ancestor before roughly tell-NOML]=ADS stand-DEP

‘This is my short mythical story which my ancestors was telling, and’

*a yo [humbli-me-aha-mbo hoho-hi-a-hya]*  
ah 1 [hear-DR-1SG-DEP tell-N1FPL-3FSG:O-PAST]

*amamo=la hwafo hoho-mba-Ø*  
moon=GEN story tell-POST-DEP

‘ah I will tell you the moon’s story which I heard them telling.’

*bohoni amamo=na sini=mbe akani=mbe=na awe*.

before moon=TOP sky=INS there=INS=TOP be.not

‘Once upon a time the moon was not there in the sky.’

*numami ra=mbe pe boke-wa-hya no*.  
above DEM=INS be.gone NEG:R-3FSG-PAST:FOC COP:3FSG

‘The moon has not gone up there.’

*iro-la hya hoho-hi-a-hya*.  
like.that-LIG INTJ tell-N1FPL-3FSG:O-PAST:FOC

‘They (my ancestors) said so.’

wara yo apa dahoni ane=ronngo wa hoho-mba-la-mbo.  
 so 1 daytime now friend=PER so tell-POST-LIG-NOML  
 ‘So now in this morning I will tell you this story.’

---

(section B)

rani bohoni amamo rani ~~hwi=mbe num-wa-hya~~  
 DEM before moon DEM ~~water=INS sit-3FSG-PAST:FOG~~  
 hwi=mbe Ø-num-u-mbona,  
 water=INS CR-sit-3MSG-DEP

‘Once upon a time the moon lived in the water, and’

mni ambloana=pa hya [hwatu seru-mbo]=pa  
 just outside=only INTJ [find eat-NOML]=only  
 hri-ya-a fa-ya-a kaku-Ø-u-Ø,  
 come.out-3SG-3FSG:O leave-3SG-3FSG:O walk-CR-3MSG-DEP  
 ‘he only came outside to search for food, and’<sup>viii</sup>

[hwatu seru-Ø]=hi Ø-nung-u-Ø nyawi=la amni=mbe ra-baya,  
 [search eat-NOML]=ADS CR-stand-3MSG-DEP people=GEN garden=INS DEM-side  
 ‘he did searched for food in people’s gardens, and’

mni Ø-numeh-ya-a-mbo  
 just CR-sit-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
 ‘he just sit (there) and’

animbi ka-ya-a hipahi-Ø-ya-a-ni.  
 crop cut-3SG-3FSG:O pull-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-TENT  
 ‘maybe he cut and pull the crops.’

---

sa-ya-a Ø-han-u-mbo,  
 carry-3SG-3FSG:O CR-go.down-3MSG-DEP  
 ‘He (the moon) took the crops and went down’

hwi=mbe=na sa-ya-a Ø-han-u-mbo,  
 water=INS=TOP carry-3SG-3FSG:O CR-go.down-3MSG-DEP  
 ‘into the water he (the moon) took them and went down, and’

ani a [num-wa-mbi] fla=mbe numu-a=mbe Ø-ser-u-Ø,  
 there ah sit-3FSG-PRES place=INS live-place=INS CR-eat-3MSG-DEP  
 ‘there in the place where he (the moon) lived, in (his) abode he (the moon) ate, and’

ser-u Ø-num-u-la-mbona,  
 eat-3MSG CR-sit-3MSG-LIG-DEP  
 ‘he (the moon) ate and lived (in this place), and’

---

<sup>viii</sup> hri: come out of abode.

(section C)

*sungu amni=la afila ai Ø-haf-u-mbo,*  
later garden=GEN father 3SG CR-arrive-3MSG-DEP  
'one day the father (owner) of the garden he arrived, and'

*[rani amni baya tupam nyawi hihiri fa-Ø-ya-a-Ø,*  
[DEM garden side thing person steal leave-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
*pi-wa-hi no] ah-Ø-Ø-ya-a-mbo,*  
go-3FSG-PRES:CONT COP:3FSG] think-CR-3SG-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'he thought that someone has finished stealing things from the garden and is going  
and'

*rani Ø-haf-u-mbo,*  
DEM CR-go.across-3MSG-DEP  
'he went across (to the garden), and'

*homba-Ø tiau-Ø-hya nu-mbo,*  
see-3MSG observe-3MSG-PAST:FOC COP-DEP  
'he had a look, and'

*homba-Ø-i-Ø-mbo,*  
look-CR-3MSG-3MSG:O-DEP  
'he saw him (the moon), and'

*[hwatu muami-mbo] ma-han-u-mbona*  
[search take-NOML] DR-go.down-3MSG-DEP  
'he (the moon) has gone down (into the water) to search and take (things) and'

→ *gia-i-Ø Ø-han-u-mbo hwi=mbe,*  
follow-3MSG-3MSG:O CR-go.down-3MSG-DEP water=INS  
'he (the father) followed him (the moon) down into the water, and'

*hwi=mbe homba-i-Ø fa-i-Ø Ø-nung-u-mbona,*  
water=INS look-3MSG-3MSG:O COMPL-3MSG-3MSG:O CR-SEQ-3MSG-DEP  
'he saw him (the moon) in the water, and'

*“o dani da-tupam dewahi”=na ah-Ø-Ø-ya-a-mbo,*  
“oh this this-thing must.be”=TOP think-CR-3SG-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
“oh it must be this thing” he thought, and'

*Ø-haf-u-Ø*  
CR-go.across-3MSG-DEP  
'he went across (to the village) and'

*gwafu=hi hwafu pi-Ø-ya-a-mbo,*  
village=ADS talk go-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'he spread the news at the village, and'

*mafwa oloha safya=lofo Ø-han-umu-mbo,*  
 all community=COM CR-go.down-3MPL-DEP  
 ‘all the people went down (to the water),’

*hwi=hi ra-aningi amangwani kakahi-ahwe nungu-Ø,*  
 water=ADS DEM-usable sago.palm.branch cut:MASS-MASS SEQ-DEP  
 ‘then they cut many sago palm branches,’

*ra=nambo rani hwi fri-Ø-mu-mbo nu-mbo,*  
 DEM=ALL DEM water get.rid-CR-3MPL-DEP COP-DEP  
 ‘they used that to get rid of the water, and’

*ye hwi ti-kli-me-wa-mbona hwi ti-kli-me-wa-mbo,*  
 then water get.rid-boil-DR-3FSG-DEP water get.rid-boil-DR-3FSG-DEP  
 ‘the water dried up,’<sup>ix</sup>

→ *ani=mbe rani=mbo hwatu-ma-hi ambya*  
 there=INS DEM=OBJ search-3MPL-SIM hole  
 ‘they were searching for the moon inside there (the hole),’

*[[rewambi numu-fla o naho=mbe o nimi yafu boke-wa-hi]*  
*[[bottom sit-place or what=INS or stone open NEG:R-3FSG-SIM]*  
*hwatu-ma-hi] dili kahwe-Ø-mu-Ø*  
*search-N1MPL-SIM] away lift-CR-N1MPL-DEP*  
 ‘at the bottom (of the hole) where the moon lives or something the stones obstructs  
 the view and the men searched and lifted the stone away and’

*iro a hwatu-Ø-mu-mbo,*  
 like.that ah search-CR-3MPL-DEP  
 ‘they searched like that, and’

*homba boka-ma-wu-Ø-mbona,*  
 see NEG:R-DR-N1MPL-3MSG:O-DEP  
 ‘they did not see him (the moon), and’

→ *ai=na tumali hupla ambya rungu pipa-me-Ø-mbo,*  
 3=TOP pandanus container hole inside hide-DR-3MSG-DEP  
 ‘he (the moon) was hiding in a hole inside a pandanus trunk, and’

*[ra nu-mbo] pupla-Ø-wu-a-Ø*  
 [DEM COP-DEP] break-CR-N1MPL-3FSG:O-DEP  
 ‘that being the case they broke (the hole) and’

*hriha-wu-a Ø-nung-umu-mbo,*  
 pull.out-N1MPL-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-N1MPL-DEP  
 ‘pulled him (the moon) out, and’

<sup>ix</sup> The prototypical meaning of *kli* is ‘boil’; more generally, *kli* means liquid escaping by means other than being pouring out downward, e.g. evaporating, scooped out upward.

*sa-wu-a-hya.*  
carry-3MPL-3FSG:O-PAST:FOC  
'they took him (the moon) (away).'

---

(section D)

*rani hya rani, rani amni=la afila ahu rani amamo*  
DEM INTJ DEM DEM garden=GEN father self DEM moon  
*sa-i-Ø Ø-hahuf-u-mbo,*  
carry-3MSG-3MSG:O CR-go.up-3MSG-DEP  
'Then, the garden's father himself took the moon back home,'<sup>x</sup>

*alu=mbe saku-Ø-i-Ø-mbona,*  
string.bag=INS put-CR-3MSG-3MSG:O-DEP  
'he put him (the moon) into a string bag, and'

*ye wuli=mbe=na galali=hi hwama-i-Ø fa-i-Ø-hi,*  
then house=INS=TOP hook=ADS hang.up-3MSG-3MSG:O leave-N1MSG-3MSG:O-SIM  
'then inside the house while he hung the moon on the hook and left him there,'<sup>xi</sup>

*a ehala ulua hwi gni hwi hofahi-o-mbi rani.*  
ah 3SG:GEN fat liquid fat liquid fall.down-3FSG-PRES:STAT DEM  
'ah the moon's oil dripped down.'<sup>xii</sup>

---

*rani wara e bani=mbe o hwatumali o naho sama-Ø-hi-a-mbo,*  
DEM SO 3 sago=INS or leafy.vege or what cook-CR-3FPL-3FSG:O-DEP  
'(People) cook sago or greens or other things, and'

*ani=mbe kitaki-Ø-hi-a-Ø*  
there=INS season:MASS-CR-3FPL-3FSG:O-DEP  
'sprinkle (the moon oil) as seasoning there (amongst the food), and'

*seri-hi-a-hya.*  
eat-3FPL-3FSG:O-PAST:FOC  
'eat.'

---

*iro=hya=hi numb-ei-hya hya no gwa;*  
like.that=ABL=ADS stand-3FPL-PAST:FOC INTJ COP:3FSG but  
'They did it like that; but then'

---

<sup>x</sup> *hahofu*: going up into a house.

<sup>xi</sup> *galali*: big hood in the middle of the house hanging above the fireplace.

<sup>xii</sup> *ulua hwi* and *gni hwi* are synonymous.

(section E)

*gwi sumbani [rani Kariawi ah-umu-wu-a-hya rani]*  
another day [DEM Kariawi think-3MPL-3MPL-3FSG:O-PAST DEM]  
*ai Ø-hof-u-mbo,*  
3 CR-COME-3MSG-DEP

‘One day there was this whom they call Kariawi (name of a spirit) he came’

*Kariawi Ø-hof-u-mbona,*  
Kariawi CR-COME-3MSG-DEP  
‘Kariawi came, and’

*nomola=pa ma-num-ei-mbo,*  
children=only DR-sit-3FPL-DEP  
‘only children were at home,’

*gwa afila hwila ra=na dofo heli=hi o naho=nambo*  
but father mother DEM=ALL secret ceremony=ADS or what=ALL  
*efya ra=na po-me-efya-mbona,*  
N1FDU:RSUMP DEM=ALL GO:DR-DR-N1FDU-DEP  
‘but father and mother the two of them went to a secret ceremony or somewhere,’

*nomola=pa ma-num-ei-mbo,*  
children=only DR-sit-N1FPL-DEP  
‘only children were at home, and’

→ *rani Kariawi [seru-mbo] homba-Ø-ya-ti-mbona,*  
DEM Kariawi [eat-NOML] see-CR-3SG-N1FPL:O-DEP  
‘Kariawi saw them eating, and’

*a aiaheimbo=lofo hwafo-u fa-ya-a Ø-nung-u-mbo,*  
ah 3FPL:OBJ=COM talk-3MSG COMPL-3SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-3MSG-DEP  
‘after he have talked with them,’

*uli=mbe ~~Ø-suf-ei-mbo~~*  
house=INS ~~CR-COME-3FSG-DEP~~  
*suf-u kafa-ya-a Ø-num-u-mbo mome,*  
come-3MSG come.inside-3SG-3FSG:O CR-sit-3MSG-DEP together  
‘he came inside the house and sat together (with the children), and’

*homba-Ø-ni gwa;*  
look-3MSG-TENT but  
‘maybe he saw (the moon oil); but’

.....  
*rani hwi aningi kitaki-Ø-hi-a-Ø,*  
DEM water useable collect.liquid:MASS-CR-3FPL-3FSG:O-DEP  
‘they collected and used the moon-oil and’

*seri-ma-hi-a-mbona,*  
eat-DR-3FPL-3FSG:O-DEP  
‘ate, and’

*naho ni hya hya tutu-Ø-ni gwa;*  
 what TENT INTJ INTJ ask-3MSG-TENT but  
 ‘maybe he asked (them) what was it, but’

“*awe gwa, yohwefa ulua hwi numami aya saku-ya-a-hya akani=mbe.*  
 “no but 1PL:GEN fat liquid above father put-3SG-3FSG:O-PAST:FOC there=INS  
*iro hwahwambo aningi-Ø-hu-a-Ø, Ø-ser-yefu-Ø hwambo no*  
 like.that be.the.case use-CR-1PL-3FSG:O-DEP CR-eat-1PL-DEP the.case COP:3FSG”  
*iro sa-hi-a-mbo,*  
 like.that say-3FPL-3FSG:O-DEP

“‘Nothing really, father put our oil up there. Like this we use it and eat and it is so,’  
 they said so, and’

*[aningi-hi-a-hi] ma-rer-i-mbona,*  
 [use-3FPL-3FSG:O-SIM] DR-eat-3FPL-DEP  
 ‘they used (the oil) and eat, and’

*homba-Ø-ya-ti-mbo,*  
 see-CR-3SG-N1FPL:O-DEP  
 ‘he saw them, and’

*wara “yo kwa homba-ha-a-mby-a” Ø-nung-u-mbo*  
 so “1 MOD see-1SG-3FSG:O-SMR:POS-1SG” CR-stand-3MSG-DEP  
 ‘so “maybe I will have a look,” he said, and’

*Kariawi rani iro me-h-u-mbona,*  
 Kariawi DEM like.that DR-talk-3MSG-DEP  
 ‘Kariawi said that, and’

“*amani no.*”  
 “good COP:3SG”  
 “‘OK’ (said the children)’

*Kariawi rani “homba-ma-ha-a-ni?” Ø-nung-u-Ø gwa,*  
 Kariawi DEM “see-NEG:IR-1SG-3FSG:O-TENT” CR-stand-3MSG-DEP but  
 ‘Kariawi said “can I see?” and’

“*amani no*” *ma-r-ei-mbona,*  
 “good COP:3FSG” DR-talk-3FPL-DEP  
 “‘OK’ they said, and’

→ *ai faha-ya-a Ø-nung-u-Ø,*  
 3 take.down-3SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-3MSG-DEP  
 ‘he took (the string bag which the moon was in) down, and’

*homba-i-Ø Ø-nung-u-mbo,*  
 see-3MSG-3MSG:O CR-SEQ-3MSG-DEP  
 ‘he saw him (the moon), and’

alu baya muriha-Ø-ya-a-mbo,  
string,bag side take.out-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'he took him (the moon) out of the string bag, and'

wara rani hya rani sa-ya-a pi-Ø-Ø-mbo,  
so DEM INTJ DEM carry-3SG-3FSG:O go-CR-3MSG-DEP  
'so he took him (the moon) away, and'

waplu=mbi hwi ma-ek-wa-mbona,  
palm.bucket=PROP water DR-exist-3FSG-DEP  
'there was a palm leaf bucket with some water in it, and'

amamo rani hwi=mbe ma-rafa-i-Ø-mbona  
moon DEM water=INS DR-put.in.downward-3MSG-3MSG:O-DEP  
'he put him (the moon) into the water, and'

amamo rani baya hri-ya-a fa-Ø-ya-a-mbona,  
moon DEM side come.out-3SG-3FSG:O COMPL-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'the moon came out from there, and'

Ø-hahuf-u-mbo,  
CR-go.up-3MSG-DEP  
'he (the moon) went up, and'

ye sini=mbe pe-Ø-u-mbo rani,  
then sky=INS be.gone-CR-3MSG-DEP DEM  
'then he went to the sky and stayed there, and'

pe-Ø-u-mbo,  
be.gone-CR-3MSG-DEP  
'he has gone, and'

dahoni homba-hu-a-mbi rani.  
now see-1PL-3FSG:O-PRES:STAT DEM  
'now we see the moon (in the sky).'

rani ehala hwafo no gwa;  
DEM 3SG:GEN story COP:3FSG but  
'This is his (the story teller's) story; but'

(section F)

wara, rani hya rani, afile hwila hof-efi homba-hi-Ø-nya-a-mbo,  
so DEM INTJ DEM father mother come-N1FDU look-MASS-CR-N1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
'so, then, the father and mother came back and looked,'

homba-hi-Ø-nya-a-mbona,  
look-MASS-CR-N1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
'they looked, and'

wara “amamo=na ga ke-u” Ø-raf-nya-a-mbo,  
 so “moon=TOP where COP:where-3MSG CR-say-N1DU-3FSG:O-DEP  
 ‘so “where is the moon?” they said, and’

tutu-efye-ni gwa;  
 ask-N1FDU-TENT but  
 ‘asked; but’

wi-hwala Ø-numb-ei-mbo:  
 child-ren CR-stand-3FPL-DEP  
 ‘the children said:

“awe, rani Kariawi o nyawi rani Ø-suf-u-mbo,  
 “no DEM Kariawi or people DEM CR-come-3MSG-DEP  
 “nothing really, that Kariawi or someone came, and

yohwefumbo homba-Ø-ya-mu-mbona,  
 1PL:OBJ see-CR-3SG-1NSG:O-DEP  
 “he saw us, and”

hwafo-u fa-ya-mu Ø-nung-u-mbo,  
 talk-3MSG COMPL-3SG-1NSG:O CR-SEQ-3MSG-DEP  
 “he talked to us, and”

dani aningi-Ø-hu-a-mbo,  
 this use-CR-1PL-3FSG:O-DEP  
 “we used this,”

[ehala ulua hwi hofahi-wa-mbi] ye anirji-Ø-hu-a-mbo,  
 [3SG:GEN oil liquid fall.down-3FSG-PRES then use-CR-1PL-3FSG:O-DEP  
 “we used the oil which the moon drips, and”

seri-Ø-hu-a-mbona,  
 eat-CR-1PL-3FSG:O-DEP  
 “we eat, and”

“naho no” hya tutu-me-Ø-mbona gwa,  
 “what COP:3FSG” INTJ ask-DR-3MSG-DEP but  
 ““what is it?” he asked, but”

→ “awe” ra-rani ma-r-efu-mbo,  
 “no” DEM-DEM DR-say-1PL-DEP  
 ““nothing really,” and so on and so forth we said, and”

→ ai faha-ya-a Ø-nung-u-mbo,  
 3 take.down-3SG-3FSG:O CR-SEQ-3MSG-DEP  
 “he took it (the string bag) down, and”

sa-ya-a pi-Ø-Ø-mbo,  
carry-3SG-3FSG:O go-CR-3MSG-DEP  
“he took him (the moon) and went (outside), and”

hwi=mbe ma-safa-i-Ø-mbona,  
water=INS DR-put-3MSG-3MSG:O-DEP  
“he put him (the moon) into the water, and”

rani hya hri-ya-a fa-Ø-ya-a-mbo amamo rani  
DEM INTJ come.out-3SG-3FSG:O COMPL-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP moon DEM  
“the moon came out and”

hahuf-u-hya no.”  
go.up-3MSG-PAST:FOC COP:3FSG  
“went up to the sky.”

e rani ehala hwafo rani s-aha-hi rani.  
3 DEM 3SG:GEN story DEM talk-1SG-PRES:CONT DEM  
‘This is the story teller’s story I am telling.’

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(section G)

[afila hwila rani aningi-hi-a seri-hi-a-hya] hwambo ye  
[father mother DEM use-N1FPL-3FSG:O eat-N1FPL-3FSG:O-PAST] hence then  
‘Like how the father and mother have been using it for eating,’

yaflei huri amamo huri s-efu-hu-a-mbi rani.  
cloud dew moon dew think-1PL-1PL-3FSG:O-PRES:STAT DEM  
‘we call dew moon’s dew.’

---

[rani ehala ulua no] ah-Ø-ya-a-mbi.  
[DEM 3SG:GEN oil COP:3FSG] think-3SG-3SG-3FSG:O-PRES:STAT  
‘The moon’s oil it is called.’

---

re-hi-a-mbi a.  
say-N1FPL-3FSG:O-PRES:STAT ah  
‘we say that.’

---

amamo huri hofahi-wa-mbi rani.  
moon dew fall.down-3FSG-PRES:STAT DEM  
‘the moon dew falls.’

---

tefu=hi ganyaru-homba-ni gwa,  
tongue=ADS taste-see-TENT but  
‘When one taste it with tongue,

---

ye rani hwahwa-Ø [apa=mboka]  
then DEM know-DEP [be.sweet=ABSS]  
‘then one knows that it is not sweet,’

---

*ye awe rani mayana hwambo meni rewambi=nambo.*  
then no DEM far because COP:TENT bottom=ALL  
'then no, maybe because (the moon) is far away towards the bottom (of the sky).'

---

*wara ye [gihalfi-Ø] ka-Ø-ya-a-mbona,*  
so then [cold-NOML] break-CR-3SG-3FSG:O-DEP  
'So then when it is really cold,'

---

*hwi ma-hwi-we a*  
water NEG:IRR-water-CAUT ah  
'beware of the water.' (?)

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*yowala hwafo ye no.*  
1SG:GEN talk then COP:3FSG  
'This is my talk.'

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