

Dom Texts*

‘A Hawk and a Parrot’, ‘A Dog and a Pig’, and ‘Stealing’

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1 Introduction

The Dom language is spoken in the Dom area in the Gumine District and in a part of the Sinasina District of the Simbu Province (formerly called Chimbu) in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. Grimes (2001) reports that the number of the speakers is 12,000.

According to Wurm’s comprehensive research on the Papuan languages (1982), this language is the Dom subdialect of the Kuman-Dom subdialects of the Chimbu dialects, which belong to the Chimbu subfamily of the Central family.

The phonemes of Dom are: /p, b, m, t, d, n, k, g, s, r, l, y, w; i, e, a, u, o/. Voiced stops are prenasalized. This is especially noticeable in non-utterance-initial position. Among the vowels, *e* can be freely deleted in word-final position, if the word is not monosyllabic. When words consisting of one consonant are pronounced in isolation, a vowel *i* is added after it.¹ Three word tones are

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¹The words consisting of one consonant have an allomorph with *i* in word-final position as

represented by placing ʔ, ʌ and ʋ before segmental representations for a high, a falling and a rising tone respectively. Clitics lose their inherent tone when they follow a word which does not have a falling tone, and they are pronounced at a lower pitch than the preceding word. In some verbs with future suffixes the verb root has its pitch value unspecified, in which case the tone symbol is placed before the future suffix.

The following texts are in the Dom language, and narrated by Maumne Palus (male, early 30's), who belongs to the Gelwa Gauma sub-clan of the Non Ku clan and is a young leader of the hamlet of NI Mogwa. The first two texts are folktales and the last text is the narrator's actual experience.

2 Texts

2.1 A Hawk and a Parrot

Recorded on 2 October 2000.

1. ʔker ʔker ʌdi²

(beginning.of.the.story)

Ker-ker di.

2. ʔkila ʌkulam ʋsu ʌmal ʎya ʋme-ipka ʔkipl
hawk parrot two near right/back.here stay-2/3DL.SRD bushfire(AJ)

ʌwaki ʔyam ʌbl ʌdo-m ʌdu-gwe³
Wahgi.river right/back.down.here big burn(intr.)-3SG say-3SG.IND

Kila hawk and Kulam parrot lived here. [Once] there was a big fire in the bush down near the Wahgi.

3. ʎyal ʔsul Ni ʋal-a=ʌo ʔkipl ʌbl
man two.person DEM1 brother-1SG.POSS=VOC bushfire(AJ) big

in the quotation marker ʔd ~ ʔdi and the words with *e* in word-final position have an allomorph without *e* as in *ʌele* ~ *ʌel* 'make and' because of *i*-addition and *e*-deletion respectively.

²ʔker ʔker ʌdi is not used in conversation. It signals the beginning of a tale and can have a different prosody.

³ʌdugwe 's/he said' here does not mean that someone actually said so but it indicates this story is passed to the speaker from someone and is not the speaker's own idea. Using ʌdugwe is one of the styles of tales.

\ndo-m=\Gammaia \ndua \nap=\Gammata \ngol ye-\/na-gwa
 burn(intr.)-3SG=EXPL rat animal=a die.INF be-FUT-3SG.SRD
 \var \Gammayu { ke } \/ke ne-\/ra-pl-a
 pick.up.INF fetch.INF cook.by.steam.INF eat-FUT-1DL-END.A
 \Gammaer \no-pl-o \ndi-pka
 to go-1DL-END.O say-2/3DL.SRD

These two said, “My brother! There is a big bushfire. Let’s go and find rats or some animals which might be lying there dead, bring them [back], cook them, and eat them!”

4. \kcol \Gammawa\du \Gammaer \nim \ne-ipka \ne-ipka⁴
 side search.INF to down.there go-2/3DL.SRD go-2/3DL.SRD
 \kcol \Gammawa\du \Gammaer \nip \nw-ipka
 side search.INF to up.there come-2/3DL.SRD

They went up and down in search [of carrion] for a while.

5. \Ggur=\lyya \Ggar\kl=\lyya \ndua=\lyya \ngol \/yo-gwa
 lizard=and snake=and rat=and die.INF be-3SG.SRD
 \var \ngal \ngl \nyu-ipka \nyu-ipka
 pick.up.INF string.bag put.into.INF fetch-2/3DL.SRD fetch-2/3DL.SRD

They picked up dead lizards, snakes and rats, put them in their bags, and carried them back.

6. \mal \lyya \Gu-re \/ke \pal-e
 near right/back.here come-and(ss) cook.by.steam.INF put-and(ss)
 \nkulam \kapan=\Gammarae \Gammadi \Gammakila \Gammate-re⁵
 parrot DIM=DEM2 say.INF hawk give-and(ss)
 \val-a=\lo \/kal \Gammasi \nyu-pkrae
 brother-1SG.POSS=VOC thing hit.INF fetch-1DL.DEM2
 \/ke \pal-pl=\Gammaa
 cook.by.steam.INF put-1DL=EXPL

⁴Repetition of the verb phrase in subordinative form followed by another clause indicates that the event lasts for a duration of time. The duration is expressed by how many times it is repeated.

⁵The serial verb \Gammadi (SOMEONE) \Gammate- ‘say and give someone’ means ‘to tell someone’.

ne-√ra-pka \nl gol-√a-pkra=Γwa
 eat-FUT-1DL.SRD water die-FUT-1DL.DEM2=ENC.WA

\nl Γne-re Γne-re⁶ ne-√ra-pl=Γa
 water eat-and(ss) eat-and(ss) eat-FUT-1DL=EXPL

Γen Γpi⁷ \nl=Γta \kol \nyu-na-n-a \p-o
 you go.INF water=a fill.INF fetch-FUT-2SG-END.A go-SG.IMP

\du-gwa
 say-3SG.SRD

When they came back and were cooking them, Kulam said to Kila, “My brother! We are cooking things we found and brought here. We will be thirsty, as you know, when we eat them. Why don’t we drink water while we eat. Go get some water and come back.”

7. \kulam \ni √kware Γkila Γd \ner-ke⁸ Γer
 parrot DEM1 already hawk say.INF to/off-1SG.and(DS) to
 \nan=√kene Γna Γmuru \ne-ra-l=Γa=Γdi
 go.and(DS)=after.that(DS) I whole eat-FUT-1SG=EXPL=Q
 \pl=√pare √yel=Γdi \pl
 perceive.and(ss)=after.that(ss) like.this=Q perceive.INF
 Γkila Γdi \ner-ke \nl kol-√a-gwa
 hawk say.INF to/off-1SG.and(DS) water fill-FUT-3SG.SRD
 \na-gwal=\we=Γdi \pl-e Γd \ner-gwa
 go.FUT-3SG.LOC=ENC.WE=Q perceive-and(ss) say.INF to/off-3SG.SRD

Kulam meant to eat them all by himself after sending Kila off. With such intention, he thought about where he would send Kila to fetch water.

8. Γkila=Γrae Γen \p-o \du-gwa \kore
 hawk=DEM2 you go-SG.IMP say-3SG.SRD but

⁶The construction V_i -re V_j -re is used to indicate attendant circumstances.

⁷The word p - ‘go’ has two other suppletive roots. p - is used for the infinitive (including the form used with the negative clitic), the imperative, and the conjunctive (for the same subject), n - for all the conjugations in the future tense, e -/o-, for the other forms. The last root shows regular vowel alternation of the high-tone verb.

⁸The serial verb Γd \ner- ‘say off’ means ‘to send someone to somewhere’.

Nkulam=Γrae λmol-e Γen λp-o λdu-gwa
parrot=DEM2 stay-and(ss) you go-SG.IMP say-3SG.SRD

Kila said, "You go!" but Kulam said, "You go!"

9. Γkila=Γrae Γen λp-o λdu-gwa
hawk=DEM2 you go-SG.IMP say-3SG.SRD

Kila said, "You go."

10. Nkulam Γen λp-o λdu-gwa
parrot you go-SG.IMP say-3SG.SRD

Kulam said, "You go."

11. Γkol Γkol Γdi √me-ipka
both.side say.INF stay-2/3DL.SRD

They kept arguing with each other.

12. √ana Γkila=Γrae λna-l=λua Γd-re λo-gwi
then hawk=DEM2 go.FUT-1SG=ENC.WA say-and(ss) go-3SG.DEM1

Nkulam Nkapan=Γrae λnl √muku Γmuka=Γta √siki
parrot DIM=DEM2 water container bamboo=a cut.off.INF

√yo-gwa Γkila Nkapan λto-gwi
put-3SG.SRD hawk DIM give-3SG.DEM1

Nbin Nim=Γrae Γsi Γguki Γdi
bottom down.there=DEM2 hit.INF hole(AJ) (say).INF

√ye-re Γte ΓkiNkor-gwa
put-and(ss) give.INF PERF-3SG.SRD

When Kila said, "I will go," and was leaving, Kulam gave him a water container made of bamboo, on the bottom of which he had made a hole.

13. Γkila Nkapan=Γrae Γi-re Γer λo-gwa
hawk DIM=DEM2 take-and(ss) to go-3SG.SRD

Kila took it and went.

14. Γnul λnl Nkol-gwi √kau λs-na-m=Γdi λel
river water fill-3SG.DEM1 filled.up(AJ) (hit)-FUT-3SG=Q make.INF

ʌmol-gwi ʌmol ɿer ʌo-gwa ʌmol ɿer ʌo-gwa
 stay-3SG.DEM1 stay.INF to go-3SG.SRD stay.INF to go-3SG.SRD

ʌkau ɿta ʌsi=ʌk-gwa
 filled.up(AJ) NEG (hit)=NEG-3SG.SRD

He waited a long time at the river for the container to fill up with water, but it never did.

15. ʌnamʌel-m=ɿdi ʌbin ʌnim=ɿrae ʌkan-wdae
 what.happen-3SG=Q bottom down.there=DEM2 see-3SG.DEM2

ɿgukl ɿdi ʌyo-gwa
 hole(AJ) (say).INF be-3SG.SRD

Wondering why, he examined the bottom of the container and saw there was a hole.

16. ʌneiʌyo=ɿdi ɿer ɿkol ʌu-gwi
 oh.my.goodness=Q to back come-3SG.DEM1

He said, "Eiyo!" and came back.

17. ʌkulam ʌkapan ɿwaʌdu-r ɿal ɿdi
 parrot DIM search-and(ss) call.name(AJ) say.INF

ʌwan-gwa ʌkore ʌkulam ʌkapan ɿta ɿmo=ʌk-gwe
 move.around-3SG.SRD but parrot DIM NEG stay=NEG-3SG.IND

Searching for Kulam, he went around calling his name, but Kulam was not there.

18. ɿal ɿd ʌwan-gwa ɿman-gwe
 call.name(AJ) say.INF move.around-3SG.SRD fail-3SG.IND

He went around calling his name in vain.

19. ɿpi ʌkomna⁹ ʌke-pkrae ʌyaul kar-ʌa-l=ɿdi¹⁰
 go.INF vegetable cook.by.steam-1DL.DEM2 open.INF see-FUT-1SG=Q

ʌyaul-wdae
 open-3SG.DEM2

He opened [the earth oven] to see the food they cooked.

⁹This word is used not only for vegetables, but also for other foods, which usually are not eaten everyday in contrast with *ʌkepa* 'sweet potato', which can also mean 'everyday food'.

¹⁰The construction V-FUT-1SG/DL/PL+ɿdi means 'with the intention of V-ing'.

20. Nkulam Nkapan ʔne ʔne ʔkiNkor-e ʔde ʔte
 parrot DIM eat.INF eat.INF PERF-and(ss) excrement (give).INF
 Nkui Nari ʔbi ʔdi ʔpal ʔkiNkor-gwa
 again leaf cover(AJ) (say).INF put.INF PERF-3SG.SRD

Kulam had already eaten it all up, excreted in it and covered the earth over again with [banana] leaves.

21. ʔkila=ʔrae yaul-ʔa-l=ʔd nel-wdae
 hawk=DEM2 open-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG.DEM2
 ʔde ʔo ʔbau-gwa
 excrement hand.3SG.POSS touch-3SG.SRD

As Kila tried to open [the oven], he got excrement on his hands.

22. ʔkila Nde-m Ngol-gwa¹¹
 hawk intestines-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD

Kila got angry.

23. ʔwa/du ʔu No-gwa ʔu No-gwa ʔu
 search.INF come.INF go-3SG.SRD come.INF go-3SG.SRD come.INF
 No-gwa ʔu No-gwa ʔta ʔka=ʔk-gw
 go-3SG.SRD come.INF go-3SG.SRD NEG see=NEG-3SG.IND

He searched for Kulam everywhere for such a long time, but he could not find Kulam.

24. Nkulam Nkapan ʔkwar ʔpi ʔkaula=ʔrae ʔgor
 parrot DIM already go.INF centre.post=DEM2 pull.out.INF
 Ner Nkor ʔpi ʔmaun Napl Nim=ʔrae
 to/off.INF PERF.INF go.INF below invisible.side down.there=DEM2
 ʔpai Nkor-e ʔkaula=ʔrae Nkui ʔyu ʔpal
 lie.INF PERF-and(ss) centre.post=DEM2 again fetch.INF put.INF
 ʔkol Ner-e ʔsi ʔgeu ʔdi ʔpal-gw
 back to/off-and(ss) hit.INF fit.in(AJ) (say).INF put-3SG.IND

[It was because] Kulam had pulled out the centre post of the house, had gone down into the hole, had hidden there, had put the post back again, and had fitted it in the hole.

¹¹The phrase *Ndem Ngol-* means 'be/get angry' idiomatically.

25. ʔkila=ʔrae ʔpi ʋkaula=ʔrae ʋgor ʋkan-m=ʎba
hawk=DEM2 go.INF centre.post=DEM2 pull.out.INF see-3SG=but
Nkulam Nkapan=ʔrae ʎapl ʔyam=ʔrae
parrot DIM=DEM2 invisible.side right/back.down.here=DEM2
ʔi ʔki ʎer ʋpai ʎmol-gwa
take.INF bad to/off.INF lie.INF stay-3SG.SRD
Kila pulled out that post and looked [into the hole]. Kulam was down there feeling bad.
26. ʔkila ʎde-m ʎgol-gwa ʔdi ʔsi ʔkiʎkor-gwa
hawk intestines-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD axe hit.INF PERF-3SG.SRD
Kila got angry and swung an axe.
27. Nkulam Nkapan ʎguma ʎbol
parrot DIM nose.3SG.POSS be.hit.INF
Nkiul ʔsi ʔkiʎkor-gwe
cut(AJ) (hit).INF PERF-3SG.IND
Kulam was hit on the beak and it was cut off.
28. Nkulam Nkapan ʎde-m ʎgol-m=ʔia
parrot DIM intestines-3SG.POSS die-3SG=EXPL
Kulam got angry.
29. ʋal ʔer ʎu-gwi
stand.up.INF to come-3SG.DEM1
He stood up and came [to Kila].
30. ʔkila Nkapan ʎbol ʔkol ʔkole ʎbol ʔu ʎe-pka
hawk DIM with both.side fight.INF come.INF go-2/3DL.SRD
ʔu ʎe-pka ʔu ʎe-pka
come.INF go-2/3DL.SRD come.INF go-2/3DL.SRD
ʔki ʋpai ʎkor-m=ʔia
bad lie.INF PERF-3SG=EXPL
He and Kila fought each other such a long time that they got tired.

31. Nkulam Nkapan ʔdi ʔkila Nkapan ʔte-re
 parrot DIM say.INF hawk DIM give-and(ss)
 ʔal-a=ʔo ʔwai ʔmo-pkra=ʔba
 brother-1SG.POSS=VOC good stay-1DL.DEM2=but
 ʔen ʔna ʔguma-na ʔdi ʔkiul ʔe-gi
 you I nose-1SG.POSS axe cut(AJ) make-2SG.DEM1
 ʔna ʔki ʔpl=ʔa ʔen ʔmal ʔi ʔmol-e
 I bad perceive.1SG=END.A you near DEM1 stay-and(ss)
 ʔkipl gal-ʔa-gwa ʔkuna ʔi=ʔrae=ʔya
 bushfire(AJ) burn(tr.)-FUT-3SG.SRD around DEM1=DEM2=and
 ʔapal ʔkepa ʔmol gal-ʔa-gwal=ʔrae
 woman sweet.potato rubbish burn(tr.)-FUT-LOC=DEM2
 ʔgur ʔdua ʔkui ʔel-e
 lizard rat hunt(AJ) make-and(ss)
 ʔmal Ni ʔwan ʔmol-o
 near DEM1 move.around.INF stay-SG.IMP
 ʔna ʔere ʔBomai ʔkamn ʔkuna Nim ʔp-re
 I to PLN area around down.there go-and(ss)
 ʔkomna ʔkal ʔwai ʔyo-gwal ʔkuna Nim ʔne-re
 vegetable thing good be-3SG.LOC around down.there eat-and(ss)
 ʔapl ʔkuna Nim ʔer ʔdmn=ʔla
 invisible.side around down.there tree woods=LOC
 ʔkuna Nim mol-ʔa-ka ʔer ʔe-i=ʔua
 around down.there stay-FUT-1SG.SRD to go-1SG=ENC.WA
 ʔd-re ʔer ʔml ʔp-re ʔer ʔp-re ʔer ʔo-gwa
 say-and(ss) to up go-and(ss) to go-and(ss) to go-3SG.SRD
 Kulam said to Kila, “My brother, we were good friends, but [now] I am
 unhappy that you cut my beak off with an axe. You stay here and hunt such
 things as lizards and rats where people will burn bushes or where women
 will burn rubbish in sweet potato gardens. I am going to go to Bomai to eat,
 where the good food is, and to live deep in the forest.” He flew up in the
 sky and left.

32. \backslash Bomai \backslash kamn Γ p-re Γ er \backslash o-gwa
 PLN area go-and(ss) to go-3SG.SRD
 He went far away to Bomai.
33. Γ kila \backslash kapan= Γ rae \backslash mal \backslash ya \backslash mol-e Γ kipl
 hawk DIM=DEM2 near right/back.here stay-and(ss) bushfire(AJ)
 \backslash gal-gwal \backslash kuna Γ i= Γ rae Γ gur \backslash dua Γ kui
 burn(tr.)-3SG.LOC around DEM1=DEM2 lizard rat hunt(AJ)
 \backslash el \backslash wan \backslash mol \backslash pai \backslash mol-gwe
 make.and(ss) move.around.INF stay.INF lie.INF stay-3SG.IND
 Kila remained here hunting small animals like lizards and rats.
34. \backslash elma kan- \backslash a-ga
 now see-FUT-2SG.SRD
 Γ kila \backslash kapan \backslash mal Ni \backslash wan \backslash mol-e
 hawk DIM near DEM1 move.around.INF stay-and(ss)
 Γ kipl \backslash gal-gwal Ni Γ gur \backslash dua Γ kui \backslash el
 bushfire(AJ) burn(tr.)-3SG.LOC DEM1 lizard rat hunt(AJ) make.INF
 \backslash wan-gwi
 move.around-3SG.DEM1
 Now you will see that the hawk is living here hunting lizards and rats where
 people burn bushes.
35. \backslash kulam \backslash kapan \backslash bol \backslash ama mol- \backslash a-ipl= \backslash ba
 parrot DIM with too stay-FUT-2/3DL=but
 \backslash yel \backslash el-gwa \backslash pl \backslash kulam Γ er \backslash o-gwa
 like.this make-3SG.SRD perceive.INF parrot to go-3SG.SRD
 He would have lived together with the parrot, but because of this incident,
 the parrot went away.
36. \backslash Bomai \backslash kamn Γ er Γ dmn \backslash bl= Γ la \backslash kuna \backslash nime
 PLN area tree woods big=Loc around down.there
 \backslash wan-gwa
 move.around-3SG.SRD
 He lives deep in the forest in Bomai.

37. ʔkila ʔkapan ʔmal ʔi ʔmol-e ʔel ʔmol-gwe
 hawk DIM near DEM1 stay-and(ss) make.INF stay-3SG.IND

The hawk still lives here.

38. ʔwai ʔsu-gwe
 end(AJ) (hit)-3SG.DEM1

The end.

English Translation

Ker-ker di.

Kila hawk and Kulam parrot lived here. Once when the bush down near the Wahgi river was on fire, these two said, "My brother! There is a big bushfire. There might be rats or some animals lying there dead. Let's go find them, bring them back, cook them, and eat them!"

They went up and down in search of carrion for a while, and picked up dead lizards, snakes and rats, put them in their bags, and carried them back home.

As they were cooking them, Kulam said to Kila, "My brother! We are cooking things we found and brought here. We will be thirsty, as you know, when we eat them. Why don't we drink water while we eat. Go get some water and come back." Kulam was planning on eating them all by himself after sending Kila off. Planning like this, he thought about where Kila would go to get water after he sent him. But Kila said, "Hey, Kulam, you go!" Kulam said, "You go!" Kila said, "You go," and Kulam, too, said, "You go." And so they argued back and forth. Then Kila said, "I will go," and when he was leaving, Kulam gave him a water container made of bamboo, on the bottom of which he had made a hole. Kila took it and went away.

He waited a long time for the container to fill up with water but it never did. Wondering why, he examined the bottom of the container and saw there was a hole. He said, "Eiyo!" and came back.

Looking for Kulam, he went around calling his name, but Kulam was not there. He went around calling his name in vain. He opened the earth oven to see the food they cooked, but the Kulam had already eaten it all up, excreted in it and covered the earth oven again with banana leaves. As the Kila tried to open the oven, he got excrement on his hands. Kila got angry and searched for Kulam everywhere for such a long time, but he could not find Kulam, for Kulam had

pulled out the centre post of the house, gone down into the hole, hid there, put the post back again, and fitted it in the hole.

Kila pulled out that post and looked into the hole. Kulam was down there feeling bad. Kila got angry and swung an axe. Kulam was hit on the beak and it was cut off. Kulam got angry. He stood up and came to Kila. He and Kila fought each other such a long time that they got tired.

Kulam said to Kila, "My brother, we were good friends, but now I am unhappy that you cut my beak off with an axe. You stay here and hunt such things as lizards and rats where people will burn bushes or where women will burn rubbish in sweet potato gardens. I am going to go to Bomai to eat, where the good food is, and to live deep in the forest." He flew up in the sky and left. He went far away to Bomai. Kila remained here hunting small animals like lizards and rats.

Now you will see that the hawk still lives here hunting lizards and rats where people burn bushes. He would have lived together with the parrot, but because of this incident the parrot went away and lives deep in the forest in Bomai. The hawk still lives here. The end.

2.2 A Dog and a Pig

Recorded on 24 September 2000.

1. ɽna ɽkum ɽkaman¹² ɽd-ral ɽnel=ɽa
I fairy.tale say-FUT.INF make.1SG=EXPL

I am going to tell a fairy tale.

2. ɽker ɽker ɽdi ɽi
(beginning.of.the.story)

Ker-ker di-i.

3. ɽnal ɽbola ɽsu ɽdogwa ɽyopl ɽnipka=ɽmere
dog pig two fire get.kindling.INF take.2/3DL=as/about
ɽd-ral ɽnel=ɽa
say-FUT.INF make.1SG=EXPL

I am going to talk about a dog and a pig, who got kindling coal.

¹²*Nkum ɽkaman*(sic) is not intended to be in this form. The correct form is *Nkup ɽkaman*.

4. $\text{\textbackslash}yal$ $\text{\textbackslash}apal$ $\text{\textbackslash}su=\text{\textbackslash}ta$ $\text{\textbackslash}konan$ $\text{\textbackslash}dmna$ $\text{\textbackslash}ip$ $\text{\textbackslash}el$
 man woman two=a work woods up.there make.INF
 $\text{\textbackslash}ye-ipka$ $\text{\textbackslash}el$ $\text{\textbackslash}yal-e$
 put-2/3DL.SRD make.INF plant-and(ss)
 $\text{\textbackslash}war-\text{\textbackslash}a-pl=\text{\textbackslash}di$ $\text{\textbackslash}er$ $\text{\textbackslash}na-pl=\text{\textbackslash}di$ $\text{\textbackslash}er$ $\text{\textbackslash}e-ipka$
 move.around-FUT-1DL=Q to go.FUT-1DL=Q to go-2/3DL.SRD

A man and a woman went to their new garden up in woods where they had weeded to plant some vegetables.

5. $\text{\textbackslash}nal$ $\text{\textbackslash}bola$ $\text{\textbackslash}su$ $\text{\textbackslash}kul$ $\text{\textbackslash}ne-ipki$ $\text{\textbackslash}aul$
 dog pig two look.after.INF eat-2/3DL.DEM1 taking.person
 $\text{\textbackslash}i-re$ $\text{\textbackslash}para$ $\text{\textbackslash}war-\text{\textbackslash}a-pn=\text{\textbackslash}di$ $\text{\textbackslash}er$ $\text{\textbackslash}ip$
 take-and(ss) enough/all move.around-FUT-1PL=Q to up.there
 $\text{\textbackslash}e-ipka$
 go-2/3DL

They went up to the garden taking their dog and pig with them to take a stroll together.

6. $\text{\textbackslash}dogwa$ $\text{\textbackslash}yopl$ $\text{\textbackslash}ye-ipki$ $\text{\textbackslash}ba$ $\text{\textbackslash}ni$
 fire get.kindling.INF bring-2/3DL.DEM1 halfway DEM1
 $\text{\textbackslash}go-gwa$
 go.out-3SG.SRD

The kindling coal which they had with them went out on their way up to their garden.

7. $\text{\textbackslash}pi$ $\text{\textbackslash}suna$ $\text{\textbackslash}ip$ $\text{\textbackslash}p-re$
 go.INF centre up.there go-and(ss)
 $\text{\textbackslash}kui$ $\text{\textbackslash}dogwa$ $\text{\textbackslash}el$ $\text{\textbackslash}gal-\text{\textbackslash}a-pl=\text{\textbackslash}di$ $\text{\textbackslash}wa\text{\textbackslash}du-ipki$
 again fire make.INF burn(tr.)-FUT-1DL=Q search-2/3DL.DEM1
 $\text{\textbackslash}ta$ $\text{\textbackslash}de$ $\text{\textbackslash}pai=\text{\textbackslash}k-gwa$
 NEG burn(intr.).INF lie=NEG-3SG.SRD

When they went into the middle [of the garden] and they took out the kindling to make a fire, it had gone out.

8. Nbola=Nya Nal Ni Ndogwa Vyopl Ni-na-n-a
 pig=and dog DEM1 fire get.kindling.INF take-FUT-2SG-END.A
 Np-o Id Ner-gwa
 go-SG.IMP say.INF to/off-3SG.SRD

One of the keepers sent the pig and the dog to get more.

9. Nbola Ni Guema Id Ner-gwa No-gwe
 pig DEM1 first say.INF to/off-3SG.SRD go-3SG.SRD

S/he sent the pig first and the pig went.

10. Pi Pi Ndogwa Vyopl I-re Nu-gwa
 go.INF go.INF fire get.kindling.INF take-and(ss) come-3SG.SRD
 Nkore Ba Ni=rae Nkol Ba Ni=rae
 but halfway DEM1=DEM2 road halfway DEM1=DEM2
 Ndeklm=ta Vpai Nmole
 earthworm=a lie.INF stay-and(ss)

Na ta Na si ne=V/k-n=wa Vyel Ndu-gwa
 I NEG I hit.INF eat=NEG-2SG=ENC.WA like.this say-3SG.SRD

He went, got a kindling coal, and on his way back an earthworm said, "You haven't caught and eaten me."

11. Nbola=rae Nde-m Ngol-gwa
 pig=DEM2 intestines-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD

The pig got angry.

12. Ndeklm Ni si ne-ra-l=di Ila Ngapa=la
 earthworm DEM1 hit.INF eat-FUT-1SG=Q inside ground=LOC
 I=rae Vwau No-gwa Vwau Er No-gwa
 DEM1=DEM2 dig.INF go-3SG.SRD dig.INF to go-3SG.SRD

He dug the ground to catch and eat the earthworm.

13. Ndeklm=rae Er Vil Vil P-re
 earthworm=DEM2 to forth.here forth.here go-and(ss)
 ta Na si ne=V/k-ge
 NEG I hit.INF eat=NEG-2SG.IND

Γta Γna Γsi Γne=V/k-ge Ndu-gwa
 NEG I hit.INF eat=NEG-2SG.IND say-3SG.SRD

The earthworm kept on going and kept saying, "You haven't caught and eaten me."

14. Nbola=Γrae Γsi Γne-r Nwai pl-∕a-l=Γdi
 pig=DEM2 hit.INF eat-and(ss) good perceive-FUT-1SG=Q
 Vwau Γer Vil Vil No-gwi
 dig.INF to forth.here forth.here go-3SG.DEM1
 Vwau Γer Γpi Nmola-gwa Ndogwa Vyopl
 dig.INF to go.INF stay-3SG.SRD fire get.kindling.INF
 Vyo-dae Vkwara go-∕ra-l=Γdi Nel-gwa
 put-3SG.DEM2 already go.out-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG.SRD

The pig kept on going, digging to catch it and to enjoy eating it. The fire he had got was already going out.

15. Nyal Vapal Γsul Ni=Γrae
 man woman two.person DEM1=DEM2
 Nal=Γrae Γdi Γte-re Nbola No-dae
 dog=DEM2 say.INF give-and(ss) pig go-3SG.DEM2
 Ndogwa Vyopl Nyu-wo Ndu-pdae No-dae
 fire get.kindling.INF fetch-SG.IMP say-1PL.DEM2 go-3SG.DEM2
 Γta Γu=V/k-m=Γia
 NEG come=NEG-3SG=EXPL
 Fila Fi Vkal Γta Nel-m=Γia
 inside DEM1 thing another make-3SG=EXPL
 Γpi kan-∕a-n-a Np-o Ndu-gwa
 go.INF see-FUT-2SG-END.A go-SG.IMP say-3SG.SRD

The man and woman said to the dog, "The pig we sent to get kindling coal has not come back. Something has happened to him on his way. Go find him."

16. Nal=Γrae Γeku Γpi Γpi Γba=Γrae Vkan-wdae
 dog=DEM2 later go.INF go.INF halfway=DEM2 see-3SG.DEM2

Nbola=Γrae Ndeklm Γsi Γne-r Nu-ra-l=Γdi
 pig=DEM2 earthworm hit.INF eat-and(ss) come-FUT-1SG=Q
 Npl-e Ngapa=Γla=Γrae Vwou Vpa-m=Nba
 perceive-and(ss) ground=LOC=DEM2 dig.INF lie-3SG=but
 Vkan Nkor-e Nal=Γae Γpi Ndogwa=Γrae
 see.INF do.away-and(ss) dog=DEM2 go.INF fire=DEM2
 Vku Γi-re Γer Γu
 put.in.mouth.INF take-and(ss) to come.INF
 Vne-m Vma-m Vsu=Γrae Nto-gwa
 father-3SG.POSS mother-3SG.POSS two=DEM2 give-3SG.SRD
 Nel Vga-ipke
 make.INF burn(tr.)-2/3DL.IND

The dog went second and on his way he saw the pig digging the ground to catch and eat an earthworm before coming back. The dog took the kindling coal in his mouth, brought it back, and gave it to his keepers. His keepers made a fire.

17. Γpara Γdi Nkor-ke
 enough/all say.INF do.away-1SG.IND

The end.

18. Γkupa Naipa Nbl Γtol=Γtal¹³
 (end.of.the.story)

Kupa aipa bl tol tal.

English Translation

I am going to tell a fairy tale. Ker-ker di-i.

I am going to talk about a dog and a pig, who got kindling coal.

A man and a woman went to their new garden up in woods where they had weeded to plant some vegetables. They went up to the garden taking their dog and pig with them to take a stroll together. The kindling coal which they had with them went out on their way up to their garden. They took out the kindling to make a fire, but it had gone out.

¹³Γkupa Naipa Γbl Γtol Γtal is not used in conversation. It signals the end of a tale.

They sent the pig and the dog to get more. They sent the pig first and the pig went. He went, got a kindling coal, and on his way back an earthworm said, "You haven't caught and eaten me." The pig got angry and dug the ground to catch and eat the earthworm. The earthworm kept on going and kept saying, "You haven't caught and eaten me." The pig kept on going, digging to catch it and to enjoy eating it. The fire he had got was already going out.

The man and woman said to the dog, "The pig we sent to get kindling coal has not come back. Something has happened to him on his way. Go find him."

The dog went second and on his way he saw the pig digging the ground to catch and eat an earthworm before coming back. The dog took the kindling coal in his mouth, brought it back, and gave it to his keepers. His keepers made a fire.

The end. Kupa aipa bl tol tal.

2.3 Stealing

Recorded on 7 July 1999.

1. ɾna ɳDama ɳbol ɳaml ɳkunul ʋwou-pka
 I PRN with peanut by.stealing dig-1DL.SRD
 ɳd-ral ɳel=ɾa
 say-FUT.INF make.1SG=EXPL

I am going to tell a story about Dama and me digging up and stealing peanuts.

2. ɾna ɳDama ɳbol ɳtaim=ɾta ɾba ɳwai ɳwon ɳdo-gwa
 I PRN with time=a moon good truly burn(intr.)-3SG.SRD
 ɾer ɾpi ɾGar ʋMn ɾMaul ɳipe
 to go.INF PLN up.there
 ʋKrwai ɳPlawa ɳNogwa¹⁴ ɳaml ɳkul ʋpal-gwa
 PRN peanut look.after.INF put-3SG.SRD
 ɳari ɾer ɾpi ɾpi ʋpa-gwa ʋwou-pka
 leaf to go.INF go.INF lie-3SG.SRD dig-1DL.SRD

¹⁴ʋKrwai ɳPlawa ɳNogwa 'Krwai "The Flower-Eater"' is a personal name. ʋKrwai is his real name and ɳPlawa ɳNogwa 'eating flowers' is his nickname.

Once, on the full-moon night, I went with Dama up to Gar Mne Maul where peanut leaves grew well in the garden of Krwai Plawa Nogwa and we dug peanuts together.

3. \Dama \eku \na \mu-na=\la \wau \er \u-gw
 PRN later I back-1SG.POSS=LOC dig.INF to come-3SG.IND
 Dama came digging [peanuts] behind me.

4. \na \guema=\kan \wau \er \il \pi \kar-ka \kore
 I first=earlier dig.INF to forth.here go.INF see-1SG.SRD but
 \naul=\ta \el \ni \pa-gwa \kama \si \pa-gwa
 cordyline=a place DEM1 lie-3SG.SRD black (hit).INF lie-3SG.SRD
 I went forward digging first and saw a cordyline shrub there, which was black.

5. \na \yopal \mol-m=\di \kan
 I person stay-3SG=Q see.INF
 I thought it was a person.

6. \na \barwai \wone \kan \mo-ka \mo-ka
 I for.a.long.time truly see.INF stay-1SG.SRD stay-1SG.SRD
 \mo-ka
 stay-1SG.SRD
 I watched it for a long time.

7. \ta \deu \dau \e=\k-gw
 NEG shake(AJ).RED make=NEG-3SG.IND
 It did not shake.

8. \van \na \kle \kle=\di \pi \mala \kar-ka
 then I silently.RED=Q go.INF nearby see-1SG.SRD
 I approached it silently and looked.

9. \naul \pa-gwa \kan \kor-e
 cordyline lie-3SG.SRD see.INF PERF-and(ss)
 I found that it was a shrub.

10. ɸer ɸkol ɸu ɸaml ɸwou ɸpai-krae
to back come.INF peanut dig.INF lie-1SG.DEM2
I came back and dug peanuts.
11. ɸDama ɸkui ɸpi ɸna ɸwou ɸe-kal ɸai=ɸrae ɸpi
PRN again go.INF I dig.INF go-1SG.LOC place=DEM2 go.INF
ɸkan-m=ɸba
see-3SG=but
Dama, in turn, went to the place where I had dug peanuts, and he looked round.
12. ɸaul ɸkar-kal ɸai=ɸrae ɸkui ɸyal ɸi ɸkan-gwa
cordyline see-1SG.LOC place=DEM2 again man DEM1 see-3SG.SRD
He, in turn, saw the same shrub where I had seen it.
13. ɸyopal ɸmol-m=ɸdi ɸkar-ka=ɸmer=ɸrae
person stay-3SG=Q see-1SG.SRD=as=DEM2
ɸDama ɸama ɸyopal ɸmol-m=ɸdi ɸkan-gwa
PRN too person stay-3SG=Q see-3SG.SRD
He also thought that it was a person as I did.
14. ɸpi ɸna ɸkan ɸmo-ka=ɸmer=ɸrae ɸyal ɸni ɸpi
go.INF I see.INF stay-1SG.SRD=as=DEM2 man DEM1 go.INF
ɸtol ɸbarwai ɸwon ɸkan ɸmol-m=ɸba
stare(AJ) for.a.long.time truly see.INF stay-3SG=but
He went and watched it carefully for a long time in the same way as I had gone and watched it closely.
15. ɸna ɸkopl=ɸta ɸmal ɸni ɸyo-gwa ɸs ɸer-ka
I stone=a near DEM1 be-3SG.SRD hit.INF to/off-1SG.SRD
I threw a nearby stone at it.
16. ɸpi ɸaul=ɸla ɸmala ɸnile=ɸrae ɸbol ɸsi ɸtelle
go.INF cordyline=LOC nearby there=DEM2 be.hit.INF noise(AJ)
ɸdu-gwa
say-3SG.SRD
It fell down near the shrub making a noise.

17. NDama nyopal nmol-m=ɽdi Vkar-krae Nu-ral
 PRN person stay-3SG=Q see-1SG.DEM2 come-FUT.INF
 nmol-m=di nyal ɽi Val-a Ninala Ndu-m=Nba
 stay-3SG=Q man DEM1 brother-1SG.POSS notice(AJ) (say)-3SG=but
 Oh, boy! Dama thought, "That looks like a person coming towards me."
18. ɽna Vkwara ɽmuku Nd-ra-l=ɽd Ne-ka
 I already run(AJ) (say)-FUT-1SG=Q make-1SG.SRD
 I was already about to run.
19. NDama No-gwa=ɽmere ɽgaul ɽki Napi Nime
 PRN go-3SG.SRD=as cliff bad invisible.side down.there
 ɽpi Nbol ɽsa ɽdi ɽkiNkor-gw
 go.INF be.hit.INF disappear(AJ) (say).INF PERF-3SG.IND
 Dama went down a cliff and disappeared out of sight.
20. ɽna ɽeku ɽpi Ntep Nime ɽp-re
 I later go.INF top down.there go-and(ss)
 NDama NDama Ndi-krae
 PRN PRN say-1SG.DEM2
 I went down to the edge of the cliff, calling his name, "Dama! Dama!"
21. Vwa Ndu-gw
 here.I.am say-3SG.IND
 He said, "Here I am."
22. ɽen VnamNelgo Nu-n-e Ndi-krae
 you why come-2SG-QM say-1SG.DEM2
 I asked, "Why did you come here?"
23. NDama=ɽrae nyopal=ɽta Nu-ral ɽd Nel-gwi
 PRN=DEM2 person=a come-FUT.1SG Q make-3SG.DEM1
 ɽna Nti Nu-ka Napi=ɽla Nu-ka
 I running.away come-1SG.SRD invisible.side=LOC come-1SG.SRD
 Nya=Nwe Ndu-gw
 right/back.here=ENC.WE say-3SG.IND
 Dama said, "A person was coming, so I ran away down here."

24. ʔna ʔyopal ʔta ʔu=ʔk-m=ʔia
 I person NEG come=NEG-3SG=EXPL
 ʔer ʔu-o ʔdi-ka ʔer ʔtep ʔu-gw
 to come-SG.IMP say-1SG.SRD to top come-3SG.IND
 I said, “No one is coming. Come,” and he came up to the top.
25. ʔaul ʔpa-wda=ʔwa
 cordyline lie-3SG.DEM2=ENC.WA
 ʔen ʔbarwai ʔtol ʔkan-gi ʔkan-e
 you for.a.long.time stare(AJ) see-2SG.DEM1 see-and(ss)
 ʔna ʔti ʔna-n=ʔdi ʔkopl ʔs-re
 I running.away go.FUT-2SG=Q stone hit-and(ss)
 ʔna ʔkipi ʔkol ʔe-krae ʔen ʔpi
 I pretending go-1SG.DEM2 you go.INF
 ʔila ʔime ʔbol ʔgo-n=ʔua ʔdi-ka
 inside down.there be.hit.INF die-2SG=ENC.WA say-1SG.SRD
 I said, “That was a shrub. I saw you watching it for a long time, and threw a stone at it to make you run away, and I pretended to go. You went down there and got roughed up.”
26. ʔal-a=o ʔna ʔna ʔsi ʔgol ʔkor-n-a
 brother-1SG.POSS=VOC I I hit.INF die.INF PERF-2SG-END.A
 ʔkor-o ʔdu-gw
 do.away-SG.IMP say-3SG.IND
 Dama said, “Oh, my brother! You killed me badly.”
27. ʔana ʔu-pka ʔaml ʔwou ʔwar-pka
 then come-1DL.SRD peanut dig.INF move.around-1DL.SRD
 ʔwai ʔsu-gwa
 end(AJ) (hit)-3SG.SRD
 We went back and finished digging peanuts.
28. ʔi-re ʔer u-ʔra-pl=ʔd ʔe-pka
 take-and(ss) to come-FUT-1DL=Q make-1DL.SRD
 We were about to go back.

29. Nkam √talpa¹⁵ Npor=Γta √pa-gwi
 banana talpa.banana big=a lie-3SG.DEM1
 √ama we-/ra-pl=Λwa Ndu-gw
 too cut.down-FUT-1DL=ENC.WA say-3SG.IND

He said, "There is a big *talpa* banana tree, let's cut it down (to get bananas) as well."

30. Vana we-/ra-pka √Krwai ΛPlawa ΛNogwa Λmala
 then cut.down-FUT-1DL.SRD PRN nearby
 √pa-m=√sip=Γwa pl-√a-m=Γia
 lie-3SG=forth.here=ENC.WA perceive-FUT-3SG=EXPL
 Γna √we Λer-al Λel-a Nkore
 I cut.down.INF to/off-FUT.INF make-1SG.END.A on.one.hand
 Γen √kau-yo Ndi-ka
 you carry.on.shoulder-SG.IMP say-1SG.SRD

I said, "Ok, but, hey, Krwai Plawa Nogwa is sleeping nearby, so when we cut it down, he will hear the noise. So I am going to cut it down and you catch it!"

31. Nyal Γkuna Ni Γkle=Γdi Γpi Nredi Λel
 man age.sake DEM1 silently=Q go.INF ready make.INF
 Λmol-gwa
 stay-3SG.SRD

He went quietly and got ready to catch it.

32. Γna √we Λer Nkor-ka
 I cut.down.INF to/off.INF PERF-1SG.SRD
 I cut it down.

33. Nmapn=Γla Nime Nnaip Γi-re Nkatim Γsi
 base=LOC down.there knife take-and(ss) cut(AJ) hit.INF
 √we Λer Nkor-ka
 cut.down.INF to/off.INF PERF-1SG.SRD

I cut it at the base with a knife.

¹⁵√talpa is one of the most common cooking bananas.

34. ∇ al-n¹⁶ Ni kau- ∇ ra-l= Γ d ∇ el-m= ∇ ba
brother-PL.POSS DEM1 carry.on.shoulder-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG=but
Our brother tried to catch it.
35. Nkam Nipn Γ de Γ pi
banana heavy(AJ) (burn(intr.)).INF go.INF
 Γ mo-n ∇ ne-ya¹⁷
penis-2SG.POSS eat-1SG.END.A
 ∇ al-n Ni Γ si Γ i Γ pi ∇ maun ∇ pal-e
brother-PL.POSS DEM1 hit.INF take.INF go.INF below put-and(ss)
Nkam Γ pi ∇ tep ∇ dawal-gwa
banana go.INF top put.together-3SG.SRD
The bananas knocked him down with all its weight bearing down upon him.
36. ∇ al-n Ni Γ na Γ na ∇ gol= Γ a Nkam
brother-PL.POSS DEM1 I I die=1SG.EXPL banana
 Γ yape ∇ yer-o Γ di ∇ pai ∇ mol-gwa
right/back.up.here remove-SG.IMP say.INF lie.INF stay-3SG.SRD
Our friend kept on saying, "Palus! Palus! I am dying. Take the bananas off me."
37. Γ na ∇ yer-ka
I remove-1SG.SRD
I removed them.
38. Γ na Γ na Γ si ∇ gol ∇ kor-gi= ∇ we ∇ du-gwa
I I hit.INF die.INF PERF-2SG.DEM1=ENC.WE say-3SG.SRD
He said, "You really killed me."
39. Γ na ∇ al-a ∇ epl ∇ el ∇ gol ∇ kor-e
I brother-1SG.POSS laugh(AJ) make.INF die.INF PERF-and(ss)

¹⁶The person-number system for the possessor is different from that for the verbal subject. Dual is not included in it and plural (more than one) does not distinguish the person.

¹⁷ Γ mon ∇ neya 'I eat your penis' is an interjection usually used to express affection between males. In this context, it expresses funniness of the story.

ʔmo-n ʔne-ya ʔkam=ʔya ʔaml=ʔya ʔkol ʔkol
 penis-2SG.POSS eat-1SG.END.A banana=and peanut=and both.side
 ʔkau ʔi-re ʔal-a
 carry.on.shoulder.INF take-and(ss) brother-1SG.POSS
 ʔer ʔu-re ʔer ʔu-pka ʔwai ʔsu-gwe
 to come-and(ss) to come-1DL.SRD end(AJ) (hit)-3SG.IND

We could not stop laughing. We took bananas and peanuts, and carried them back home, and that's the end of the story.

English Translation

I am going to tell a story about Dama and me stealing peanuts.

Once, on the full-moon night, I went with Dama up to Gar Mne Maul where peanut leaves grew well in the garden of Krwai Plawa Nogwa. We dug peanuts together, Dama came digging peanuts behind me. I went forward digging first and saw a black cordyline shrub there. I thought it was a person. I watched it for a long time, but it did not shake. I approached it silently, and I found that it was a shrub.

When I came back and was digging peanuts, Dama, in turn, went to the place where I had dug peanuts, and he looked round. He, in turn, saw the same shrub, and also thought that it was a person as I did. He went and watched it carefully for a long time in the same way as I had gone and watched it closely.

I threw a nearby stone at it, which fell down near the shrub making a noise. Oh, boy! Dama thought, "That looks like a person coming at me." I was already about to run, and Dama went down a cliff and disappeared out of sight.

I went down to the edge of the cliff, calling his name, "Dama! Dama!" He said, "Here I am." I said, "Why did you come here?" Dama said, "A person was coming, so I ran away down here." I said, "No one is coming. Come," and he came up to the top.

I said, "That was a shrub. I saw you watching it for a long time, and threw a stone at it to make you run away, and I pretended to go. You went down there and got roughed up." Dama said, "Oh, my brother! You gave me hell."

We went back and finished digging peanuts, but when we were about to go back, he said, "There is a big *talpa* banana tree, let's cut it down (to get bananas) as well." I said, "OK, but, hey, Krwai Plawa Nogwa is sleeping nearby, so when

we cut it down, he will hear the noise. So I am going to cut it down and you catch it!"

He went quietly and got ready to catch it while I cut it down. I cut it at the base with the knife, but when he tried to catch it, the bananas knocked him down with all its weight, bearing down upon him. Our friend kept on saying, "Palus! Palus! I am dying. Take the bananas off me." I removed them. He said, "You really gave me hell." We could not stop laughing.

We took bananas and peanuts, and carried them back home, and that's the end of the story.

Symbols and Abbreviations

<i>italic in Dom text</i> : loanword (mostly from Tok Pisin)	ENC.WA: enclitic indicating the end of a clause
(gloss in parentheses): original mean- ing of a verb in a phrasal verb	ENC.WE: enclitic indicating the end of a phrase
{sounds in braces}: unintended by the speaker	END.A: an ending, one of whose func- tions is indicating a purpose
-: morpheme boundary	END.O: an ending which has cohorta- tive use
=: enclitic boundary	EXPL: explanatory remark
1: first person	FUT: future
2: second person	IMP: imperative
3: third person	IND: indicative
AJ: adjunct nominal	INF: infinitive
DEM1: demonstrative to refer to some- thing identifiable immediately	INTR: intransitive
DEM2: demonstrative to refer to some- thing known by a hearer as well	LOC: suffix indicating the place where an event takes place
DIM: diminutive	NEG: negative
DL: dual	PERF: perfect
DS: different subject	PL: plural
	PLN: place name

POSS: possessive

SG: singular

PRN: personal name

SRD: subordinative

Q: quotation marker

SS: same subject

QM: non-yes-no question

TR: transitive

RED: reduplicated form

VOC: vocative

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