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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

1This research is supported by the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research on Priority Areas (A), the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology ‘Papuan Languages of Bougainville (Papua New Guinea): A Comprehensive Study’ (#12039246) headed by ONISHI Masayuki and ‘Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim’ (#11171101) headed by MIYAOKA Osahito.

I would like to express my gratitude to my informants for their cooperation. Thanks to Maumne Palus, who always amuses us with various stories. And thanks to the people in Yaire Maule, who have been indispensable for my life in the village. I wish to thank my two friends, Jim Burdett for his assistance in correcting my English draft, for Friday pizzas which I never imagined eating in Dom and for all his kindness and Theo Dambe, who introduced me into Dom, for his constant assistance in all aspects in Papua New Guinea in spite of our constant quarrels. Finally, I would like to extend my thanks to HUZIWARA Keisuke, KAWABATA Yoshihiro and NAGAI Kayo for their patience to check my errors so many times for so long time.

1The words consisting of one consonant have an allomorph with i in word-final position as
represented by placing \( \gamma, \lambda \) and \( \nu \) 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. rker rker Ndi2
   (beginning.of.the.story)
   Ker-ker di.

2. rkila Nkulam Vsu Nmal Nya Vme-ipka rkipl
   hawk parrot two near right/back.here stay-2/3DL.SRD bushfire(AJ)
   Nwaki ryan Nbl Ndo-m Ndu-gwe3
   Wahgi.river right/back.down.here big burn(intr.)-3sc say-3sg.INP
   Kila hawk and Kulam parrot lived here. [Once] there was a big fire in the bush down near the Wahgi.

3. Nyal rsul Ni Val-a=Ho rkipl Nbl
   man two.person DEM1 brother-1sg.poss=voc bushfire(AJ) big

in the quotation marker \( \Gamma d \sim \Gamma di \) and the words with e in word-final position have an allomorph without e as in bele ~ bel ‘make and’ because of i-addition and e-deletion respectively.

\( \Gamma ker \) is not used in conversation. It signals the beginning of a tale and can have a different prosody.

\( \text{Ndugwe} \) ‘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 \( \text{Ndugwe} \) is one of the styles of tales.
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. ᱠkoḷ ᱠwāɗu ᱠer ᱠnim ᱠe-ipka ᱠe-ipka
side search-INF to down.there go-2/3DL.SRD go-2/3DL.SRD
Rkol rwa Vdu rer 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. ᱠgur= iyay ɗgar/kld= iyay ɗua= iyay ɗgol ɗyo-gwa
lizard=and snake=and rat=and die-INF be-3sg.sRD
Var ɗgal ɗgl ɗyu-ipka ɗyu-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. ᱨmal iyay ɗu-re ɗke ɗpal-e
near right/back.here come-and(ss) cook.by.steam-INF put-and(ss)
Nkulam Nkapan=rrae ɗdi ɗkila ɗte-re
parrot DIM=DEM2 say-INF hawk give-and(ss)
Val-a=ɗo ɗkal ɗsi ɗyu-pkrae
brother-1SG.POSS=voc thing hit-INF fetch-1DL.DEM2
ɗke ɗpal-pl=ɗa
cook.by.steam-INF put-1DL=EXPL

Repetition 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.

The serial verb 'ɗdi (SOMEONE) ɗte- 'say and give someone' means 'to tell someone'.

—13—
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."

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.

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6The construction V-re V-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/n/, for the other forms. The last root shows regular vowel alternation of the high-tone verb.
8The serial verb /d ner- 'say off' means ‘to send someone to somewhere’.
Kila said, “You go!” but Kulam said, “You go!”

Kila said, “You go.”

Kulam said, “You go.”

They kept arguing with each other.

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.

Kila took it and went.
He waited a long time at the river 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.

Searching 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.

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

10The construction V-FUT-1sg/dl/pl+̄di means ‘with the intention of V-ing’.
Kulam had already eaten it all up, excreted in it and covered the earth oven again with [banana] leaves.

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

Kila got angry.

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

[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. Kila=rae Vpi Vkaula=rae Vgor Vkan-m=ba
   hawk=DEM2 go.INF centre.post=DEM2 pull.out.INF see=3sg=but
Kulam Vkapan=rae \nap Vyam=rae
parrot dim=DEM2 invisible.side right/back.down.here=DEM2
\tag \tag V pai Vmol-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. Kila nde-m Ngol-gwa \di \si Vki\nkor-gwa
   hawk intestines-3sg.poss die-3sg.srd axe hit.INF perf-3sg.srd
Kila got angry and swung an axe.

27. Kulam Vkapan Nguma Nabol
   parrot dim nose.3sg.poss be.hit.INF
\tag si Vki\nkor-gwe
cut(AJ) (hit).INF perf-3sg.ind
Kulam was hit on the beak and it was cut off.

28. Kulam Vkapan nde-m Ngol-m=\ta
   parrot dim intestines-3sg.poss die-3sg=expl
Kulam got angry.

29. Val \ten Nu-gwi
   stand.up.INF to come-3sg.dem1
He stood up and came [to Kila].

30. Kila Vkapan Nabol \kol \kole Nabol Vu Ne-pka
   hawk dim with both.side fight.INF come.INF go-2/3dl.srd
Vu Ne-pka Vu Ne-pka
come.INF go-2/3dl.srd come.INF go-2/3dl.srd
\tag V pai Vkor-m=\ta
bad lie.INF perf-3sg=expl
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 is living 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.

He lives deep in the forest in Bomai.
37. נקילה נק’an נמל טי נמל א נמל-גו
hawk DIM near DEM1 stay-and(ss) make.INF stay-3sg.IND
The hawk still lives here.

38. נważי נסו-גו
end(AJ) (hit)-3sc.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, “Eiyol!” 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
got 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.收纳 nkum Vkaman¹² Md-ral  hel=Γa
   I fairy.tale say-FUT.INF make.1SG=EXPL
   I am going to tell a fairy tale.

2. Ker ker di i
   (beginning.of.the.story)
   Ker-ker di-i.

3. Nal Nbola Vsu Ndogwa Vyopl Nipka=Γmere
   dog pig two fire get.kindling.INF take.2/3DL=as/about
   Md-ral hel=Γa
   say-FUT.INF make.1SG=EXPL
   I am going to talk about a dog and a pig, who got kindling coal.

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

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 G'd 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 N'guema G'd Ner-gwa N'o-gwe
pig DEM1 first say.INF to/off-3SG.sRD go-3SG.sRD
S/he sent the pig first and the pig went.

10. G'pi G'pi Ndogwa Vyopl G'i-re Nu-gwa
go.INF go.INF fire get.kindling.INF take-and(ss) come-3SG.sRD
Nkore G'ba N'i=rae N'kol G'ba N'i=rae
but halfway DEM1=DEM2 road halfway DEM1=DEM2
Ndeklm=G'ta V'pai N'mol-e
earthworm=a lie.INF stay-and(ss)
G'na G'ta G'na G'si G'ne=/k-n=/G'wa V'yal 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=G'rae N'de-m N'gol-gwa
pig=DEM2 intestines-3SG.POSS die-3SG.sRD
The pig got angry.

12. Ndeklm N'i G'si N'ne-ra-l=G'di G'ila Ngapa=G'la
earthworm DEM1 hit.INF eat-FUT-1SG=Q inside ground=LOC
G'i=G'rae V'wau N'o-gwa V'wau G'er N'o-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=G'rae G'er V'il V'il G'p-re
earthworm=DEM2 to forth.here forth.here go-and(ss)
G'ta G'na G'si G'ne=/k-ge
NEG I hit.INF eat=NEG-2SG.IND
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.

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.

13'kupa aipa bl tol tal 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. Γna ΝDama Νbol Νaml Νkunul Νwou-pka
   I prn with peanut by stealing dig-1DL.srd
   Νd-ral Νel=Γa
   say-fut.inf make.1sg=expl

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

   2. Γna ΝDama Νbol Νtaim=Γta Γba Γwai Γwon Γdo-gwa
      I prn with time=a moon good truly burn(intr.)-3sG.srd
      Γer Γpi ΓGar ΓMn ΓMaul Γipe
to go.inf pln up.there
     VΓrwai ΝPlawa ΝNogwa14 Νaml Νkul Vpal-gwa
     prn peanut look.after.inf put-3sg.srd
     Νari Γer Γpi Γpi Γpa-gwa Γwou-pka
     leaf to go.inf go.inf lie-3sg.srd dig-1DL.srd

14VΓrwai ΝPlawa ΝNogwa ‘Γrwai “The Flower-Eater”’ is a personal name. VΓrwai is his real name and ΝPlawa ΝNogwa ‘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 reku na Vmu-na=la Vwau Ger nu-gw
   later I back-1sg.poss=loc dig.inf to come-3sg.ind
   Dama came digging [peanuts] behind me.

4. na guema=kan wau vil pi kar-ka kore
   I first=earlier dig.inf to forth here go.inf see-1sg.srd but
   naul=ta kel ni pa-gwa kama si pa-gwa
   cordyline=place det lie-3sg.srd black (hit).inf lie-3sg.srd
   I went forward digging first and saw a cordyline shrub there, which was black.

5. nyopa  mol-m=di kan
   I person stay-3sg=Q see.inf
   I thought it was a person.

6. 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. na deu dau e=kgw
   NEG shake(AJ).RED make=NEG-3sg.ind
   It did not shake.

8. na kle kle=di pi mala kar-ka
   then I silently=Q go.inf nearby see-1sg.srd
   I approached it silently and looked.

9. pa-gwa kan kor-e
   cordyline lie-3sg.srd see.inf perf-and(ss)
   I found that it was a shrub.
10. .Manager Peanut dig-INF lie-1sg.DEM2
    I came back and dug peanuts.

11. PRN again go-INF I dig-INF go-1sg.Loc place=DEM2 go-INF
    Dama, in turn, went to the place where I had dug peanuts, and he looked round.

12. 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. PRN too person stay-3sg=Q see-3sg.srd
    He also thought that it was a person as I did.

14. PRN I see-INF stay-1sg.srd=as=DEM2 man DEM1 go-INF
    He went and watched it carefully for a long time in the same way as I had gone and watched it closely.

15. I stone=a near DEM1 be-3sg.srd hit-INF to/off-1sg.srd
    I threw a nearby stone at it.

16. Cordyline=Loc nearby there=DEM2 be.hit-INF noise(s)
    It fell down near the shrub making a noise.
17. NDama Nyopal Nmol-m=di Vkar-krae Nu-ral
   PRN person stay-3sG=Q see-1sG.DEM2 come-FUT-INF
   Nmol-m=di Nyal ti 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. Vna Vkwar muku d-ra-i=d d ne-ka
   I already run(AJ) (say)-FUT-1sG=Q make-1sG.SRD
   I was already about to run.

19. NDama No-gwa=Emere Egaul rki Napl Mme
   PRN go-3sc.sRD=as cliff bad invisible.side down.there
   rpi Nbol ts a di ki kor-gw
   go.INF be.hit.INF disappear(AJ) (say).INF PERF-3SG.IND
   Dama went down a cliff and disappeared out of sight.

20. Vna fuku rpi Mep nime F-p-re
   I later go.INF top down.there go-and(ss)
   NDama NDama di-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. Fen Vnam Nelgo hu-n-e ndi-krae
   you why come-2sG-QM say-1sG.DEM2
   I asked, “Why did you come here?”

23. NDama=rae Nyopal=ta N-ral d kel-gwi
   PRN=DEM2 person=a come-FUT.1sG q make-3sG.DEM1
   Vna nti hu-ka apl=la hu-ka
   I running.away come-1sG.SRD invisible.side=LOC come-1sG.SRD
   Nya=we ndu-gw
   right/back.here=ENC.WE say-3sG.IND
   Dama said, “A person was coming, so I ran away down here.”
24. Γνα ηγοπάλ Γτά Γμ=νκ-μ=Για
   I person NEG come=NEG-3SG=EXPL
   Γερ ήμο ήδι-κα Γερ ήτεπ ήμ-γω
   to come-3SG.IMP say-1SG.SRD to top come-3SG.IND
   I said, “No one is coming. Come,” and he came up to the top.

25. Ἀυλ Γπα-ωδά=Ἀωα
cordyline lie-3SG.DEM2=ENC.WA
   Γεν ήμαρ νάι Γτολ Γκαν-γι Γκαν-ε
   you for-a.long.time stare(AJ) see-2SG.DEM1 see-and(ss)
   Γνα Ντί ήνα-ν=Γδί Νκοπλ Γς-ρε
   I running.away go.FUT-2SG=Q stone hit-and(ss)
   Γνα Νκίπι Νκόλ Νε-κραι Γεν Γπι
   I pretending go-1SG.DEM2 you go.INF
   Γίλα Νίμε Νβόλ Νγο-ν=Ἀωα ήδι-κα
   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. Βαλ-α=ο Γνα Γνα Γσι Νγόλ Νκορ-ν-α
   brother-1SG.POSS=voc I I hit.INF die.INF PERF-2SG-END.A
   Νκορ-ο Νδυ-γω
   do.away-3SG.IMP say-3SG.IND
   Dama said, “Oh, my brother! You killed me badly.”

27. Βάνα ήμ-πκα ήαμλ Γωου Γωαρ-πκα
   then come-1DL.SRD peanut dig.INF move.around-1DL.SRD
   Νώαι Νσυ-γωα
   end(AJ) (hit)-3SG.SRD
   We went back and finished digging peanuts.

28. Γι-ρε Γερ ή-Γρα-πλ=Γδ Τε-πκα
   take-and(ss) to come-FUT-1DL=Q make-1DL.SRD
   We were about to go back.
29. Nkam   Vtalpa⁵⁵  ⁊ Npor=⁵⁵ ia  ⁊ Vpa-gwi
banana  talpa.banana  big=a  lie-3sg.decl

Vama  we-⁵⁵ ra-pl=⁵⁵ wa  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-⁵⁵ ra-pka  VKrwaœ  ⁊ Plawa  ⁊ Nogwa  ⁊ Nmala
then  cut.down-fut-1dl.srd  prn  nearby

Vpa-m=⁵⁵ sip=⁵⁵ wa  pl-⁵⁵ a-m=⁵⁵ ia
lie-3sg=forth.here=enc.wa  perceive-fut-3sg=expl

Γna  Vwe  ⁊ Ner-al  Nel-a  Nkore
I  cut.down.inf  to/off-fut.inf  make-1sg.end.a  on.one.hand

Γen  Vkaου-γo  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  Nkuna  Ni  Γkle=⁵⁵ di  Γpi  Nredi  Nel
man  age.sake  dem1  silently=go.inf  ready  make.inf

Nmol-gwa
stay-3sg.srd

He went quietly and got ready to catch it.

32. Γna  Vwe  Njer  Nkor-ka
I  cut.down.inf  to/off.inf  perf-1sg.srd
I cut it down.

33. Nmapn=⁵⁵ ia  Nme  Nnalp  Γi-re  Nkatim  Γsi
base=loc  down.there  knife  take-and(ss)  cut(AJ)  hit.inf

Vwe  Njer  Nkor-ka
cut.down.inf  to/off.inf  perf-1sg.srd
I cut it at the base with a knife.

¹⁵Vtalpa is one of the most common cooking bananas.
34. \(Val-n^{16}\) \(Ni\) \(kau-r\a\a-l=t\\)  
brother-PL.POSS DEM1 carry.on.shoulder-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG=but

Our brother tried to catch it.

35. \(Nkam\) \(\khip\) \(\Gamma de\) \(\Gamma pi\)  
banana heavy(AJ) \(\text{burn(intr.)}.\)INF \(\text{go}.\)INF

\(\Gamma mo-n\) \(\\&ne-ya^{17}\)  
penis-2SG.POSS eat-1SG.END.A

\(Val-n\) \(Ni\) \(\Gamma si\) \(\Gamma i\) \(\Gamma pi\) \(\ve\maun\) \(\ve\pal-e\)  
brother-PL.POSS DEM1 hit.INF take.INF go.INF below put-and(ss)
\(Nkam\) \(\Gamma pi\) \(\\&tep\) \(\\&dawal-gwa\)  
banana \(\text{go}.\)INF top put.together-3SG.SRD

The bananas knocked him down with all its weight bearing down upon him.

36. \(Val-n\) \(Ni\) \(\Gamma na\) \(\Gamma na\) \(\\&gol=\Gamma a\) \(\\&kam\)  
brother-PL.POSS DEM1 I I die=1SG.EXPL banana

\(\Gamma yape\) \(\\&yer-o\) \(\Gamma di\) \(\ve\pai\) \(\\&mol-gwa\)  
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. \(\Gamma na\) \(\\&yer-ka\)  
I remove-1SG.SRD

I removed them.

38. \(\Gamma na\) \(\Gamma na\) \(\Gamma si\) \(\\&gol\) \(\\&kor-gi=\we\) \(\\&du-gwa\)  
I I hit.INF die.INF PERF-2SG.DEM1=ENC.WE say-3SG.SRD

He said, “You really killed me.”

39. \(\Gamma na\) \(Val-a\) \(\\&epl\) \(\&el\) \(\\&gol\) \(\\&kor-e\)  
I brother-1SG.POSS laugh(AJ) make.INF die.INF PERF-and(ss)

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16 The 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 \(\Gamma mon\ \&nye\) ‘I eat your penis’ is an interjection usually used to express affection between males. In this context, it expresses funniness 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

*italic in Dom text*: loanword

(mostly from Tok Pisin)

(gloss in parentheses): original meaning of a verb in a phrasal verb

[sounds in braces]: unintended by the speaker

$: morpheme boundary

=: enclitic boundary

1: first person

2: second person

3: third person

AJ: adjunct nominal

DEM1: demonstrative to refer to something identifiable immediately

DEM2: demonstrative to refer to something known by a hearer as well

DIM: diminutive

DI: dual

DS: different subject

ENC.WA: enclitic indicating the end of a clause

ENC.WE: enclitic indicating the end of a phrase

END.A: an ending, one of whose functions is indicating a purpose

END.O: an ending which has coherative use

EXPL: explanatory remark

FUT: future

IMP: imperative

IND: indicative

INF: infinitive

intr.: intransitive

LOC: suffix indicating the place where an event takes place

NEG: negative

PERF: perfect

PL: plural

PLN: place name
References

(http://www.ethnologue.com/home.asp)