

Appendix 4. Texts

The following texts are presented as examples of the language in use, in contexts that are more ‘natural’ than some of the more obviously elicited examples and paradigms that have been shown in the earlier chapters of this book. These texts represent a range of genres, from reminiscences, traditional narratives, personal histories, description of the landscape, procedural narratives explaining how to do or make things, and accounts of recent (at the time of the telling) events.

The texts are presented in the same three-line format that has been used with the Skou material cited in the rest of the book. The glossing conventions are the same, with the addition of some additional formatting used to impart additional information about the prosodic structure of the narrative, and to show various features that are not part of the Skou phonology. The different formatting conventions used are:

| | | |
|-------------|-------------------|---|
| <i>Lópa</i> | italics | the ‘default’ style used for Skou material. |
| [datang] | sans serif | Non-Skou language material; Papuan Malay. |
| [ndi] | IPA | unusual phonetic features or rare allophones. |
| [h] | bracketed italics | expected phonological material not realised phonetically. |
| – {Ya} | curly brackets | interjection or interruption from a second party. |

These different conventions, other than the default italics, are used as described in the following notes.

[Sans serif font in brackets]

An example of the first of these formatting conventions can be found in line (7) of the first text, *Ping*, where we find [itu Sentani ka]. This is material spoken in Papuan Malay;¹ rather than convert it to Skou after the fact it is presented as originally narrated. In some cases this material is clearly in the nature of an aside, as is the extract in line (7), where the speaker clarifies for the non-native Skou listener (me – MD) the identity of *Te Húng* as Sentani. In other cases such a use of a Malay equivalent is, I suspect, a form of stylistic repetition, as in line (14) of this same text, where the Skou phrase *Pe ingje wò a* is repeated with modification as [dong Yesus], paralleling the parallelism seen in lines (11) - (12), and elsewhere in other texts (eg., lines (11) - (13) of text 14).

¹ For details of the structure of Papuan Malay, see Donohue (to appear) and references therein.

A third use of this Papuan Malay material can also be seen in line (14) from this same text, where we can see the use of the Malay perfective aspect marker [su]= ‘already’ (cognate with Standard Indonesian suda(h), and ultimately derived from this independent aspectual marker), attached to a Skou morpheme, also seen in line (13); the lack of morphosyntactic means of expressing certain aspectual distinctions in Skou means that the appropriate Malay terms are not infrequently used for this purpose by bilingual speakers.

This level of code-switching reveals the extent to which bilingualism is prevalent amongst Skou speakers: the narrator of this text was 73 when the text was recorded (2002), and so the amount of Malay used cannot be attributed to recent changes in education or new patterns of social interaction amongst the youth. Texts 2, 3 and 4 also show quite a lot of switching into Malay on the part of the narrators. The transcription of the Papuan Malay extracts follows an orthography that adheres as closely as possible to Standard Indonesian, while still representing the distinctive features of Papuan Malay. The Malay parts of mixed Skou-Malay sentences are glossed, also in square brackets, when they are a small part of a Skou sentence or a Skou section of discourse, but are simply translated without individual morpheme glosses when the whole segment is in Malay.

Note that loans from Papuan Malay, with varying degrees of phonological assimilation, but which are part of the normal lexicon of modern Skou, have not been marked as distinct in this way: thus *rabáká* ‘tobacco’, is a Skou word, and so too is *motoro* ‘motorboat’ not listed as a Malay word, since it has been (covertly) adopted into Skou, and violates none of the phonological constraints that apply to native Skou words.

[international phonetic association symbols]

Unusual phonetic realisations are shown in standard IPA conventions, in square brackets. An example of this can be found in line (13) of text 3, where the phoneme sequence /tebapubi/ is realised as [teβapubi], with a rare example of the lenition of a /b/. Because this allophone is not automatically predictable by rule, it has been transcribed as *Te* [β]apúbí, with the non-predictable part of the word shown in IPA rather than orthography. Sometimes, where the identity of the ‘normal’ pronunciation is not obvious from the form actually produced, the IPA transcription is shown following the syllable or unit that is affected, as in *wi* [o], in Text 11 line 5, showing that an expected [wi], that being the normal pronunciation of the segment string /wi/, in fact appears as [o]. Since /wi/ is not obviously recoverable from [o], both the orthography, representing the phonemes, and the phonetic form attested in this instance, have been listed.

[*Italics in brackets*]

Phonetic material that might be expected (on the basis of our knowledge of the phonological representation) to be present, but is not, is indicated in square brackets [], in italics. Examples of this can be seen in line (4) of text 13, where the expected [h] is omitted, coded as [*h*]. Note that in line (43) of text Tangwáto I, the bracketed, non-italicised [h] indicates an unexpected [h] instead of [w]; the phonological identity of the root can be recovered from the wordlist in Appendix 1. False starts are also included, such as line (26) of text three. Note also that predictable omissions of phonological material, such as line 17 of the first text, are simply marked with round brackets: (); this same bracketing notation is also used as a punctuation mark, to indicate an aside in the speaker’s narration. The square bracket notation is only used for unexpected or highly unusual allophony.

– { Sans serif font in curly brackets }

Interjections by someone other than the speaker (usually me) are marked in curly brackets with a dash preceding them, as in line (68) of text 24, where I (-MD) pose a question: – {Pa Úeròng?} ‘and the Uerong river?’ Note that the formatting inside these interruptions is sans serif, regardless of the language used. The glossing line uses the conventions, seen earlier, of bracketing with square brackets any non-Skou material.

Unusual morphosyntactic structures are noted following the translation line of the text.

Finally, following the three-line glosses for each text is an edited version of the narration, which has been ‘approved of’ by the person who related the text. This is thus the representation of their text that they wished to have made public in the community, thus representing some notion of prescriptive ‘good style.’ In these transcriptions all repetitions and many tail-head linkages are reduced, and hesitation markers are omitted. Lexically, we can see that some additional words have been added in order to increase the number of parallelisms in the texts, clearly a prescriptively ‘good’ thing.

One other significant point of divergence in presentation between the textual material in this appendix and the material presented in the body of the book, including material quoted from these texts, is that the linear arrangement of the texts here is by intonation breaks, with a new numbered line starting only at an intonation boundary, and every intonation boundary being indicated by a new line. While this does some injustice to narrative and syntactic (both clausal and phrasal) units, it again preserves information that would otherwise have been lost, such as the presence of afterthoughts, or pauses following topicalised constituents, and allows us to observe the interaction of tail-head linkages and intonation.

The order of the texts roughly proceeds from those that show the most amount of Malay influence to those that are the most ‘pure’ Skou, linguistically, though this principle has been only loosely adhered to. Following each story, some of the more salient or unusual points of grammar exemplified in the text are pointed out.

Texts

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24.....Tangwáto I

1 Ping

WAR (37 SECONDS)

This short narrative describes some aspects of the relationships between various villages in the Skou area in the pre-Dutch era, which were then, as now, generally friendly. The only regular conflicts in the area were between or involved the inland groups, either the Sentani and Nafri around and south of Yotefa bay, or the Elsenng immediately south of Skou Yambe. Skou participation in these conflicts was mainly second-hand, as a result of marriage ties with Tobati and Enggros, hence the brevity of this text.

- (1) *Lópa=ing pìng te=ti e,*
earlier=DEIC war 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be
'In the olden days they used to fight wars, ...'
- (2) [ya],
[yes]
'indeed, ...'
- (3) *Hùng te=ti e.*
battle 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be
'they'd fight battles.'
- (4) *A.*
ah
'Mmm.'
- (5) *Te,*
Sk-
'Sko-, ...'
- (6) *Te Máwo,*
Skou Mabo
'Skou Mabo
- (7) *Te Tángpe=ing te héfèng.*
Skou Yambe=DEIC 3PL good
'and Skou Yambe, we had good relations with them.'
- (8) *Pa, Te Téme,*
Tobati Nafri
'Tobati, Nafri
- (9) *Te Húng* ([itu Sentani ka]),
Sentani [that Sentani TAG]
'Sentani,
- (10) *Te Húng,*
Sentani
'Sentani
- (11) *Te Téme,*
Nafri
'Nafri

- (12) *Te Lóngpa,*
Enggros
'Enggros, ...'
- (13) *pìng-pìng nawò te=ti.*
war-RED many 3PL=3PL.
'they fought many wars.'
- (14) *Pìng te=ti=ko,*
war 3PL=3PL.do=OBV
'They'd make war, ...'
- (15) *ung a,*
now
'but now, ...'
- (16) *ung a [su=]ka.*
now [already=]NEG
'but now no more.'
- (17) *Pe=ìngje=w(ò)=a* [datang, dong Yesus datang su t-]=*ka,*
3SG.F=gospel=EMPH=PROM [come mob Jesus come already NE-]=NEG
'The gospel, the Christians have come and they don't do it any more, ...'

(*Pe=ìngje* is a loan from Indonesian *injil* 'gospel' with a feminine proclitic added to it. t- is a false start on Malay *tidak* 'not')

- (18) *ung a [suda habi],*
now [already finish]
'now that's over, ...'
- (19) [suda aman].
[already safe]
'It's safe now.'
- (20) *Ung a te=héfèng.*
now 3PL=good
'now it's all right.'
- (i) *Lópa pìng te ti e, Hìng te ti e. Tè Máwo, Te Tángpe ing te héfèng. Pa, Te Téme, Te Húng, Te Lóngpa, pìng pìng nawò te ti. Pìng te ti ko, ung a, ung a ka. Pe ìngje wò toe, ka, ung a ka. Ung a héfèng.*

The sorts of extensive parallelisms that are part and parcel of Skou narration are clear even in this short account. Lines (1) and (3), lines (13) and (14), and lines (18) - (20) all show clear parallelisms. Lines (6) - (7) and (8) - (13) show the use of the non-overt conjunction of NPs.

2 Te Húele

SANGKE / NIKRA (30 SECONDS + 28 SECONDS)

In this brief narrative the 'Nikra', a generic name for inland groups practising sorcery, here associated with the 'Sangke' (see 1.2), are described and their practice of sorcery is explained.

About half-way through the text, on line (15), the speaker shifts to Malay, and repeats the text in that language.

- (1) [Jadi],
[well]
'Well, ...'
- (2) *Te=bà* *Húele*,
3PL=person Sangke
'The Sangkes, ...'
- (3) [Nikra itu] *Húele*,
[Nikra that] Sangke
'Nikra is Sangke, ...'
- (4) *Húele* *te=a* *pìng* *te=ti* *e*,
Sangke 3PL=PROM war 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be
'Sangke's would make war, you know, ...'
- (5) *te=bà* *te=jí* *e*.
3PL=person 3PL=3PL.hit.PL 3PL.be
'they'd kill people.'
- (6) *Lópa* *te=ko*,
earlier 3PL=OBV
'This is what they used to do, ...'
- (7) *ung a=we=ing* *ka*,
now=this=DEIC NEG
'now they don't, ...'
- (8) *ung a=we=ing* *nì=ra=lue* *ka*.
now=this=DEIC 1SG=also=know NEG
'now I don't know about this going on.'
- (9) *Pìng* *te=ti* *e* *ti* *na te=ti* *ka*
war 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be 3PL.do or 3PL=3PL.do NEG
na *nì=ra=lue* *ka*.
or 1SG=also=know NEG
'They'd wage a war, or not, I don't know.'
- (10) *Ung* *ka*.
now NEG
'Not now.'
- (11) *Lópa=ing* *te=toe*,
earlier=DEIC 3PL=3.come
'They used to come, ...'
- (12) *rabáká* *ne=ti=ko*,
tobacco 1PL=do=OBV
'and we'd smoke some tobacco (butts), ...'
- (13) *rí* *ne=witàfì* *te*,
tree 1PL=leave 3SG.F.go
'and leave the butts, ...'

- (14) *rabáká te=wí=ko te já te=ti=ko*
 tobacco 3PL=get.F=OBV 3PL potion 3PL=3PL.do=OBV
ne=wung-wung te.
 1PL=die-RED 3SG.F.go
 ‘they’d take the tobacco and make magic from it, and we’d die.’

- (15) Jadi,
 ‘So, ...’
 dorang itu,
 ‘that mob, ...’
 mama dulu itu,
 ‘when I was young, ...’
 kurang biasa perang,
 ‘they weren’t used to waging real wars, ...’
 tapi dong prang itu yang diam-diam.
 ‘but they’d fight in secret.’
 Kita dudu sama-sama,
 ‘We’d sit together, ...’
 trus,
 ‘and then, ...’
 dong kasi ro- ambe rokok ka - ampas roko,
 ‘they’d give some, they’d take the tobacco, take the butts of our
 cigarettes, ...’
 atau ampas roko ka,
 ‘or the butts of cigarettes, ...’
 ampas pinā ka,
 ‘or the discards of betelnut (we’d chew), ...’
 ampas-ampas yang kitong buang,
 ‘the rubbish that we’d throw away, ...’
 garam,
 ‘or salt, ...’
 suda lerbo begitu,
 ‘something that had been thrown away like that, ...’
 è,
 ‘well, ...’
 Musti mati.
 ‘then we were bound to die.’

- (ii) *Te bà Húele, pìng te ti e ti a, te bà te jí e. Lópa te ko, ung a we ing ka, ung a we ing
 nì ra lue ka. Pìng te ti e ti na te ti ka na nì ra lue ka. Lópa ing te toe, rabáká ne te
 ko, ríne witàfi te, rabáká te wí ko te já te ti ko, ne wung wung te.*

The un-acknowledged tense/aspect involving just the verb ‘be’ following the main verb makes an appearance in this text, in line 5.

3 Skou

SKOU (± 30 SECONDS)

The relationships between the three Skou villages are described in this short narrative. There is quite a lot of shifting into Malay, and at the half-way point it looks like the speaker is going to switch over to finish the text in Malay, but then shifts back to Skou for the conclusion.

- (1) *Te Máwo* [dɛ̃] *Te Bapúbí,*
 Skou Mabo [with] Skou Sai
 ‘Skou Mabo and Skou Sai, ...’
- (2) *Te Máwo=pa* *Te Bapúbí,*
 Skou Mabo=INSTR Skou Sai
 ‘Skou Mabo and Skou Sai, ...’
- (3) *te héfèng.*
 3PL good
 ‘they get on well.’
- (4) *Te ya-nò=pa te=ti=pa te=t=ang e ti.*
 3PL thing-work=INSTR 3PL=3PL.do=INSTR 3PL=3PL-eat 3PL.be 3PL.do
 ‘They do work, and they eat (together).’
- (5) [Itu berarti kitorang baku kasi. Ya, begitu. Jadi tidak berkelahi].
 [that now we reciprocal give yes like.that so not like.that fight]
 ‘So then we’d exchange gifts. Like that. So we didn’t fight amongst ourselves.’
- (5) *Ping,*
 war
 ‘War, ...’
- (6) *te=ti ka.*
 3PL=3PL.do NEG
 ‘they didn’t used to fight.’
- (7) *Te ya-no héfèng te=ti=pa te=t=ang.*
 3PL thing-work good 3PL=3PL.do=INSTR 3PL=3PL-eat
 ‘They’d work well, and eat (together).’
- (8) *Ya lóló te=wí=ko,*
 thing discarded 3PL=get.F=OBV
 ‘They’d take our rubbish, ...’
- (9) *yá te=ti=ko ne=wung-wung te,*
 medicine 3PL=3PL.do=OBV 1PL=die-RED 3SG.F.go
 ‘They’d make medicine, and then we’d die.’
- (10) *yá-mo=ing.*
 medicine-potion=the
 ‘Potions.’

- (11) *Te Bapúbí*, [dong biasa begitu, dong biasa, tidak tau dong pu bahasa itu,]
 Skou Sai [they normal like.that they normal not know they POSS language that
 [mungkin ada satu yang luka...]
 [maybe exist one REL wound]
 ‘Skou Sai, they’re normally like that, they usually, I don’t understand their
 language, maybe they’ve got something wrong, or , ...’
- (12) *Te Bapúbí*,
 Skou Sai
 ‘The Skou Sais, ...’
- (13) *Te=ing a*,
 3PL=the
 ‘that lot, ...’
- (14) *ya*,
 thing
 ‘so, ...’
- (15) *Te* [β]*apúbí te bà pí-na ka*,
 Skou Sai 3PL person speech-meat NEG
 ‘The Skou Sais, they’re not very talkative people, ...’
- (16) [dong sudah tidak ada],
 [they already not be]
 ‘they’re really not very, ...’
- (17) [apa],
 [what]
 ‘what, ...’
- (18) [bia senang ka atau apa],
 [leave happy Q or what]
 ‘are they happy or what, ...’
- (19) [dong orang gigit ka],
 [they person bite Q]
 ‘has someone annoyed them? ...’
- (20) [jadi dong lia orang itu],
 [because they see person that]
 ‘so they look like that sort of person, ...’
- (21) [tidak senang itu].
 [not happy that]
 ‘not happy, like that.’
- (22) [Tapi kalo],
 [but if]
 ‘But if, ...’
- (23) *Te Má-*,
 Skou Ma-
 ‘Ma- ...’

- (24) *Te Máwo* [datang ke Skou Sai],
Skou Mabo [come to Skou Sai]
'Mabos come to Skou Sai, ...'
- (25) *Te Tángpe* [latang ke Skou Sai],
Skou Yambe [come to Skou Sai]
'if Yambes come to Skou Sai, ...'
- (26) [dong=terima deng bai].
[they=receive ADV good]
'they welcome us nicely, ...'
- (27) [Dong=terima macam bai].
[they=receive sort good]
'they welcome us well.'
- (28) [ε] *ne*,
1PL
'And us, ...'
- (29) *Ne=mat-* [ε] *Máwo*,
1PL=Mad- Skou Mabo
'we Mad- uh Mabos, ...'
- (30) *Te Tángpe*,
Skou Yambe
'to Skou Yambe, ...'
- (31) *ne=ne ne ti ke=ing yano húehúefa*
1PL=1PL.go 1PL.be 1PL.do 3SG.NF=DEIC thing carefully
te=ti e ti.
3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be 3PL.do
'We'd go there and they'd do things properly.'
- (32) [hũŋ].
mmm
'Mmm.'
- (33) *Yano húefa te=ti e ti.*
thing carefully 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be 3PL.do
'We'd go there and they'd do things properly.'
- (iii) *Te Máwo pa Te Bapúbí, te héfèng. Tè yanò pa te ti pa te tang e ti. Pìng, te ti ka. Te ya-no héfèng te ti pa te tang. Ya lóló te wí ko, yá te ti ko ne wung-wung te, yá-mo ing. Te Bapúbí te bà pína ka. Ne Máwo, Tè Tángpe, ne ne ne ti ke ing yano húehúefa te ti e ti.*

4 Te Óeti

WUTUNG (1 MINUTE 9 SECONDS)

Wutung is the closest village in which another Skou-family language is spoken, and which has the closest social ties to the Skou villages. This text records a Skou speaker's perspective on this relationship, with a little libel.

- (1) *Te Máwo pí=a nì=wu,*
Skou Mabo story=PROM 1SG=narrate
'I'm telling a story about Skou Mabo, ...'
- (2) *Te Óeti,*
Wutung
'and Wutung, ...'
- (3) *te=r-i e ti,*
3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL 3PL.be 3PL.do
'They'd do it, ...'
- (4) *te=ti e ti,*
3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be 3PL.do
'they'd get on to it, ...'
- (5) *ne=Máwo ne=ra Te Óeti pí-tè ne=ti*
1PL=Skou Mabo 1PL=also Wutung language-3PL.GEN 1PL=1PL.do
ne ti.
1PL.be 1PL.do
'we Mabos too can understand the Wutung language, ...'
- (6) *Ne=r-ue ne te-ti.*
1PL=1PL-hear 1PL.be 1PL.do-RED
'We can understand it.'
- (7) *Ing a,*
the
'Because, ...'
- (8) *ne,*
1PL
'we, ...'
- (9) *pe=ueme bà –*
3SG.F=woman person
'a woman would (marry) someone, ...'
- (10) *pe=Máwo te=ueme pe te=úepong*
3SG.F=Skou Mabo 3PL=woman 3SG.F 3PL=marriage
pe=toe-toe Te Óeti yahénglong te=fu-fu.
3SG.F=3SG.F.come-RED Wutung brideprice 3PL=put.down-RED
'Skou Mabo women, they'd marry the woman and she'd come home with them, and Wutung would pay the brideprice.'

(the sequence *pe=Máwo*, *te=ueme*, and *pe* is a set of appositional phrases steadily narrowing the semantic scope of the NP)

- (11) *Yahénglong,*
brideprice
'A brideprice, ...'
- (12) [mas kawin].
[brideprice]
'the brideprice, ...'

- (13) *Yahénglong te=fu e ti-ti.*
 brideprice 3PL=put.down 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED
 ‘they’d pay a (good) brideprice.’
- (14) *Ya ung a=we=[ni],*
 so now=this=[this]
 ‘So these days, ...’
- (15) *Te Máwo=pa Te Óeti=pa ne=[suda jadi satu].*
 Skou Mabo=INSTR Wutung=INSTR 1PL=[already become one]
 ‘Skou Mabo and Wutung, we’re one and the same.’
- (16) *Lòeng ne=n-a ne ti,*
 road 1PL=1PL-walk 1PL.be 1PL.do
 ‘We walk together, ...’
- (17) *ya ne=n-a ne ti.*
 thing 1PL=1PL-walk 1PL.be 1PL.do
 ‘we do things together.’
- (18) *Te Jáwung=ing=ka.*
 Nyao=DEIC=FOC
 ‘And then there’s Nyao.’
- (19) *Jáwung=ing a,*
 Nyao=the
 ‘Nyao, ...’
- (20) *ne=meng wówó moeng ti,*
 1PL=PL.sit uncle sit 1PL.go
 ‘we lived (there), my uncle went there (first), ...’
- (21) *=pa ne=ne ti-ti.*
 =INSTR 1PL=1PL.go 1PL.do-RED
 ‘and then we all went.’
- (22) Sa pergi, barubaru sapunya ana pergi. A Nyao itu loga itu ya baha’a Skou lae, Abe. Dong kerja yadi tinggal deng saya di situ. Jadi sapunya nenek pigi dong terima yengan bai. Tru dong lasi barang-barang banyak dibawa pulang. Dong kenal deng saya.
 ‘I went, just recently my daughter’s gone there. Um, Nyao, their accent, it’s Skou too isn’t it. Oh, Abepura. They (come and) work (there), and they stay with me there. So my grandmother went there, and they accepted her friendlily. Then they gave her lots of presents, and she took them home. They know me.’
- (23) *Te=Jáwung te=bà héfèng ung a.*
 3PL=Nyao 3PL=person good now
 ‘Nyao’s are nice people now.’
- (24) *Te bà hénglong [kalo],*
 3PL=person wealth [if]
 ‘They’re rich people, if, ...’
- (25) *te=angku-nè=ne te=te Te Jáwung,*
 3PL=child-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT 3PL=3PL.go Nyao
 ‘our children go to Nyao, ...’

- (26) *Yano héfèng te=ti.*
 thing good 3PL=3PL.do
 ‘they treat them well.’
- (27) [Dong biking deng bae, dong bae].
 [they do ADV good they good]
 ‘They treat them well, they’re good (people).’
- (28) *Te=Jáwung ya nawò te=r-i nì,*
 3PL=Nyao thing many 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL 1SG
 ‘Those Nyaos got many things for me, ...’
- (29) *te=angku-nì=ne.*
 3PL=child-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT
 ‘for my children.’
- (iv) *Te Máwo pí a nì wu, Te Óeti, te ri e ti, te ti e ti, ne Máwo ne ra Te Óeti pítè ne ti ne ti. Ne rue ne teti. Ing a, ne, pe ueme bà pe Máwo te ueme pe te úepong pe toetoe Te Óeti yahénglong te fufu. Yahénglong te fu e titi. Ya ung a we, Te Máwo pa Te Óeti pa ne áling. Lòeng ne na ne ti, ya ne na ne ti. Te Jáwung ing ka. Jáwung ing a, ne meng wówó moeng ti, pa ne ne titi. Te Jáwung te bà héfèng ung a. Te bà hénglong kalo, te angku nè ne te te Te Jáwung. Yano héfèng te ti. Te Jáwung ya nawò te ri nì, te angkunì ne.*

5 Te Jáwung

NYAO (45 SECONDS)

A short autobiographical account of Skou’s relationship with the Nyao people.

- (1) *Nì hapa ke tong Skoula nì=li=pa,*
 1SG small when school 1SG=do=INSTR
 ‘When I was young and was still at school, ...’
 (Lit., ‘When I was young, I went to school, and ...’)
- (2) *nì=re,*
 1SG=go
 ‘I went, ...’
- (3) *Te Jáwung bàme.*
 Nyao village
 ‘to Nyao.’
- (4) *Ana,*
 like
 ‘It was like this, ...’
- (5) *kóko kurù,*
 FyB teacher
 ‘my uncle was a teacher (there), so ...’
- (6) *ne=ti ne Te Jáwung,*
 1PL=1PL.go 1PL.be Nyao
 ‘we went to stay in Nyao.’

- (7) *ne=ne.*
1PL=1PL.go
'we went.'
- (8) *Tangwáue ku ne=kúe ne hángpeng.*
bush.turkey egg 1PL=dig 1PL.be bush
'We'd dig up bush turkey eggs in the bush.'
- (9) *Tangwáue ku,*
bush.turkey egg
'Bush turkey eggs, ...'
- (10) *ne=te=ko ne=kúe=ko kúe=ko,*
1PL=1PL.go=OBV 1PL=dig=OBV dig=OBV
'we'd go and dig them, dig them up, and, ...'
- (11) *ku=ing mong=ing,*
egg=DEIC sit.F=DEIC
'those eggs, there they were, ...'
- (12) *a ku k-a=ko ne=r-oe e.*
uh egg 1SG-carry=OBV 1PL=1PL-get.PL 3SG.F.be
'well, I'd take those eggs, we'd collect them all.'
- (13) *Ne=r-oe na moe,*
1PL=1PL-get.PL or return
'We'd collect them and go back home, ...'
- (14) *A.*
ah
'Yes.'
- (15) *Ne=r-oe na moe ne=ko ne Te Jáwung=pa,*
1PL=1PL-get.PL or return 1PL.go=OBV 1PL.go Nyao=INSTR
'We got them all and then went back to, went to Nyao, ...'
- (16) *nì=li=ing a=ko,* [45 55 32 21]
1SG=do=the=OBV
'I did this, and then, ...'
- (17) *kóko nì [h]e=ka=ko ke=ti Te Máwo.*
FyB 1SG 3SG.NF=carry=OBV 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.go Skou Mabo
'my uncle took me back to Skou Mabo.'
- (18) *Mmm.*
mmm
'(Indeed.)'
- (v) *Nì hapa ke tong Skoula nì li pa, nì re, Te Jáwung bàme. Kóko kurù, ne ti ne Te Jáwung, ne ne. Tangwáue ku ne kúe ne hángpeng. Tangwáue ku, ne te ko ne kúe ko kúe ko, ku ing mong ing, a ku ka ko ne roe e. Ne roe na moe, Ne roe na moe ne ko ne Te Jáwung pa, nì li ing a ko, kóko nì ke ka ko ke ti Te Máwo.*

6 Tangwáto

TANGWATO

This narration is a description of the land ownership along the coastline between Cape Juar , which marks the western edge of Skou lands, and the Tami river, which is the eastern boundary of Skou territory. The Malay conclusion to the text is really a repeat of the information presented in Skou, but now in Malay. It was added to make sure I understood the speaker properly, as the content of this text is culturally very important.

- (1) *Húhú ne=ti ne ti.*
 story 1PL=1PL.do 1PL.be 1PL.do
 ‘We’re telling a story.’
- (2) *Àpi,*
 story
 ‘A story, ...’
- (3) *àpi ne=t-ang.*
 story 1PL=1PL-perform
 ‘We’re telling a tale.’
- (4) *Báng,*
 beach
 ‘The beach, ...’
- (5) *Tangwáto báng=ing,*
 Tangwato beach=DEIC
 ‘the beach at Tangwato, ...’
- (6) *w-a Tangwáto pong=ing a=ko,*
 3SG.F-walk Tangwato cape=the=OBV
 from the cape at Tangwato, ...’
- (7) *w-a=ko te Te Tángpe bàmè.*
 3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F.go Skou Yambe village
 ‘up to Skou Yambe village.’
- (8) *Báng=ing ke=ing Te Tángpe báng-tè.*
 beach=DEIC 3SG.NF=DEIC Skou Yambe beach-3PL.GEN
 ‘That beach is Skou Yambe’s beach.’
- (9) *W-a Te Tángpe,*
 3SG.F-walk Skou Yambe
 ‘From Skou Yambe, ...’
- (10) *bàmè=ing,*
 village=DEIC
 ‘the village, ...’
- (11) *w-a=ko te Te Máwo bàmè,*
 3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F.go Skou Mabo village
 ‘up to Skou Mabo village, ...’
- (12) *w-a=ko te Te Máwo bàmè,*
 3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F.go Skou Mabo village
 ‘up to Skou Mabo village, ...’
- (13) [a],
 yep
 ‘yes, ...’

- (14) *k(e)=ing* *Te Máwo* *pa – báng –*
 3SG.NF=DEIC Skou Mabo water beach
 ‘that’s Skou Mabo’s coast – beach – ...’
- (15) *te=a* *hángto*,
 3PL=PROM sand
 ‘their sand, ...’
- (16) *e*,
 ah
 ‘ah, ...’
- (17) *báng-tè*.
 beach-3PL.GEN
 ‘their beach.’
- (18) *W-a=ko* *te*,
 3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F.go
 ‘From there, going to, ...’
- (19) *Te Bapúbí*,
 Skou Sai
 ‘Skou Sai, ...’
- (20) *ke=lo-ko* *te=toe*,
 3SG.NF=east 3PL=3.come
 ‘coming from the east, ...’
- (21) *Nàho=ing a*, [nahopiä]
 Naho=the
 ‘that’s where Naho (beach), ...’
- (22) *e li*.
 be do
 is.’
- (23) *Nàho w-a-na* *Te Máwo-tè* *ke=ing* *Te Máwo*
 Naho 3SG.F-walk-APPL Skou Mabo-3PL.GEN 3SG.NF=DEIC Skou Mabo
hángto-tè,
 sand-3PL.GEN
 ‘From Naho to Skou Mabo that’s Skou Mabo’s sands, ...’
- (24) [e?] *w-a* *báng-tè*,
 3SG.F-walk beach-3PL.GEN
 ‘and from their beach, ...’
- (25) *W-a*[:],
 3SG.F-walk:
 ‘up to, ...’
- (26) *Léli=pa* *w-a=ko* *te* *Te Bapúbí*
 Leli=INSTR 3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F.go Skou Sai
 Leli beach, and up to Skou Sai, ...’
- (27) *ke=ing* *Te Bapúbí báng-tè*.
 3SG.NF=DEIC Skou Sai beach-3PL.GEN
 ‘that’s Skou Sai’s beach.’

- (28) *W-a Te Bapúbí pe=w-a=ko te Pailong,*
 3SG.F-walk Skou Sai 3SG.F=3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F.go Tami River
 ‘And from Skou Sai to the Tami River, ...’
- (29) *Ke=ing Te Bapúbí báng-tè.*
 3SG.NF=DEIC Skou Sai beach-3PL.GEN
 ‘that’s Skou Sai’s beach.’
- (30) [Jadi deng bahasa Indonesia?]
 ‘So (now) in Indonesian?’
- (31) – {Ya, dengan bahasa Indonesia.}
 ‘Yes, in Indonesian.’
- (32) Dari Tangjung Tangwáto sampe di, Skou Yambe, pante itu te Laya punya. Dari Skou Yambe kampung itu [*w-a=k*] - sampe di Skou Mabo, itu Skou Ma[m]bo punya. Dari Skou Mabo sampe di tenga-tenga pante, Nàho, Léli, itu Skou Mabo punya. [*W-a=*]d nàho, e sampe di, dari Nàho sampe di, Tàmi, itu Skou Sai punya. ‘From Tangwato to, uh, Skou Yambe, that beach is Laya’s. From the village at Skou Yambe to, to Skou Mabo, that’s Skou Mabo’s. From Skou Mabo to half-way along the beach, Naho, Leli, that’s Skou Mabo’s. And from Naho up to the Tami River, that’s Skou Sai’s.’

(We can see that here some Skou creeps into the speaker’s Indonesian rendition of the story)

- (vi) *Húhú ne ti ne ti. Àpi ne tang. Tangwáto báng ing, wa Tangwáto pong ing a ko, wa ko te Te Tángpe bàme. Báng ing ke ing Te Tángpe báng tè. Wa Te Tángpe, wa ko te Te Máwo bàme, ke ing Te Máwo báng tè. Wa ko te, Te Bapúbí, ke loko te toe, Nàho ing a e li. Nàho wa na Te Máwo tè ke ing Te Máwo hángto tè, wa báng tè, Léli pa wa ko te Te Bapúbí ke ing Te Bapúbí báng tè. Wa Te Bapúbí pe wa ko te Paílong, Ke ing Te Bapúbí báng tè.*

7 Hòe

SAGO (1 MINUTE 25 SECONDS)

Sago forms the staple of the Skou diet, along with (according to popular prescription) fish and coconut (various fruits and vegetables are also regularly eaten, but part of the self-definition of being Skou is the myth of subsisting on sago, fish and coconuts). This text describes the main events that constitute its processing and consumption. The string of serious repetition in (8) - (16) should not be thought of as stylistic, but is rather the narrator groping for the exact words that she wants.

- (1) *Hòe te=.*
 sago 3PL=
 ‘Sago, ...’
- (2) *Hòe, te=j-á te húhú ne=ti-ti ti.*
 sago 3PL=3PL-pound 3SG.F.go story 1PL=1PL.do-RED 1PL.do
 ‘Sago, we’ll tell a story about them pounding it.’

- (3) *Ke=ba-léng tena è-ke,*
 3SG.NF=person-male 3DU/GDR wife-3SG.NF.DAT
 ‘A man and his wife, ...’
- (4) *rangwaue te=wí,*
 axe 3PL=get.F
 ‘they get the axe, ...’
- (5) *te hòe te=j-á te hí,*
 3PL sago 3PL=3PL-pound 3SG.F.go go.down
 ‘they’re pounding sago so it goes down (to the catcher), ...’
- (6) *tenake=te hòe-pa,*
 3DU=3PL.go sago-water
 ‘the two of them go to the sago swamps, ...’
- (7) *te=te hòe-pa,*
 3PL=3PL.go sago-water
 ‘they go to the sago swamps, ...’
- (8) *hòe [ɛ] te=fu=ko,*
 sago 3PL=see.F=OBV
 ‘they see the sago, and, ...’
- (9) *hòe,*
 sago
 ‘the sago, ...’
- (10) *hòe,*
 sago
 ‘sago, ...’
- (11) *hòe,*
 sago
 ‘sago, ...’
- (12) *hòe ùe,*
 sago old
 ‘the old sago, ...’
- (13) *hòe d-,*
 sago fl
 ‘the sago fl ...’
- (14) *na=wí,*
 flesh=this
 ‘this flesh, ...’
- (15) *hòe=ing a,*
 sago=the
 ‘the sago, ...’
- (16) *hòe=ing tóe=ing te=ti,*
 sago=DEIC trunk=DEIC 3PL=3PL.do
 ‘the sago, the trunk, they do it, ...’

- (17) *ke=bà-leng* *ke=lé* *rangwaue=pa* *ke=lé=pa,*
 3SG.NF=person-male 3SG.NF=fell axe=INSTR 3SG.NF=fell=INSTR
 ‘the man chops it down, he chops it down with an axe, ...’
- (18) *pi* *te* *kong=pa.*
 fall 3SG.F.go down=INSTR
 ‘it falls down.’
- (19) *Hóe-fi* *ke=ké=pa,*
 sago-covering 3SG.NF=get=INSTR
 ‘He takes off the sago covering, ...’
- (20) *fòe* *ke=wí=ko,*
 sago.pounder 3SG.NF=get.F=OBV
 ‘he gets the sago pounder, ...’
- (21) *hòe=ing* *ke=ká.*
 sago=DEIC 3SG.NF=pound
 ‘and pounds the sago.’
- (22) *A.*
 yep
 ‘Yes.’
- (23) *Pe=ueme* *pe* *hòe* *nà-na* *pe=tue,*
 3SG.F=woman 3SG.F sago processing.place-RED 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘The woman prepares the place for processing the sago, ...’
- (24) *lí* *pe=wí fá tí,*
 sago.trough 3SG.F=leave
 ‘she leaves the trough (there), ...’
- (25) [ə].
 yep
 ‘yes.’
- (26) *Rahé* *pe=w-á,*
 coconut.strainer 3SG.F=3SG.F-pound
 ‘She beats a coconut strainer, ...’
- (27) *pa-* *hòe-i-* *hòe-p,*
 water- sago-? sago-p
 ‘(and she puts) water –uh– sago, sago p-, ...’
- (28) *Hòe-i-yong* *pe=hí=ko* *pu* *te*
 sago-?-pith 3SG.F=go.down=OBV 3SG.F.carry 3SG.F.go
pe=w-á.
 3SG.F=3SG.F-hit
 ‘She puts the sago pith down and squeezes it.’

(the word *yong* means pith, but referring to sago pitch *hòeyong*, rather than *hòeyong*, is used. No etymology can at this stage be proposed for *i*)

- (29) *Pe=w-á=ko,*
 3SG.F=3SG.F-pound=OBV
 ‘She squeezes it, ...’

- (30) *hòe-re hí ti,*
sago-milk go.down 3SG.NF.go
'the sago milk runs off, ...'
- (31) *i lí-to=pa,*
lie.down sago.trough-inside=INSTR
'into the sago trough, ...'
- (32) *nàli,*
flesh
'the flesh, ...'
- (33) *hòe-nali,*
sago-flesh
'the sago flesh, ...'
- (34) *a pe=kúe=ko,*
ah 3SG.F=dig=OBV
'uh, she scoops it out, ...'
- (35) *ráng-leng hòe pe=w-á=ko*
sun-afternoon sago 3SG.F=3SG.F-pound=OBV
pe=w-á loeng=pa,
3SG.F=3SG.F-pound finish=INSTR
'and in the afternoon she pounds it, she pounds it until it's all done, ...'
- (36) *ráng-leng=ing=pa,*
sun-afternoon=DEIC=INSTR
'in the afternoon, ...'
- (37) *(hòe) pe=w-á=ko ráng-leng=ing=pa,*
sago 3SG.F=3SG.F-pound=OBV SUN-afternoon=DEIC=INSTR
'she pounds the sago until it's afternoon, and then, ...'
- (38) *(hòe-na=ing) pe=hí,*
sago-flesh=DEIC 3SG.F=go.down
'the sago flesh collects at the bottom, ...'
- (39) *pe=kúe=ko pe=hí nà,*
3SG.F=dig=OBV 3SG.F=go.down sago.package
'she digs it and puts the sago down into a package, ...'
- (40) *a tenake=we te=r-e tu me toe*
um 3DU=this 3PL=3PL-get carry.PL 3PL.return 3.come
bàme.
village
'and, um, we collect it all, and go back to the village.'
- (A) Dan, trus, masak itu?
and continue cook that
'And, then, the cooking?'
- (41) *Hòe te=me toe bàme,*
sago 3PL=PL.return 3.come village
'They (take) the sago back to the village, ...'

- (42) *pa pe=wí-wí hí e ti,*
 water 3SG.F=get.F-RED go.down 3PL.be 3PL.do
 ‘She gets water, and pours it all in, ...’
- (43) *pa lí-lí=pa,*
 water boil-RED=INSTR
 ‘the water boils, ...’
- (44) *è=ko-ko lí=pa,*
 cook=OBV-RED do=INSTR
 ‘and it cooks, and does that, ...’
- (45) *hòe pe=tue,*
 sago 3SG.F=3SG.F.do
 ‘and she stirs the sago, ...’
- (46) *hòe pe=tue lang,*
 sago 3SG.F=3SG.F.do pot
 ‘she stirs the sago in a pot, ...’
- (47) *(pe) hòe=pa,*
 3SG.F sago=INSTR
 ‘and (she gets) the sago, ...’
- (48) *páng-pe=ing=pa,*
 husband-3SG.F.DAT=DEIC=INSTR
 ‘and with her husband, ...’
- (49) *te=angku hìngtung=pa te=t-ang hòe te=t-ang=ko=ra k-,*
 3PL=child two=INSTR 3PL=3PL-eat sago 3PL=3PL-eat=OBV=also NEG
 ‘and the two children, they all eat the sago, eat it till it’s all fini-, ...’
- (50) *ka.*
 NEG
 ‘all gone.’
- (vii) *Hòe te já te húhú ne ti ti ti. Ke bàleng tena è ke, rangwaue te wí, te hòe te já te hí, tenake te hòe pa, te te hòe pa, hòe te fu ko, hòe na wí, hòe ing tóe ing te ti, ke bàleng ke lé rangwaue pa ke lé pa, pi te kong. Hóefi ke ké pa, fòe ke wí ko, hòe ing ke ká. Pe ueme pe hòe nàna pe tue, lí pe wí fá tí. Rahé pe wá, pa hòeyong pe hí ko pu te pe wá. Pe wá ko, hòere hí ti, i líto pa, hòenali, a pe kúe ko, rángleng hòe pe wá ko. Pe wá loeng pa, rángleng ing pa, hòe pe wá ko rángleng ing pa, hòena ing pe hí, pe kúe ko pe hí nà, a tenake we te re tu me toe bàme. Hòe te me toe bàme, pa pe wí wí hí e ti, pa lí lí pa, è ko ko li pa, hòe pe tue, hòe pe tue lang, pe hòe pa, páng pe ing pa, te angku hìngtung pa te tang hòe te tang ko ra ka.*

8 Te Lóngpa táng te te

ENGGROS NETS (1 MINUTE 23 SECONDS)

There is a kind of net that is the cultural property of the inhabitants of Tobati and Enggros, in Yotefa Bay immediately west of Skou, and which is greatly admired by other peoples who trade with that ethnic group, including the Skou people. This text, narrated by a Skou woman

who married into Enggros, describes the tradition of net weaving in Enggros, and its decline amongst the younger generation.

- (1) *Húhú*,
story
'A story, ...'
- (2) *te=Lóngpa pa te=Pa húhú-te.*
3PL=Enggros and 3PL=Tobati story-3PL.GEN
'a story of Enggros and Tobati.'
- (3) *Táng te=ti e ti te*
k.o.net 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be 3PL.do 3SG.F.go
húhú-pè=pe nì=li-li li.
story-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT 1SG=do-RED do
'I'm going to tell a story about the way they make the táng nets.'
- (4) [æ:],
well
'Well, ...'
- (5) *lang*,
net
'nets, ...'
- (6) *lang hangling-pè=pe,*
net air.roots-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT
'nets made from air roots, ...'
- (7) *lang hangling-pe -pè=pe=ing a,*
net air.roots-3SG.F.DAT -3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT=the
'the nets made the – from air roots, ...'
- (8) *ke=bà-hue,*
3SG.NF=person-old
'the old people, ...'
- (9) *te=te te=j-àng-jàng=pa.*
3PL-3PL.go 3PL=3PL-chop.F-RED=INSTR
'they go and cut them (the air roots),'
- (10) *Te=j-àng=ko,*
3PL=3PL-chop.F=OBV
'They chop them and then ...'
- (11) *te=r-í-rí=pa te=r-e tu me toe,*
3PL=3PL-get.PL-RED=INSTR 3PL=3PL-get carry.PL 3PL.return 3.come
'they get them and they bring them home, ...'
- (12) *te=r-í hí-hí tí,*
3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL go.down-RED salty.water
'they put them down in the salty water, ...'

- (13) [dong]= *te=r-e* *mong* *tí=ing* *a=ko* *rong-rong=pa*,
 [they] 3PL=3PL-get sit.F salty.water=the=OBV long-RED=INSTR
 ‘they leave it in the salty water for a long time,’

(dong is the Papua Malay 3PL pronoun, used here by the bilingual speaker)

- (14) [∅],
 ah
 ‘um, ...’

- (15) *hangling-pè=pe=ing a*.
 air.roots-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT=the
 ‘these air roots.’

- (16) *Hangling wíng*,
 air.roots k.o.rope
 ‘the rope you can make from these roots, ...’

- (17) *Te=r-í=ko*,
 3PL=3PL-get.PL=OBV
 ‘they get them and then, ...’

- (18) [jaring],
 [net]
 ‘nets, ...’

(jaring is Indonesian for ‘net’, used here by the bilingual speaker)

- (19) *táng*,
 k.o.net
 ‘táng nets, ...’

- (20) *táng* *te=ti-ti*.
 k.o.net 3PL=3PL.do-RED
 ‘they make táng nets.’

- (21) *Táng=ing* *te=ti=ko=ra*,
 k.o.net=the 3PL=3PL.do=OBV=also
 ‘They used to make the táng nets, ...’

- (22) *ka-ka=pa*.
 NEG-RED=INSTR
 ‘but no more.’

- (22) *a-*.
 ah
 ‘Mmm.’

- (23) *Lebi* *te=r-í* *li-li=pa* *te=tu*,
 clamshell 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL do-RED=INSTR 3PL=carry.PL
 ‘They get clamshells, and bring them back, ...’

- (24) *te* *móe* *te=r-í* *e* *ti-ti*.
 3PL fish 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED
 ‘and they catch fish.’

- (25) *Te=bà húefa te=te ung a=we.*
3PL=person old 3PL=3PL.do now the=this
'The old people do it now, ...'
- (26) *Te=angku=we=ing te,*
3PL=child=this=the 3PL
'the younger children, ...'
- (27) [bena]=pa te=ti e ti,
[string]=INSTR 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be 3PL.do
'they make them with string, ...'
- (28) *Te Lóng-pa=ing,*
3PL=Enggros=the
'in Enggros, ...'
- (29) *te=bà-hue te lang=ing a=pa te=ti e.*
3PL=person-old 3PL net=the=INSTR 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be
'the old people (still) make the nets.'
- (30) *Lang,*
net
'And nets, ...'
- (31) *à-pè=pe=ing a=pa te=ti e.*
rope-3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT=the=INSTR 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be
'they make the string for them.'
- (32) *Te Lóngpa=pa Te Pa yá-no-tè(=te).*
Enggros=INSTR Tobati thing-work-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT
'(That's) the Enggros' and Tobatis' work.'
- (33) *Ne=Máwo=pa ne=,*
1PL=Mabo=INSTR 1PL
'Us Mabos, we, ...'
- (34) *Te=Tángpe ne=já i ne=ti ka.*
3PL=Skou Yambe 1PL=hit.PL lie.down 1PL=1PL.do NEG
'and the Skou Yambes, we strike but we don't make (them).'

(ká 'hit', or one of its alternants, is used with nets to describe their use, in a productive adjunct nominal construction)

- (35) *Ing a hú nì=li* [ndi],
the story 1SG=do
'That's my story.'
- (36) *Pí=a hú-hú nì=li-li.*
speech=PROM story-RED 1SG=do-RED
'I've told the story.'
- (viii) *Húhú, te Lóng pa pa te Pa húhú te. Táng te ti e ti te húhú pè pe nì li li li. Lang hangling pe pè pe ing a, ke bà hue, te te te jáng jàng pa. Te jàng ko, te rí rí pa te re tu me toe, te rí hí hí tí, te re mong tí ing a ko rong rong pa, hangling pè pe ing a. Hangling wíng, Te rí ko, táng te ti ti. Īng ing te ti ko ra, ka ka pa . Lebi te rí li li pa te tu te móe te rí e ti ti. Ē bà húefa te te ung a we. Te angku we ing te, [bena]*

pa te ti e ti, Tè Lóng pa ing, te bà hue te lang ing a pa te ti e. Lang, à pè pe ing a pa te ti e. Tè Lóngpa pa Te Pa yá no tè te. Ne Máwo pa ne, Te Tángpe ne já i ne ti ka. Ing a hú nì li. Pí a hú hú nì li li.

9 Ang

FISH POISON (16 SECONDS)

Many fish are caught in rivers by means of a poison that is produced from certain tree roots. This short text describes that process.

- (1) [ʔ]Ang,
poison.root
'Poison, ...'
- (2) *ang* *hangling* *te=r-e* *tu* *te*
poison.root root 3PL=3PL-get.PL carry.PL 3SG.F.go
toe *pa.*
3.come water
'They get poison roots and take them to the river.'
- (3) *Te=ueme* *ti* *te=r-í=ko,*
3PL=woman 3PL.do 3PL=3PL-get.PL=OBV
'The women process it, and fetch it, and then, ...'
- (4) *táng=ing,*
k.o.net=DEIC
'the tang nets, ...'
- (5) *te=ueme* *ti* *e* *ti,*
3PL=woman 3PL.do 3PL.be 3PL.do
'the women make them, ...'
- (6) *ne=ue-*,
1PL=wom-
'we wom-, ...'
- (7) *Te=ueme* *te=ti=pa* *te,*
3PL=woman 3PL=3PL.do=INSTR 3SG.F.go
'the women make them until, ...'
- (8) *te,*
3SG.F.go
'until, ...'
- (9) *te=ko* *ka,*
3SG.F.go=OBV NEG
'until they're all used up, ...'
- (10) *ka=pa,*
NEG=INSTR
all gone, and then, ...'

- (11) *te=baléng te=r-é tu te tu pa*
 3PL=man 3PL=3PL-get.PL carry.PL 3SG.F.go carry.PL water
te móa te=r-í e ti-ti.
 3PL fish 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED
 ‘The men bring them down to the river, and catch fish.’
- (12) *Pí=a húhú nì=li.*
 speech story 1SG=do
 ‘I’ve told my story.’
- (ix) *Ang hangling te re tu te toe pa. Te ueme ti te rí ko, táng ing, te ueme ti e ti, te ueme te ti pa te, te bo ka, ka pa, te baléng te ré tu te tu pa te móa te rí e ti ti. Pí a húhú nì li.*

10 Uepong

MARRYING (1 MINUTE 4 SECONDS.)

The following is a fairly self-explanatory piece of autobiography, discussing her particular marriage and married life to a non-Skou person. We can also see the speaker getting distracted towards the end.

- (1) *Uepong nì=li=wi a húhú nì=li-li li.*
 marriage 1SG=do=this story 1SG=do-RED do
 ‘I want to tell a story about when I got married.’
- (2) *Nì ùepong nì=li Te Lóngpa=we=ing.*
 1SG marriage 1SG=do Enggros=this=DEIC
 ‘I married in Enggros.’
- (3) *A.*
 ah
 ‘Mmm.’
- (4) *Ì-ne-nì=ne,*
 father.in.law-1SG.DAT-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT
 ‘My (future) father in law, ...’
- (5) *ke tang=pa ke=ti bàme,*
 3SG.NF canoe=INSTR 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.go village
 ‘he went to our village by canoe, ...’
- (6) *Te Lóng-,*
 Enggr-
 ‘to Enggr- ...’

(the speaker starts to say *Te Lóngpa* ‘Enggros’, the ultimate destination, then realises she has gotten ahead of herself in the story)

- (7) *Te Máwo bàme=pa.*
 Skou Mabo village=INSTR
 ‘to Skou Mabo village.’

(I do not know what the instrumental *=pa* is doing on *bàme* in this clause)

- (8) *Ni=la=pa.* [ni ɿ a pa]
1SG=accompany=INSTR
'I went with him.'
- (9) *Tang=pa,*
canoe=INSTR
'in a canoe, ...'
- (10) *wang ne=te=pa ne=moe=ko ne=ne*
sail 1PL=1PL.go=INSTR 1PL=return=OBV 1PL=1PL.go
ke=ke ka moe toe bàm-,
3SG.NF=get carry return 3.come villag-
'we sailed and went back to (his) villag-, he took me with him, ...'
- (11) *Te Lóngpa bàmè.*
Enggros village
'to Enggros.'
- (12) *Ni=moe loe ni=li Te Lóngpa bàmè [tahun],*
1SG=return come 1SG=do Enggros village [year]
'I went to live in Enggros in, ...'
- (13) [əmpat pulu anam].
[four ten six]
'Nineteen forty-six.'
- (14) *Ni=moe loe ni=li=ing a=ko*
1SG=return come 1SG=do=the=OBV
'I came to the village, and then I, ...'
- (15) *n(ì=)loe,*
1SG=come
'I came, ...'
- (16) [tahun delap-],
[year eigh-]
'in eight, ...'
- (17) [əmpat pulu delapang]=pa ku,
[four ten eight]=INSTR child
'in '48 I had, ...'
- (18) *pe=bàhue ni=tanghang.*
3SG.F=elder.sibling 1SG=face
'I had my first daughter, ...'
- (19) *A ku [cuga],*
ah child [also]
'yes, a child too, ...'
- (20) *ku ni=li,*
child 1SG=do
'I gave birth, ...'
- (21) *na,*
or
'or, ...'

- (22) *ku nì=li* [delapang].
child 1SG=do [eight]
'I had eight children.'
- (23) *Ung a=we*,
now=this
'And now, ...'
- (24) *tata te=bà*,
grandchild 3PL=person
'and grandchildren, ...'
- (25) *tata-nì=ne=pa*,
grandchild-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT=INSTR
'my grandchild, now, ...'
- (26) *ya*,
thing
'whatsit, ...'
- (27) *ku-tè te=bà* [suda] *nawò*.
child-3PL.GEN 3PL=person [already] many
'their kids, there's already a lot of them.'
- (28) *Nì=a moeng li*,
1SG=PROM sit do
'I'm still around, ...'
- (29) *wi a*,
here
'here, ...'
- (30) *ung a*,
now
'now, ...'
- (31) [umur]-*nì=ne* [tuju pulu tiga tahun skarang ini].
[age]-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT [seven ten three year now this]
'I'm seventy three years old now, ...'
- (32) *ung a=we*.
now=this
'now.'
- (33) *Félangro-nì=ne=a=ing*.
year-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT=PROM=DEIC
'That's my age.'
- (34) *Félangro-nì=ne=pí* [tuju pulu tiga tahun] *ung a=we a*.
year-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT=even [seven ten three year] now=this
'I'm seventy three years old now.'
- (x) *Uepong nì li wi a húhú nì li li li. Nì uepong nì li T Lóngpa we ing. Ì ne nì ne, ke tang pa ke ti bàme, Te Máwo bàme pa. Nì la pa. Tang pa, wang ne te pa ne moe ko ne ne ke ke ka moe toe bàme, T Lóngpa bàme. Nì moe loe nì li T e Lóngpa bàme. Nì moe loe nì li ing a ko nì loe, pe bàhue nì tanghang. Ku nì li. Ung a we, tata nì ne, ku tè te bà nawò. Nì a moeng li, wi a. Félangro nì ne pí 73 tahun ung a we a.*

11 Pó

VEGETABLES (1 MINUTE 14 SECONDS)

Skou people practice swidden agriculture, and this text describes the process of clearing, planting and maintaining a garden.

- (1) *Ne líhi ya-no ne=r-oe-roe te*
 1PL garden thing-work 1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED 3SG.F.go
pí=a húhú nì=li.
 speech=PROM story 1SG=do
 ‘I’m telling a story about us going and working in the garden.’
- (2) *Ne líhi náti ne=ne ne=pang-pang.*
 1PL garden new 1PL=1PL.go 1PL=chop.PL-RED
 ‘We clear (it) away to make a new garden.’
- (3) [ε],
 ah
 ‘Ah, ...’
- (4) *ya-pe ne=wí-wí=pa ne=pang-pang=pa,*
 thing-3SG.F.GEN 1PL=get.F-RED=INSTR 1PL=chop.down.PL-RED=INSTR
 ‘we take out its thingies, (the weeds), and chop down (the old branches), ...’
- (5) [εʔ] *ne=wi [no] tàfi í [εʔ] bàng héngtong-tong=pa,*
 1PL=lea- -ve stand yesterday three-RED=INSTR
 ‘then we leave it stand for, oh, three days, ...’
- (6) *ne=ne rá ne=ti-ti.*
 1PL=1PL.go fire 1PL=1PL.do-RED
 ‘then we go and set fire to it, ...’
- (7) *Rá è=ko líhi=ing, [lihĩŋ]*
 fire burn=OBV garden=DEIC
 ‘The fire burns in the garden, ...’
- (9) *péng-péng=pa.*
 clean-RED=INSTR
 ‘clears (it) out.’
- (10) *Ne=ne ya ne=r-oe-roe lí(hi)=ing rong tue.*
 1PL=1PL.go thing 1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED garden=DEIC old 3SG.F.do
 ‘We go and collect all the things that are in the old garden.’
- (11) *Ìno tong=pa,*
 banana shoot=INSTR
 ‘Shoots of a banana tree, ...’
- (12) *nále-tong=pa,*
 taro-shoots=INSTR
 ‘taro shoots, ...’
- (13) *pó-weng-tong=ra,*
 vegetable-gedi-shoots=also
 ‘gedi shoots, ...’

- (14) *rángueke=pa*,
sweet.potato=INSTR
'sweet potatoes, ...'
- (15) *ne=r-óe-róe líhi ri-rong=pa.*
1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED garden tree-old=INSTR
'we get them all from the old garden.'
- (16) *Ne=n-a toe ne=wá-wá lí(hi) náti=ing a.*
1PL=1PL-carry 1PL.come 1PL=plant-RED garden new=the
'We bring them there and plant them in the new garden, ...'
- (17) *Ne=wá loeng-loeng=pa,*
1PL=plant finish-RED=INSTR
'we plant them all, ...'
- (18) *ne=wi tàfi te,*
1PL=leave 3SG.F.go
'we leave it, and ...'
- (19) *=ko,*
=OBV
'later, ...'
- (20) *ya-na ùe-ùe=pa,*
thing-or old-RED=INSTR
'when they've more or less all ripened, ...'
- (21) *ne=ne n-a=ing a r-óe-róe ìno n-a=ing*
1PL=1PL.go 1PL-carry=the 1PL-get.PL-RED banana 1PL-carry=DEIC
ne=r-óe-róe,
1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED
'we go and get them, we collect them, carrying the bananas away, ...'
- (22) *nále n(e)=ing-ing ne=r-oe-roe,*
taro 1PL=pull/dig.up-RED 1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED
'we dig up the taro and take it out, ...'
- (23) *è=ko líhi=ing,*
burn=OBV garden=DEIC
'and burn off the garden, ...'
- (24) *líhi rong- rong=pa.*
garden old- old=INSTR
'the old- the old garden, and.'
- (25) *Hang,*
coconut
'Coconuts, ...'
- (26) *hang jàng=pa,*
coconut old=INSTR
'and old coconuts, ...'
- (27) *pe=úe=pa ya ne=n-a=ko wá-wá.*
3SG.F=ripe=INSTR thing 1PL=1PL-carry=OBV plant-RED
'when they're become ripe we take them, and then think about planting.'

- (28) *Péngue=ing=pa,*
mango=DEIC=INSTR
'Mangoes, and, ...'
- (29) *hang=pa pe mong na=ing a mong-mong tue.*
coconut=INSTR 3SG.F sit.F or=the sit.F-RED 3SG.F.do
'coconuts, because they're there, they're there.'
- (30) *Ne=n-a=pa w-a=ko,*
1PL=1PL-carry=OBV 3SG.F-walk=OBV
'We take them, and then, ...'
- (31) *ne=wá=ko ne=wá loeng=pa.*
1PL=plant=OBV 1PL=plant finish=INSTR
'we plant them, until they're all done.'
- (32) *Ne=wi tàfi te=pa,*
1PL=leave 3SG.F.go=INSTR
'We just leave them to grow, ...'
- (33) *te=angku-*
3PL=child-
- (34) *-nè=ne te=t-ang e.*
-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT 3PL=3PL-eat 3PL.be
'and our children can eat (the produce).'
- (xi) *Ne líhi yano ne roe roe te pí a húhú nì li. Ne líhi náti ne ne ne pang pang. Ya pe ne wí wí pa ne pang pang pa, ne wi tà fi í bàng héngtong-tong pa, ne ne rá ne ti ti. Rá è ko líhi ing, péng péng pa. Ne ne ya ne roe roe líhi ing rong tue. Ìno tong pa, nále tong pa, póweng tong ra, rángueke pa, ne róa róa líhi ri rong pa. Ne na toe ne wá líhi náti ing a. Ne wá loeng loeng pa, ne wi tàfi te ko, ya na ùe ùe pa, ne ne na ing a róa róa ìno na ing ne róa róa, nále ne ing ing ne roe roe, è ko líhi rong rong pa. Hang jàng pa, pe úe pa ya ne na ko wá wá. Péngue ing pa, hang pa pe mong na ing a mong mong tue. Ne na pa ne wá ko ne wá loeng pa. Ne wi tàfi te pa, te angku nè ne te tang e.*

12 Mòe

FISH (55 SECONDS)

Fishing contributes a significant portion of the protein in the Skou people's diet, and this narration describes the way men catch fish in groups from boats and bring them home to the village.

- (1) *Ne móe ne=yú ne ti-ti.*
1PL fish 1PL=search.for 1PL.be 1PL.do-RED
'We go looking for fish.'
- (2) *Ne=ueme ne,*
1PL=woman 1PL
'Us women, ...'

- (3) *móe-há.*
fish-what
'any sort of fish.'
- (4) *Núng ne=r-oe-roe=pa.*
k.o.net 1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED=INSTR
'We take our nets, ...'
- (5) *Ne=r-oe=ra ne,*
1PL=1PL-get.PL=also 1PL.go
'we get them, and then go, ...'
- (6) *núng ne=ne-ne [ʔaʔ]=pa.*
k.o.net 1PL=1PL.go-RED ʔ=INSTR
'we [ʔ] the nets and go, ...'
- (7) *Pa-loeng,*
river-road
'to the river, ...'
- (8) *hángpeng=wi a=pa,*
bush=this=INSTR
'or to the bush, and
- (9) *móe ne=r-oe-roe=pa ne=n-a me toe-toe*
fish 1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED=INSTR 1PL=1PL-walk PL.return 3.come-RED
bàme.
village
'we take the fish and bring them back to the village.'
- (10) *Te=baléng te=híng tang te=hì tang=pa,*
3PL=man 3PL=different canoe 3SG.PL=go.down canoe=INSTR
'The men do it differently, they go down to canoes, they go by canoe
- (11) *ná te=y-ú=ko te=te-te,*
paddle 3PL=3PL-paddle=OBV 3PL=3PL.go-RED
'they go paddling
- (12) *já lo.e=a=fue a,*
sea seaward=PROM=that
'they go out to sea, ...'
- (13) *à te=r-í ya=ing=pa móe te=r-í*
rope 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL thing=INSTR fish 3PL=3PL-get.PL
e ti-te.
3PL.be 3PL.do-RED
'they get them, the things, they get fish with those things.'
- (14) *Te táng w-a te=r-í e ti te a,*
3PL net 3SG.F-pull 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL 3PL.be 3PL.do 3PL.go
'They get the nets that they've been pulling, ...'
- (15) *táfà te=r-í e ti,*
all 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL 3PL.be 3PL.do
'they get all kinds, ...'

- (16) *móe hápa=ra te=r-í e ti.*
 fish little=also 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL 3PL.be 3PL.do
 ‘they get little fish too.’
- (17) *Te=r-í=ko tang=ing pì ung=pa*
 3PL=3PL-get.PL=OBV canoe=DEIC full now=INSTR
 ‘They get them in and fill up the canoe, ...’
- (18) *te=r-e tu me hoe toe báng=pa,*
 3PL=3PL-get carry.PL 3PL.return come.landwards 3.come beach=INSTR
 ‘they carry them back to the beach, and, ...’
- (19) *ne=a te=angku te=te tang te=wí-wí=pa,*
 3PL=PROM 3PL=child 3PL=3PL.go canoe 3PL=get.F-RED=INSTR
 ‘we, all the children, we pull in the canoe, and, ...’
- (20) *te=angku tang te=wí tu hoe toe wí*
 3PL=child canoe 3PL=get.F carry.PL come.landwards 3.come get.F
lopí hángto ùepi=wi a=pa.
 south sand dry=this=INSTR
 ‘the children pull the canoe up on the beach, to the dry sand, and then, ...’
- (21) *Móe=ing te=r-í=ko te=ko ti-ti*
 fish=DEIC 3PL=3PL-get.PL=OBV 3SG.F.go=OBV 3PL.do-RED
te=angku=pa yong=ing te-r-é tu me
 3PL=child=INSTR food=DEIC 3PL=3PL-get.PL carry.PL 3PL.return
te-te pá,
 3PL.go-RED house
 ‘they take the fish and the children get some food, and take it to the house,
 and, ...’
- (22) *te=ueme=pa,*
 3PL=woman=INSTR
 ‘with th women, ...’
- (23) *te=angku=pa,*
 3PL=child=INSTR
 ‘and with the children, ...’
- (24) *-tè=te,*
 -3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT
 ‘their ones, ...’
- (25) *te=t-ang-tang pá.*
 3PL=3PL-eat-RED house
 ‘they eat it at home.’

- (xii) *Ne móe ne yú ne ti ti. Ne ueme ne, móe há, núng ne roe roe pa. Ne roe ra ne, núng ne ne ne pa. Paloeng, hángpeng wi a pa, móe ne roe roe pa ne na me toe toe bàme. Te baléng te híng tang te hí tang pa, ná te yú ko te te te, já lo.e a fue a, à te rí ya ing pa móe te rí e ti te. Te Tangwa te rí e ti te a, táfà te rí e ti, móe hápa ra te rí e ti. Te rí ko tang ing pì ung pa te re tu me hoe toe báng pa, ne a te angku te te tang te wí wí pa, te angku tang te wí tu hoe toe wí lopi hángto ùepi wi a pa. Móe ing te rí ko te ko ti ti te angku pa yong ing te ré tu me te te pá te ueme pa, te angku tè te pa, te tang tang pá.*

13 Móe II

FISH, II (40 SECONDS)

This story describes the way women collect fresh-water fish, in smaller groups and with less fanfare (but more consistent results) than the male fishing style described in the previous text.

- (1) *Ne=ueme ne núng ne=r-óe=ko,*
1PL=woman 1PL k.o.net 1PL=1PL-get.PL=OBV
'We women get the nets, and then, ...'
- (2) *ne=r-óe n-a ne báng=pa,*
1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL-walk 1PL.go beach=INSTR
'we take them down to the beach, and, ...'
- (3) *ke=ing atakúkú=pa móewángto=pa ne=r-óe=ko*
3SG.NF=DEIC fish(sp.)=INSTR fish(sp.)=INSTR 1PL=1PL-get.PL=OBV
ne=r-óe=ko ne=hì [p]wá.
1PL=1PL-get.PL=OBV 1PL=go.down carrying.basket
'there we get atakúkú fish, and móewángto fish, and put them in our baskets.'
- (4) *Ne=r-óe [h]ì wá=ko,*
1PL=1PL-get.PL go.down carrying.basket=OBV
'We put them in the basket, and then, ...'

(*ne r-óe i wá ko* would also have been grammatical, with *i* being the verb 'lie down, be at'. The tone on the high vowel in the clause is, however, clearly falling, and this is enough clue to inform speakers that this is a case of the *h* being dropped from the verb *hì*)

- (5) *ne núng ne=ne=ko ne,*
1PL k.o.net 1PL=1PL.be=OBV 1PL
'we go back to the nets, and then we, ...'
- (6) *móe ne=r-óe-r-óe=pa,*
fish 1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED=INSTR
'catch some more fish, and, ...'
- (7) *ne=r-óe n-a moe ne bàme.*
1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL-walk return 1PL.go village
'we take them back to the village.'
- (8) *Ne=r-óe n-a moe ne bàme,*
1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL-walk return 1PL.go village
'We take them back to the village, ...'

(Here the 1PL form of the verb ‘go’ is given as *ne*, not the expected *ti*. That this form was intended as ‘go’, and not ‘be’, was checked with the narrator)

- (9) *ne=hì te,*
1PL=go.down 3SG.F.go
‘and we put them down, ...’
- (10) *=pa te=angku te=pa ne=n-ang-nang.*
=INSTR 3PL=child 3PL=INSTR 1PL=1PL-eat-RED
‘and then, with the children, we eat them.’
- (11) [əw],
erm
‘Erm, ...’
- (12) *Núng ne=r-óe=pa n-a hoe,*
k.o.net 1PL=1PL-get.PL=INSTR 1PL-walk go.landwards
‘We take our nets and go south, ...’
- (13) *n-a hoe,*
1PL-walk go.landwards
‘we go inland, ...’
- (14) *ne hángpeng,*
1PL.go bush
‘we go to the bush, ...’
- (15) *ke=(i)ng tapíue=ing a,*
3SG.NF=DEIC fish(sp.)=the
‘there, for the tapíue fish, ...’
- (a tapíue fish is a small freshwater fish found in the Skou area)
- (16) *te pa ko í i li ke=ing tapíue=ing a,*
3SG.F.go river flow pool be do 3SG.NF=DEIC fish(sp.)=the
‘to a river that flows and forms a pool, and there, the tapíue fish, ...’
- (the last word is pronounced as [ta'pyuŋja: a:], showing considerable assimilation of features across segments)
- (17) *núng=ing,*
k.o.net=DEIC
- (18) *ne=r-óe hò te pa.*
1PL=1PL-get.PL go.down 3SG.F.go river
‘we take our hand nets and go to the river.’
- (19) *Tapíue ne=r-óe-róe=pa.*
fish(sp.) 1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED=INSTR
‘We catch lots of tapíue fish.’
- (20) *Ne=hì=ko wá pe=ing=ko ne=r-óe n-a*
1PL=go.down carrying.basket 3SG.F=DEIC=OBV 1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL-walk
moe ne,
return 1PL.go
‘We put them in our carrying baskets, and then we walk back, ...’

- (21) *te=è=ko,*
3PL=cook=OBV
'and they cook them, ...'
- (22) *te=angku te=pa ne=n-ang-nang,*
3PL=child 3PL=INSTR 1PL-eat-RED
'and then we eat them with all the little children.'
- (xiii) *Ne ueme ne núng ne róa ko, ne róa na ne báng pa, ke ing atakúkú pa móewángto pa ne róa ko ne róa ko ne hí wá. Ne róa hí wá ko, ne núng ne ne ko ne, móe ne róa róa pa, ne róa na moe ne bàme. Ne róa na moe ne bàme, ne hí te pa te angku te pa ne nang nang. Núng ne róa pa na hoe ne hángpeng, ke ing tapíue ing a, te pa ko í i lí ke ing tapíue ing a, núng ing ne róa hí te pa. Típíue ne róa róa pa. Ne hí ko wá pe ing ko ne róa na moe ne, te è ko, te angku te pa ne nang nang.*

14 Kóeng bang tue

BROKEN TEETH (1 MINUTE 50 SECONDS)

A month prior to the recording of this story in early 2002 the speaker had an accident returning to her home in Abepura from a visit to church in Sentani. As a result of this she suffered several broken teeth, cuts to her face, and broke her glasses. This text describes what happened in the accident, and what happened after the event.

- (1) *Nì húhú nì=li-li li.*
1SG story 1SG=do-RED do
'I want to tell a story.'
- (2) *Kóeng-nì=ne=we(=ra) fèng,*
tooth-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT=this=also bad
'My teeth were ruined, ...'
- (3) *lúto=we=ra fèng,*
eye=this=also bad
'these eyes too were ruined, ...'
- (4) *pí a húhú nì=li-li.*
language the story 1SG=do-RED
'that's the story that I'm going to tell.'
- (5) [a:],
ah
'Ah, ...'
- (6) *nì=e [motor],*
1SG=travel.by [motorbike]
'I went by motorbike, ...'

(*motor* is Papua Malay for 'motorbike', used here first and corrected to Skou in the following line)

- (7) *tang-hápang,*
canoe-motorbike
'a motorbike.'

- (8) *Ne=ne,*
1PL=1PL.go
'We went, ...'
- (9) *lú pong-pong ya ne=ti=pa,*
eye shut-RED thing 1PL=1PL.do=INSTR
'We had finished praying, and ...'
- (10) *ne=hí ne=ti ne,*
1PL=go.down 1PL=1PL.go 1PL.be
'were going back down (to Abepura), ...'
- (11) *te=Húngfa=pa ne=moe e tue,*
3PL=Sentani=INSTR 1PL=return 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do
'from Sentani, so we were returning, ...'
- (12) *nì=ku [ɣ]í re*
1SG=fall go.down go
'and I fell off, ...'
- (13) *[motor]=pa, nì=ku hí re.*
[motorbike]=INSTR 1SG=fall go.down go
'I fell off the motorbike.'
- (14) *Nì=ku [ɣ]í re,*
1SG=fall go.down go
'So I fell down, and ...'
- (15) *lúto-tangpaya=we=pí=ra [ɣ]a fèng,*
eye-glasses=this=even=also become bad
'these glasses were ruined, ...'
- (16) *a,*
ah
'ah, ...'
- (17) *Kóeng-nì=ne=we=pí=ra báng tue=ko ka*
tooth-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT=this=even=also break 3SG.F.do=OBV NEG
'And (my) teeth broke, they were no more.'
- (18) *Nì=moe loe,*
1SG=return come
'I came back home, ...'
- (19) *Nì=lóeng te=angku-nì=ne,*
1SG=say 3PL=child-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT
'and I said to my children,'
- (20) *"A, taíngbe ka,*
ah money NEG
'"Oh, I don't have any money, ...'
- (21) [ɾjesemblari] *nì=la re kóeng=we,*
?? 1SG=acquire go tooth=this
'give me some and I'll go and these teeth, ...'

(noone who has listened to this tape has any idea what the first four syllables in this line are, including the speaker, who denies having uttered them)

- (22) *náti te=r-é fa-fa.*
 new 3PL=3PL-fit USE-RED
 ‘I’ll get some new (false ones) fitted.’
- (23) [Jari],
 [so]
 ‘So, ...’
- (24) *Lúto-tangpaya=we héfèng te=we nì-ne.*
 eye-glasses=this good 3PL=get 1SG.GEN-1SG.DAT
 ‘I’ll get some good glasses for myself.’
- (25) *Te=n-í, “Taíngbe ka.”*
 3PL=3PL-tell money NEG
 ‘They told (me), “We don’t have any money.”’
- (26) *Nì=moe=pa*
 1SG=return=INSTR
 ‘I returned home, and ...’
- (27) *hue=pa,*
 stomach=INSTR
 ‘thought and, ...’
- (28) *fue nì=li=pa*
 cry 1SG=do=INSTR
 ‘I cried, and ...’
- (29) *hue palang,*
 stomach think
 ‘thought about it, ...’
- (30) *hue palang nì=oeng*
 stomach thing 1SG=remember
 ‘I thought and ...’
- (31) *Nì=lóeng Ta- “Ái!*
 1SG=say grand-(=God) father(=God)
 ‘I said “Go- ... Lord!”’

(*Tata* ‘grandfather’ is the term commonly used for ‘God’, but this speaker decided after starting to use a more intimate *Ái* here)

- (32) *Nì=fa=pí nì=lóeng i li.*
 1SG=only=even 1SG=say be do
 ‘It is me who is talking.’
- (33) *Taíngbe mèt=a=p-óe p-eng,*
 money 2SG=FOC=2SG-get.PL 2SG-give
 ‘If you send some money to me, ...’
- (34) *nì=loe a re,*
 1SG=fetch carry go
 ‘I will take it, and ...’
- (35) *Lúto-tangpaya nì=wí-wí,*
 eye-glasses 1SG=get.F-RED
 ‘get some new glasses, ...’

- (36) *kóeng ya nì=wí héfèng te=r-e fa-fa,*
tooth thing 1SG=get.F good 3PL=3PL-fit USE-RED
'and those tooth things, I'll get some good ones and they can fit them, ...'
- (37) *kóeng náti te=r-í.*
tooth new 3PL=3PL-get.PL
'they'll put in some new teeth.'
- (38) *Nì=moeng=ko,*
1SG=sit=OBV
'I waited, ...'
- (39) *ké áling,*
moon one
'for one month, ...'
- (40) *ke=toe=pa,*
3SG.NF=3SG.NF.come=INSTR
'and then he came, and, ...'
- (41) *a,*
ah
'ah, ...'
- (42) *ke=angku-nì=ne ke=k-á i te,*
3SG.NF=child=1SG.GEN-1SG.DAT 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk 3SG.NF.be 3SG.F.go
'my son came up, ...'

(note the disagreement between 'be' and 'go' in this clause)

- (43) *jéng hangbang=fue a ke=k-á=ko toe.*
place far=that 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk=OBV 3SG.NF.come
'from a distant land he came.'
- (44) *Ke=angku=wi,*
3SG.NF=child=this
'This son of mine, ...'
- (45) *nì=fue-lang ka,*
1SG=see-recognise NEG
'I didn't recognise him, ...'
- (46) *ke=bà nì=fue-lang ka,*
3SG.NF=person 1SG=see-recognise NEG
'I didn't recognise this man, ...'
- (47) *Ái lóeng=ko ke=toe,*
father say=OBV 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.come
'God arranged for him to come, ...'
- (48) *ke=a=toe=pa,*
3SG.NF=FOC=3SG.NF.come=INSTR
'and he came, and then ...'
- (49) *taíngbe ke=loe léng nì=a re.*
money 3SG.NF=get.PL give 1SG-fetch go
'he gave money to me.'

- (50) *Lúto-tangpaya=we nì=wí,*
eye-glasses=this 1SG=get.F
'I got this money, ...'
- (51) *kóeng=a ung=a=pa te=lé e ti.*
tooth=FOC now=FOC=INSTR 3PL=chop.down 3PL.be 3PL.do
'and now they're taking out these teeth.'
- (52) *Fé na fétang=pí ung,*
tomorrow or day.after.tomorrow=even now
'Tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow, ...'
- (53) *kóeng=we te=wí fa-fa ti,*
tooth=this 3PL=get.F USE-RED 3PL.do
'they'll pull out these teeth, ...'
- (54) *taíngbe ke=a loe leng.*
money 3SG.NF=FOC get.PL give
'he gave the money.'
- (55) *Aa.*
mm
'Mmm.'
- (56) *Nì Áì pí nì=lóeng i li-li.*
1SG father speech 1SG=say be do-RED
'I was asking God.'
- (57) *Ke=k-á hangbang=ko ke=k-á nè-ne=ko*
3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk far=OBV 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk where-RED=OBV
ke=toe?
3SG.NF=3SG.NF.come
'He came from where is it, where he came from?'
- (58) *A,*
well
'Anyway, ...'
- (59) *ke=a ke=toe=pa,*
3SG.NF=FOC 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.come=INSTR
'he came, ...'
- (60) *kóeng=we ke=fu te fèng.*
tooth=this 3SG.NF=see 3SG.F.go bad
'he saw that these teeth were ruined, ...'
- (61) *lúto-tangpaya=we=ra fèng,*
eye-glasses=this=also bad
'that these glasses too were ruined, ...'
- (62) *a ke=wò=lóeng,*
ah 3SG.NF=EMPH=say
'and he himself said, ...'

(The pitch on *ke=wò=lóeng* is 55 44 22, with the fall of *wò* dominating the word)

- (63) *nì=ra=wa ka,*
1SG=also=beg NEG
'I didn't beg him, ...'
- (64) *nì=wa ka=pa,*
1SG=beg NEG=INSTR
'I didn't beg, but straight away ...'
- (65) *ke=ra=wò=lóeng*
3SG.NF=also=EMPH=say
'he was the one who said'
- (66) *"Taíngbe nì=a=loe leng=pa p-oe ma-me.*
money 1SG=FOC=get.PL give=INSTR 2SG-get.PL mother-2SG.DAT
'I'll give you some money, mother.'
- (67) *Ya-nì lúto-tangpaya te=we fa-fa,*
thing-1SG.GEN eye-glasses 3PL=get USE-RED
'They will fit some glasses for me, ...'
- (68) *kóeng=ra,*
tooth=also
'and teeth, ...'
- (69) *kóeng náti te=r-e hi=hi.*
tooth new 3PL=3PL-fit go.down=RED
'they're going to put in some new teeth.'
- (70) *Te=angku-nì=ne [héran] te=ti,*
3PL=child-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT [surprise] 3PL=3PL.do
'My children were [heran], ...'

(*heran* is Indonesian for 'be surprised', used here by the bilingual speaker, who repeats the sentence in Skou in the next line)

- (71) *pí te=n-i e ti.*
surprise 3PL=3PL-tell 3PL.be 3PL.do
'they were surprised.'
- (xiv) *Nì húhú nì li li li. Kóeng nì ne we ra fèng, lúto we ra fèng, pí a húhú nì li li. Nì e tanghá pang. Ne ne, lú pong pong ya ne ti pa, ne hí ne ti ne, te Húngfa pa ne moe e tue, nì ku hí re pa, nì ku hí re. Nì ku hí re, lúto tangpaya we pí ra wa fèng, a, wì ta jí. Kóeng nì ne we pí ra báng tue ko ka Nì moe loe, Nì lóeng te angku nì ne, "A, taíngbe ka, nì la re kóeng we, náti te ré fafa. Ing a lúto tangpaya we héfèng te we nì ne. Te ní, "Taíngbe ka." Nì moe pa hue pa, fue nì li pa hue palang, hue palang nì oeng Nì lóeng "Ái! Nì fa pí nì lóeng i li. Taíngbe mè a pòe peng, nì loe a re, lúto tangpaya nì wí wí, kóeng ya nì wí, héfèng te re fafa, kóeng náti te rí. Nì moeng ko, ké áling, ke toe pa, ke angku nì ne ke ká i te, jéng hangbang fue a ke ká ko toe. Ke angku wi, nì fuelang ka, ke bà nì fuelang ka, Ái lóeng ko ke toe, ke a toe pa, taíngbe ke loe lé nì a re. Lúto tangpaya we nì wí, kóeng a ung a pa te lé e ti. Fé na fétang pí ung, kóeng we te wí fafa ti, taíngbe ke a loe leng. Nì Ái pí nì lóeng i li li. Ke ká hangbang ko ke ká nè ne ko ke toe? Ke a ke toe pa, kóeng we ke fu te fèng, lúto tangpaya we ra fèng, ke wò lóeng, nì ra wa ka, nì wa ka pa, ke ra wò lóeng*

“Taíngbe nì a loe leng pa poe ma me. Ya nì lúto tangpaya te we fafa, kóeng ra, kóeng náti te re hè hè. Te angku nì ne pí te ni e ti.

15 Te Táng pìng-tè

WORLD WAR II (2 MINUTES 20 SECONDS)

The Second World War came to the Skou people as a shock, not so much for the fighting it brought, which was minimal in the region, but for the pace of introduction of new things. The exchange of the Japanese for the Dutch was not such a change, and, as this story relates, was in the main peaceful (though some people did lose their lives). When an airstrip was built, however, in the land now known as Skou Yo about half a kilometre south of Skou Mabo (and immediately behind the offices of the *camat* for *Muara Tami* subdistrict), the shock of having the first planes land amongst them was so great that many Skou residents fled, never to return. Some ran up the Tami river and moved inland to Nyao, others east to Wutung, and some more vanished into the jungle and presumably perished.

- (1) *Te=táng te=hòe toe fítong-nè=ne te=wí*
 3PL=bird 3PL=come.landward 3.come land-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT 3PL=get.F
pí=a hú nì=li i li.
 speech=PROM story 1SG=do be do
 ‘I’m going to tell a story about the Indonesians coming and taking our land.’
- (2) *Lópa,*
 earlier
 ‘Before, ...’
- (3) *ne,*
 1PL
 ‘we, ...’
- (4) *te=bà Balanda te=pa ne=moeng.*
 3PL=person Holland 3PL=INSTR 1PL=sit
 ‘we lived together with the Dutch, ...’
- (5) *Ne=moeng=ko ka=ing=pa,*
 1PL=sit=OBV NEG=DEIC=INSTR
 ‘We lived like that until, ...’
- (6) [taung əmpat pulu əmpat]
 [year four ten four]
 ‘nineteen forty four, ...’
- (7) [baru] *Jepang hoe toe.*
 [and.then] Japan come.landwards 3.come
 ‘then the Japanese came.’
- (8) *Jepa[ŋ] hoe toe,*
 Japan come.landwards 3.come
 ‘So the Japanese came, ...’

- (9) *te=pa ne=moeng,*
3PL=INSTR 1PL=sit
'and then we lived with them, ...'
- (10) *ya-no ya ne=ti=pa n-ang ne,*
things thing 1PL=1PL.do=INSTR 1PL-eat 1PL.be
'we'd do things, and eat, ...'
- (11) *yano fèng te=ti ka,*
thing bad 3PL=3PL.do NEG
'they didn't do bad things, ...'
- (12) *te=pa ne=lúe=pa ya ne=n-ang ne.*
3PL=INSTR 1PL=together=INSTR thing 1PL=1PL-eat 1PL.be
'we'd eat together.'
- (13) *Te=ní=ko,*
3PL=[...]=OBV
They'd [...] and then, ...'
- (14) *yano ne=r-óe ne,*
things 1PL=get.PL 1PL.be
'we'd collect things, ...'
- (15) *Skou Yo hángpeng,*
Skou Yo bush
'in the bush at Skou Yo, ...'
- (16) *hángpeng-nè=ne.*
bush-1PL.POSS=1PL.DAT
'our bush.'
- (17) *Ta bápáli ke=i li Skou Yo.*
elephant.grass big 3SG.NF=be.at do Skou Yo
'There was a lot of elephant grass there at Skou Yo.'
- (note the very unusual use of *i* as a main verb here, indicating the 'lying' of the grass)
- (18) *Fue a.*
there
'Over there.'
- (19) *Ya-no ne=r-óe ne te=ueme=pa te=balèng=pa,*
thing-work 1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL.be 3PL=woman=INSTR 3PL=man=INSTR
'We did a lot of work, us, the women and the men, ...'
- (20) *ya-no ne=r-óe ne=ing a.*
thing-work 1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL=the
'We did the work, we did.'
- (21) *Pesawa-tè=te pe=ra-rapue ke=ing a.*
plane-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT 3SG.F=also-descend 3SG.NF=the
'Their plane even landed there.'

- (22) *Pe=rapue=pa* *hì* *toe* *e=ing a*
 3SG.F=descend=INSTR go.down 3.come 3SG.F.be=the
ya *pe=r-ú* *pu=pa* *toe* *fue e=ing a.*
 thing 3SG.F=3SG.F-lay 3SG.F.carry=INSTR 3.come that=the
 ‘It came down there, and that’s why it put out all its things there.’
- (23) [Ya],
 well
 ‘Well, ...’
- (24) *ya-no* *ne=r-óe=ko=ka=ing=pa,*
 thing-work 1PL=1PL-get.PL=OBV=FOC=DEIC=INSTR
 ‘we did this work, and ...’
- (25) *Amerika=we* [landing] *te=ti,*
 America=this [landing] 3PL=3PL.do
 ‘the American (force)s landed, ...’
- (26) *te=rapue* *hì* *toe.*
 3PL=descend go.down 3.come
 ‘they landed.’
- (27) *Te=hoe* *toe,*
 3PL-come.landwards 3.come
 ‘So they came, ...’
- (28) *tu* *jíngpa e* *tue=we a* *te=hoe* *toe,*
 ship fly 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do=this 3PL-come.landwards 3.come
 ‘the plane flew in and landed, ...’
- (29) *pìng-*,
 war-
 ‘and war, ...’
- (30) *pìng* *te=r-ú,*
 war 3PL=3PL-release
 ‘they waged war, ...’
- (31) *te=r-ú* *e=pa,*
 3PL=3PL-release 3PL.be=INSTR
 ‘they fought, ...’
- (32) *te=bà Jepang=ing a* *te=jí* *e.*
 3PL=person Japan=the 3PL=hit.PL 3PL.be
 ‘they killed the Japanese.’
- (33) *Te=tú=pa* *te=jí=ko* *ka=ing=pa* *te=moe*
 3PL=3PL.bring=INSTR 3PL=hit.PL=OBV NEG=DEIC=INSTR 3PL=return
y-atà.
 3PL-run
 ‘They brought them (= weapons and equipment) and killed them all, and then they ran home.’
- (34) *Te=moe* *y-atà=ing a,*
 3PL=return 3PL=run=the
 ‘When they went home, ...’

- (35) *ne=ra* [iko],
1PL=also [accompany]
'we went along as well, ...'
- (36) *ne=ra=la* *tì=pa* *ne=moe* *n-a tà.*
1PL=also=accompany 1PL.go=INSTR 1PL=return 1PL=walk running
'we too went along with them, and ran home.'
- (37) *Ne=moe* *n-atà=ko* *te* *ka-ung* *ne=moe* *n-atà*
1PL=return 1PL-run=OBV 3SG.F.go now 1PL=return 1PL-run
hì *toe* *Tangwáto,*
go.down 3.come Tangwato
'We ran back, now we ran back down to Tangwato, ...'
- (38) *báng,*
beach
'the beach, ...'
- (39) *pí=wi a,*
mountain=this
'at this mountain, ...'
- (40) *ne* *ka-ung* *ne=moe* *hoe* *ne* *Te Jáwung,*
1PL now 1PL=return come.landwards 1PL.go Nyao
'and then we came back to Nyao, ...'
- (41) *fue a,*
there
'over there, ...'
- (42) *te* *ka-ung* *te=me* *e* *ti* *Te Óeti.*
3PL now 3PL=return. 3PL.be 3PL.do Wutung
'they were going back to Wutung.'
- (43) *Ne=moe* *ne=moe=ing a=ko,*
1PL=return 1PL=return=the=OBV
'We came back, and after we returned, then, ...'
- (44) *Amerika=ing a* *hóe* [landeng] *te=toe* *te=ti*
America=the come.landward [landing] 3PL=3.come 3PL=3PL.do
pìng te=ti=ko,
war 3PL=3PL.do=OBV
'America came, they arrived, and they waged war, ...'
- (45) *Jepang=ing a* *te=me=ko* *ka=pa.*
Japan-the 3PL=PL.return=OBV NEG=INSTR
'the Japanese all went home, and there weren't any left.'
- (46) *Te=rapue* *hì* *te bàme=we* *te=tue* *pí=ko,*
3PL=descend go.down 3PL=village=this 3PL=come fall=OBV
'They_{America} flew down to this village, they fell down, ...'
- (47) *héfèng=pa,*
good=INSTR
'it was alright, ...'

- (48) *ne te=t-é r-í=ko ne te=r-e toe*
 1PL 3PL=3PL-speak 3PL-get.PL=OBV 1PL 3PL=3PL-PL.stand 3.come
moe toe.
 return 3.come
 ‘They called us, and then they were there and we all went home.’

- (49) *Ne te=r-e toe moe toe*
 1PL 3PL=3PL-get.F 3.come return 3.come
ne=moe bàme=pa,
 1PL=return village=INSTR
 ‘Then they brought us back to the village, and , ...’

(The use of *re* for ‘get’ is irregular, and not part of the prescriptive paradigm for the verb. We can note the use of *rí* for 3PL in the complex lexeme *mòng wí* ‘be hit’, in which the verb is related to *wé* ‘get (feminine object)’. Although the plural forms of *wé* do not regularly inflect by prefix, the existence of a distinct inflection in the complex lexeme is support for the idea that the language previously had a more complex paradigm for *wé*, which in some older speakers, such as the narrator of this story, is still occasionally realised, even though it is prescriptively bad)

- (50) *Amerika te=fa=j-a,*
 America 3PL=only=3PL-hit,
 ‘the Americans made it, ...’
- (51) *lòengma te=wí=ko Nofé w-a=ko=ra te*
 road 3PL=get.F=OBV Jayapura 3SG.F-walk=OBV=also 3SG.F.go
hì Te Húng w-a=ko te [Genyem]=fue a
 go.down Sentani 3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F.go Genyem=that
w-a=ko te Te Máwo.
 3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F.go Skou Mabo
 ‘they built the road that goes from Jayapura, goes (over and) down to Sentani, over to Genyem, and goes to Skou Mabo.’
- (52) *Ing a,*
 the
 ‘So, ...’
- (53) *ya-lilipa héfèng Amerika=fa ti=ko héfèng*
 thing-all.things good America=only 3PL.do=OBV good
ne=a moeng=ko tue e.
 1PL=PROM sit=OBV 3SG.F.do 3SG.F.be
 ‘all sorts of good things, the Americans were the ones who fixed them up, and we just stayed in place.’
- (54) *Ya,*
 well
 ‘Well, ...’
- (55) *Amerika te=hòe toe pìng te=ti,*
 America 3PL=arrive 3.come war 3PL=3PL.do
 ‘America came and waged war, ...’

- (56) *te=bà Jepang* *te=jí* *e*
 3PL=person Japan 3PL=hit.PL 3PL.be
ne=bà Moe *te=jí* *ka.*
 1PL=person Papua 3PL=hit.PL NEG
 ‘They killed the Japanese, but they didn’t kill us Papuans.’
- (57) *Ne=a* *moeng* *te=toe* *e.*
 1PL=PROM sit 3PL=3.come 3PL/be
 ‘We just stayed here, and they came.’
- (58) *Te=bà Amerika* *te=bà* [kaya]=wò,
 3PL=person America 3PL=person [rich]=EMPH
 ‘Americans are really rich people, ...’
- (59) *ya-lilipa* *pà=wò* *tue.*
 thing-all.things full=EMPH 3SG.F.do
 ‘they have all sorts of good things.’

(*pà=wò* is realised with a single HL over the whole word, 44 22)

- (xv) *Te táng te hòe toe fítong nè ne te wí pí a hú nì li i li. Lópa, te bà Balanda te pa ne moeng. Ne moeng ko ka ing pa, Jepang hoe toe. JepaN hoe toe, te pa ne moeng, ya no ya ne ti pa nang ne, yano fèng te ti ka, te pa ne lúe pa ya ne nang ne. Te ní ko, yano ne róe ne, Skou Yò hángpeng, hángpeng nè ne. Tà bápáli ke i li Skou Yo. Fue a. Ya no ne róe ne te ueme pa te balèng pa, ya no ne róe ne ing a. Pesawa tè te pe ra-rapue ke ing a. Pe rapue pa hì toe e ing a ya pe rú pu pa toe fue e ing a. , ya no ne róe ko ka ing pa, Amerika we te rapue hì toe. Te hoe toe, tu jíngpa e tue we a te hoe toe, pìng pìng te rú, te rú e pa, te bà Jepang ing a te jí e. Tè tú pa te jí ko ka ing pa te moe yatà. Tè moe yatà ing a, ne ra , ne ra latì pa ne moe natà. Ne moe natà ko te ka ung ne moe natà hì toe Tàngwáto, báng, pí wí a, ne ka ung ne moe hoe ne Te Jáwung, fue a, te ka ung te me e ti Te Óeti. Ne moe ne moe ing a ko, Amerika ing a hóe te toe te ti pìng te ti ko, Jepang ing a te me ko ka pa. Te rapue hì te bàme we te tue pí ko, héfèng pa, ne te té rí ko ne te re tue moe toe. Ne te re toe moe toe ne moe bàme pa, Amerika te fa ja, lòengma te wí ko Nofé wa ko ra te hì Te Húng wa ko te fue a wa ko te Tè Máwo. Ing a, ya lilipa héfèng Amerika fa ti ko héfèng ne a moeng ko tue e. Ya, Amerika te hòe toe pìng te ti, te bà Jepang te jí e ne bà Moe te jí ka. Ne a moeng te toe e. Tè bà Amerika te bà wò, ya lilipa pà wò tue.*

16 Amerika

AMERICA (1 MINUTE 25 SECONDS)

Following the ousting of the Japanese forces from the Hollandia area in 1942, during the Second World War, there was a period, only a few years long, of massive American basing in the area immediately west of Skou. General Macarthur built a base on the hill known as Ifar Gunung near Lake Sentani, and for the next few months moved in vast quantities of war supplies and thousands of personnel. This text follows on from text 15 (both thematically and in actual narration), and describes the various amazements that the Skou people felt as a result of the Americans arriving. Lines (3) - (7) apparently describe an air drop of lots of boxes of

live chickens that were dropped at sea, as unlikely as it might sound. It was probably just as confusing for the Skou people at the time.

- (1) *Amerika te=toe a ne=wò=a=fa ne-ne*
 America 3PL=3.come uh 1PL=EMPH=PROM=only 1PL.go-RED
te=tue-tue wa ti=pa
 3PL=grow.up-RED raise 3PL.do=INSTR
te ne=húe tà=pa bápáli.
 3PL 1PL=stomach adoptive.parents=INSTR big
 ‘The Americans came, and us, well they brought us up, they raised us, they were dear parents to us.’
- (2) *Ya-yong –,*
 thing-food
 ‘food, ...’
- (3) *Ya-yong te=te te=r-é tue toe,*
 thing-food 3PL=3PL.do 3PL=3PL-get.PL 3SG.F.do 3.come
 ‘They got all sorts of food, ...’
- (4) *ojíng te=r-í hì,*
 chicken 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL go.down
 ‘they dropped lots of chickens, ...’
- (5) [kas pele] *re yang te=tí,*
 [CAUS=release] go vomit 3PL=3PL.do
 ‘they let them out in a spray, ...’
- (6) *tí=fa=pa,*
 sea=only=INSTR
 ‘over the sea, ...’
- (7) *hoe=pa te Te Máwo báng=fue*
 come.landwards=INSTR 3SG.F.go Skou Mabo beach=that
ne=r-óe=pa,
 1PL-get.PL=INSTR
 ‘they washed up on the land, on the beach at Skou Mabo, and we collected them, ...’
- (8) *ne=r-óe na=pa ne=ne.*
 1PL=1PL-get.PL or=INSTR 1PL=1PL.be
 ‘we collected them, we did that.’
- (9) *A,*
 ah
 ‘Uh, ...’
- (10) *ne=r-oe n-a=pa ne=r-e-ré fu mong*
 1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL-carry=INSTR 1PL=1PL-get.PL-RED put.down sit.F
píng=pa,
 platform=INSTR
 ‘we got them all, and took them and then we put them down on the grill and, ...’
- (11) *è=pa ne=n-ang ne.*
 cook=INSTR 1PL=1PL-eat 1PL.be
 ‘we grilled them and then we ate them.’

- (12) *A,*
ah
'Uh, ...'
- (13) [gudang]=*ing* *bápáli=wò,*
[shed]=DEIC big=EMPH
'There was a really big storage shed, ...'
- (14) *te=ti=ko* *è,*
3PL=3PL.do=OBV
'they made it, ...'
- (15) *Pa long* *báng=wi a.*
Kali Buaya beach=this
'at the beach at Kali Buaya.'
- (16) *Ne=toe=pa* *ya-yong* *ne=[uɛ́]* *ne=w-á=pa,*
1PL=come=INSTR thing-food 1PL=get.F 1PL=3SG.F-walk=INSTR
'We went there, and got food, and things, took them, ...'

(a speech error here as the narrator uses a 1PL clitic with a 3SG.F verb form. The verb following *ya-yong* is *wé* 'get.F')

- (17) *ne=r-oe* *moe=pa* *ne=bàme.*
1PL-get.PL return=INSTR 1PL=village
'we got them and went back, to our village.'
- (18) [Beras],
[rice]
'Rice, ...'
- (19) *=pa* *ya-lilipa,*
=INSTR thing-all.things
'and all sorts of things, ...'
- (20) *te=ti=ko* [kaya] *ta[ɸ]a* *bàme-nè=ne.*
3PL=3PL.do=OBV [rich] all village-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT
'they really made it all rich in our village.'

(here the narrator uses *táfà* for *fátà* 'all', an accepted but rare variant)

- (21) *Fe=ra* *te=te* *báng=fue,*
tomorrow=also 3PL=3PL.go beach=that
'The next day they went to the beach as well, ...'
- (22) *hìue,*
pandanus
'the pandanus trees, ...'
- (23) *hìue* *pèng* *re,*
pandanus outside stand.PL
'down just past where the pandanus trees are, ...'
- (24) [kelambu] *te=r-í* *li=ing a=pa,*
[mosquito.net] 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL sea.side=the=INSTR
'they set up mosquito nets by the sea, ...'

- (25) *te ke=ing a ráng-ráng te=ing a,*
 3PL 3SG.NF=the sun-RED 3PL=the
 ‘and over there, in the middle of the day, ...’
- (26) *lòeng te=y-a báng=ing te=fa=wi y-atà=pa*
 road 3PL=3PL-walk beach=DEIC 3PL=only=this 3PL-run=INSTR
ti e.
 3PL.do 3PL.be
 ‘they’d walk about on the beach, they’d just run around.’
- (27) *Báng=ing te=fa=wi a,*
 beach=DEIC 3PL=only=this
 ‘Just on that beach, ...’
- (28) *Amerika=fa te=fa y-atà=pa ti e.*
 America=only 3PL=only 3PL-run=INSTR 3PL.do 3PL.be
 ‘the American’s just ran around.’
- (29) *Ne=bàme ya [susa]=ra ka,*
 1PL=village thing [difficult]=also NEG
 ‘They didn’t make things hard for us in the village, ...’

(Note the lack of proclitic agreement on the Malay word *susa*)

- (30) *ya-lilipa=ka=ra ka,*
 thing-all.things=NEG=also NEG
 ‘there wasn’t a shortage of things, ...’

(note the very interesting structure here, with negation nested in the nominalisation, as shown by the placement of the phrase-final clitic at the end of the NP, and then a further negation negating the clausal proposition, which is the NP)

- (31) *ya-lilipa pà=fa,*
 thing-all.things complete=only
 ‘all sorts of things, ...’
- (32) *ya-yong tángbe,*
 thing-food money
 ‘food, money, ...’
- (33) *ró,*
 clothes
 ‘clothes, ...’
- (34) *ró te=a fí=a r-e nì e.*
 clothes 3PL=PROM come.across=PROM 3PL-get.PL 1SG 1PL.be
 ‘give them to me.’
- (35) *Te=r-oe y-a(ng)=pa te ne ne=r-oe ne.*
 3PL=3PL-get.PL 3PL-walk=INSTR 3PL 1PL 1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL.be
 ‘They’d bring them and we’d get them.’
- (36) *Ya-lilipa pà,*
 thing-all.things complete
 ‘Every kind of thing, ...’

- (37) *te=hoe* *toe.*
3PL=come.landwards 3.come
'they arrived.'
- (38) *A te=a,*
ah 3PL=PROM
'Uh, then they...'
- (39) *te=me=a=ko* *te=me,*
3PL=PL.return=PROM=OBV 3PL=PL.return
'they went back, and afterwards they went back, ...'
- (40) *te=me=pa* *ung* *te=a* *hoe* *toe.*
3PL=PL.return=INSTR now 3PL=PROM come.landwards 3.come
'they went back, and now they've come, ...'
- (41) *Ke=Lóngpa-tè* *nì* *ana* *ke=Húng-tè*
3SG.NF=Enggros-3PL.GEN 1SG like 3SG.NF=Sentani=3PL.GEN
ne=lúe=pa *ke=fe* *ke=Lóngpa-tè*
1PL=know=INSTR 3SG.NF=see.PL 3SG.NF=Enggros-3PL.GEN
ke=Húng-tè *anake lúe=pa* *ke=fe.*
3SG.NF=Sentani-3PL.GEN 1DU know=INSTR 3SG.NF=see.PL
'Enggros, that lot, and, me (us Skous), like the Sentanis, we knew, and he
could see, us Enggros and Sentani knew they could see.'
- (42) *Uung te=a* *hoe* *toe,*
U.N. 3PL=PROM come.landwards 3.come
'The United Nations came, ...'
- (43) *te=me=ko* *te=me,*
3PL=PL.return=OBV 3PL=PL.return
'they went back, after they went back, ...'
- (44) *te=me=pa,*
3PL=PL.return=INSTR
'they went back and then, ...'
- (45) *te=a=hoe* *toe.*
3PL=PROM=come.landwards 3.come
'they arrived, ...'
- (46) *Te=ra=hoe* *toe,*
3PL=also=come.landwards 3.come
'that lot came, ...'
- (47) *te=me=ko* *te=me=pa,*
3PL=PL.return=OBV 3PL=PL.return=INSTR
'they went back, and later, they went back and then, ...'
- (48) *Indonesia hoe* *toe* *te=meng=a* *ti-ti* *wi.*
Indonesia come.landwards 3.come 3PL=PL.sit=PROM 3PL.do-RED here
'the Indonesians arrived, and they're here now.'

17 Te bà pílàng te ti e húhú

LINGUISTS (26 SECONDS)

In this text the speaker describes her meetings with the author (classificatorily her son in Skou terms), but then gets distracted into a complaint about how hard it is to make ends meet for an old widow. The title, *Tè bà pílang te ti e húhú*, translates literally as ‘a story about the people who make language’.

- (1) *Nì húhú nì=li-li.*
1SG story 1SG=do-RED
‘I’m telling a story.’
- (2) *A,*
ah
‘Well, ...’
- (3) *jéng-nì=ne,*
place-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT
‘at my place, ...’
- (4) *pá nì=lúe-lúe li.*
house 1SG=build-RED do
‘I built the house.’
- (5) *Taíngbe ke=baléng-nì=ne ke=wáng=ing a,*
money 3SG.NF=male-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT 3SG.NF=die=the
‘Now money, my husband has died, ...’
- (6) *a nì=ra=wò=fa=ing a,*
ah 1SG=also=EMPH=only=the
‘and there’s just me, ...’
- (7) *nì=lóeng “Pá hápa ketong li” li=ko,*
1SG=say house small little do do=OBV
‘I said “Make a little house”, ...’
- (8) *nì=moeng=ing a ung,*
1SG=sit=the now
‘and I live in it now, ...’
- (9) *ke=bà angku ke=toe ung=pa,*
3SG.NF=person child 3SG.NF=3.come now=INSTR
‘my son has come now, ...’
- (me - MD)
- (10) *anake moeng=moeng=ing a,*
1DU sit-RED=the
‘we’ve been sitting down together, ...’
- (11) *ke=ing a=pa húhú ne=ti ne-ne.*
3SG.NF=the=INSTR story 1PL=1PL.do 1PL.be-RED
‘I talk with him.’
- (12) *Húhú roro-pa ne=ti ne-ne.*
story quiet-INSTR 1PL=1PL.do 1PL.be-RED
‘We just chat quietly.’

- (13) *Hú- te=angku=ka,*
stor- 3PL=child=FOC
'(we tal-) but children, ...'
- (14) *te=bà=ra we fi ka,*
3PL=person=also get.F leave.PL NEG
'and other people, they don't leave us (alone), ...'
- (what has been transcribed here as *we fi* seems to be related to *wí ta fi* 'discard'; the use of *wé* 'get (feminine object)' is lexicalised, and does not reflect the gender of the object; this is indicated in the vowel alternation on *fe* 'put down')
- (15) *na-nawò toe te=tángpe na nawò toe=ka,*
RED-many 3.come 3PL=small.bird(sp.) play many 3.come=FOC
'lots of them come, like little pigeons, lots of them come to play, ...'
- (16) *pung òe,*
liver play
'all playful, ...'
- (17) *T(e)=áng-pe na nawò te=òe e ti,*
3PL=child-3SG.F play many 3PL=play 3PL.be 3PL.do
'lots of little girls keep coming around and playing all over the place.'
- (18) *ing a pí=ra ne=ti-ti hang ka.*
the speech=only 1PL=1PL.do-RED time NEG
'so we just chatted away until we ran out of time.'
- (19) [ã:],
ahh
'Ah, ...'
- (20) *anake pí háháfa ne=ti ne ti*
1DU.EX speech slow 1PL=1PL.do 1PL.be 1PL.do
'we'd just sit and talk quietly, ...'
- (21) *pí=ing a nì=lóeng,*
speech=the 1SG=say
'I'd do the talking, ...'
- (22) *ke=moe ti,*
3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF.go
'and then he'd go home, ...'
- (23) *e,*
eh
'um, ...'
- (24) *e ké=ing ke=lóeng-lóeng=pa,*
eh 3SG.NF.GEN=DEIC 3SG.NF=say-RED=INSTR
'ah, he wanted to talk, and , ...'
- (25) *taíngbe ung ke=we núng nì.*
money now 3SG.NF=get.F give 1SG
'now he's given me some money.'

- (26) *pá-nì=ne* *hapa=a* *pí=a* *nì=li-li* *li.*
 house-1SG.GEN=1SG.DAT small=PROM speech=PROM 1SG=do-RED do
 ‘I want to talk about how my house is too small.’
- (27) *Pí=a* *húhú* *pí=a* *nì=a* $[\phi]í=a$
 speech=PROM story speech=PROM 1SG=PROM speech=PROM
húhú *nì=li.*
 story 1SG=do
 ‘I want to have my say, I want to tell about it.’
- (28) *Ka* *ung=pa,*
 NEG now=INSTR
 ‘Just recently, ...’
- (29) *k[ɐ]=ing=we=ing* $[\mathfrak{a}]$,
 3SG.NF=DEIC=this=DEIC
 ‘here, ...’
- (30) *te=táng=we a* *hóe* *toe=ing,*
 3PL=bird=this come.landward 3.come=DEIC
 ‘the Indonesians have come, ...’
- (31) *te=táng-bà* *hoe* *toe,*
 3PL=bird-person come.landwards 3.come
 the Indonesians arrived, ...’
- (32) *ne=toe-toe=pa,*
 1PL=3.come-RED=INSTR
 ‘we came along, ...’

(a clear speech error here, with *ne=* 1PL instead of *te=* 3PL as the verbal clitic)

- (33) *ya* *héfèng=ra* *te=ti* *ka,*
 thing good=also 3PL=3PL.do NEG
 ‘they don’t do anything worthwhile, ...’
- (34) *Taíngbe* *nawò.*
 money many
 ‘though they’ve got lots of money.’
- (35) $[\varepsilon]$ *fí,*
 ?
 ‘[...].’

(This is probably a false start.)

- (36) *te=ing,*
 3PL=DEIC
 ‘them, ...’
- (37) *te=ra=wò,*
 3PL=only=EMPH
 ‘that lot, ...’
- (38) $[\text{pas ya}]$,
 [exactly yes]
 ‘yes, those ones, ...’

- (39) *te=r-í=pa* *ya,*
3PL=3PL-get.PL=INSTR thing
'they took it all, and, whatsit, ...'
- (40) *te=t-ang* *e* *ti=pa* *te=ti* *e*
3PL=3PL-eat 3PL.be 3PL.do=INSTR 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be
ti=pa *ne=n-*,
3PL.do=INSTR 1PL.DE-
'they used it all up, and they did they, they did, and w- , ...'
- (41) *ne=ing* *bà-moe=pa=we* *lúto=fa* *ue* *fí*
1PL=DEIC person-Papuan=INSTR=this eye=only old meet
e *ti* *ka* *ma* *ko* *me*
3PL.be 3PL.do NEG ? be.at 3PL.return
meng [nɛ pɛ nɛ lɛ].
3PL.sit ???
'we Papuans too, we're tired of what we see, (?).'
- (42) *Ana=ra* *te=baléng=pa* *ya-no* *te=r-í*
like=only 3PL=man=INSTR thing-work 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL
e *ti* *taíng* *te=r-í* *e* *tí.*
3PL.be 3PL.do money 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL 3PL.be 3PL.do
'That's how the men do work, and get some money.'
- (43) *Ne=bà* *ró-ró* *ne=a* *[phi]=a* *moeng*
1PL=person empty-RED 1PL=PROM even=PROM sit
te=ti=ing a,
3PL=3PL.do=the
'We widows, because we just sit around (without income), ...'
- (44) *ung a=we* *ke=bà angku* *toe=ing*
now=this 3SG.NF=person child 3.come=DEIC
ara nì *ya* *ke=loe* *léng.*
like 1SG thing 3SG.NF=get.PL give
'now the children come, and I get things that they give (to me).'

18 Te Táng

INDONESIAN COLONISATION (1 MINUTE 31 SECONDS.)

The take-over of what was then Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea by the Indonesian armed forces in 1961/1962 marked a sharp break between the Dutch colonial times, which had been relatively non-interventionist at the village level, and the modern Indonesian era, which has had a large impact on the life of most people in Skou and beyond. Textually this narration shows less organised narrative structure than the others, since it is essentially a set of recollections and not a more formal story – see line (35), in which the speaker clearly starts on a new train of thought.

- (1) *Bàme,*
village
'The village, ...'

- (2) *bàme-nè=ne*,
village-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT
'our village, ...'
- (3) *pí=a hùhú nì=li-li li.*
speech=PROM story 1SG=do-RED do
'I'm going to tell a story about it.'
- (4) *A*,
ah
'Ah, ...'
- (5) *lópa*,
earlier
'before, ...'
- (6) *fá=pa*,
sago.ribs=INSTR
'sago ribs, and, ...'
- (7) *bí=pa*,
flooring=INSTR
'(plants for) flooring, and, ...'
- (8) *hó=we a pá=we a te=ti e.*
roof=this house=this 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be
'these (plants for) roofing, we'd make houses like this.'
- (9) *Ne=ra=wò=fa ne=bà-moe ne=ra=wò=fa*,
1PL=also=EMPH=only 1PL=person-Papua 1PL=also=EMPH=only
'Us, us Papuan people, we, ...'
- (10) *moeng=ing a*,
sit=the
'our life, ...'
- (11) *pá=ing a te=ti e=ing a ya-lilipa=ing pà*,
house=the 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be=the thing-all.things=DEIC complete
'we'd make our houses, and everything we needed was there, ...'
- (12) *hòe*,
sago
'sago, ...'
- (13) *hángpeng hòe=ra*,
bush sago=also
'wild sago, ...'
- (14) *nawò*.
many
'there was lots of it.'
- (15) [mə]
Mmm
'I mean, ...'

- (16) *rí=ra ya=ing nawò.*
tree=also thing=DEIC many
'trees and stuff, there were lots of them.'
- (17) *Ung a=we te=táng=we a hoe toe=ing a,*
now=this 3PL=bird=this go.landward 3.come=the
'Now, with the Indonesians here, ...'
- (18) *rí-pa ya=we te=pang=ko ka.*
tree-stands thing=this 3PL=chop.PL=OBV NEG
'they've chopped all the trees down until there aren't any left.'
- (19) *Bí=ra te=pang=ko ka,*
flooring=also 3PL=chop.PL=OBV NEG
'The trees we use for flooring, too, they've chopped them all down, ...'
- (20) *hòe=wò=ra, te=pang=ko ka,*
sago=EMPH=also 3PL=chop.PL=OBV NEG
'and even the sago stands, they're all gone, ...'
- (21) *a mè,*
uh 2SG
'and you, ...'
- (22) *bàme=fue pá te=ti te,*
village=that house 3PL=3PL.do 3SG.F.go
'in the village they still need to make houses, ...'
- (23) *ya=ko hó=we ka,*
thing=OBV roof=this NEG
'and, whatsit, there're no materials for making roofs, ...'
- (24) *te=Táng hó-tè=we=pí=a te,*
3PL=bird roof-3PL.GEN=this=even=PROM 3PL
'so with the Indonesians, even for these (corrugated iron) roofs of theirs, they, ...'
- (25) *te=wá e ti-ti=pa,*
3PL=request 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED=INSTR
'ask them for something, and ...'
- (26) *ó [353]=fa te=r-e n-ing e ti-ti=ing a,*
little.bit=only 3PL=3PL-get.PL 3PL-give 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED=the
'well they just give us some, they would, ...'
- (27) *te=bà ana=ra te=baléng=pa=ing a,*
3PL=person like=also 3PL=man=INSTR=the
'and (all the) people, the men too, ...'
- (28) *yano te=r-í e ti=pa ti=ing a,*
work 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL 3PL.be 3PL.do=INSTR 3PL.do=the
'they do some work, like that, ...'
- (29) *ne=bàro-ro,*
1PL=widow-RED
'and us widows, ...'

- (30) *te=bà ró-ró=ing te=,*
 3PL=person empty-RED=DEIC 3PL=
 ‘the bereft people, they, ...’
- (31) *pá hápa ya=ing,* [paφαφɔjaĩ]
 house small thing=DEIC
 ‘just a small house, that sort of thing, ...’
- (32) *ya=fa te=ti-ti.*
 thing=only 3PL=3PL.do-RED
 ‘that’s all they get.’
- (33) *Te=ra taíngbe ka.*
 3PL=also money NEG
 ‘And they don’t have any money either.’
- (34) *Pí=a húhú nì=li-li li.*
 speech=PROM story 1SG=do-RED do
 ‘I want to talk about this.’
- (35) *Nì [b]lópa=ing,*
 1SG earlier=DEIC
 ‘Now, before, I, ...’

(an unusual appearance of an initial cluster here; the form is usually cited as *lópa*, and it can only be assumed that the *b* was present in an archaic form of the language. See line 77 of *Tangwato I* for another example of archaic forms being retained.)

- (36) *a,*
 ah
 ‘ah, ...’
- (37) *hó=we ne=ueme ne ne=n-è=pa[ʔ] –*
 roof=this 1PL=woman 1PL 1PL-1PL-go.east=INSTR
 ‘this (sort of) roofing, we women would go down and –’

(In this example the verb *e* ‘go east’ is pronounced with a sharply falling pitch, whereas lexically it has a low pitch. It is not coincidental that the instrumental clitic *=pa* is closed with a glottal stop in the same word. This clause is pronounced with a very emphatic intonation contour by the speaker, and that is responsible for what has been transcribed here as a falling tone on *ne=nè=pa*.)

- (38) *ne=ne ti ne ne=n-à moe=pa toe*
 1PL=1PL.go 1PL.do 1PL.be 1PL=1PL-walk return=INSTR 3.come
te=baléng te=y-à=pa,
 3PL=man 3PL=3PL-weave=INSTR
 ‘we’d go and collect it, and come back home, and the men would weave it,
 and, ...’
- (39) [a],
 ah
 ‘ah, ...’
- (40) [a] *pá=ing ya-no te=r-í=a=ko,*
 ah house=DEIC thing-work 3PL=3PL-get.PL=PROM=OBV
 ‘ah, they’d do all the work for a house, ...’

- (41) *bí*,
floor
'floor (materials), ...'
- (42) *bíta=ra hìng*,
flooring=also other
'even the stuff we use for floors is different, ...'
- (43) *pí=ra te=baléng te=ti=pa ne=ueme n-a=pa*
even=also 3PL=man 3PL=3PL.do=INSTR 1PL=woman 1PL-carry=INSTR
fú ne bàmè.
put.down 1PL.go village
'even that, the men would make it and we women would carry it down to
the village.'
- (44) *Pá te=r-i=pa*,
house 3PL=3PL-get.PL=INSTR
'they'd get the materials for a house, and, ...'
- (45) *pá=ing te=ti=pa te*,
house=DEIC 3PL=3PL.do=INSTR 3SG.F.go
'they make the house, then, ...'
- (46) *pá-tó pe=léng wang e.*
house-old 3SG.F=become die be
'the traditional houses are dying out.'
- (47) *Ya ùng a=we=ing*,
thing now=this=DEIC
'Whatsit, nowadays, ...'
- (48) *te=angku te=ra*,
3PL=child 3PL=also
'kids, they ...'
- (49) *bàmè nawò te=ti=a [ɣ]a [kaná]*,
village many 3PL=3PL.do=PROM NEG because
'there aren't many of them in the village, because, ...'
- (50) *taíngbe=w(i) a te=yú e ti-ti=ing a*
money=this 3PL=search.for 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED=the
te=ti=ing te=pèng. [55 22]
3PL=3PL.go=DEIC 3PL=go.out
'because they look for money, for this they leave the village.'
- (51) [*ǎ*],
ah
'Ah, ...'
- (52) *Te=bàhue te=ra*,
3PL=elder 3PL=also
'And the old people, ...'

- (53) *ya-lílpa=ka fé=a t[j]e=ti-ti ka bàme,*
 thing-all.things=FOC 3PL=PROM 3PL=3PL.do-RED NEG village
 ‘they can’t do all the things (that are necessary) in the village, ...’

(the double-accent notation on *fé=* has been used in an ad hoc fashion here to indicate an extremely high pitch on this pronoun, used contrastively. The pitch is about 320 Hz, extremely high for a speakers whose normal range is around 150 Hz)

- (54) *A,*
 ah
 ‘Uhh, ...’

- (55) *te=bà ung a hoe toe moe te=ti*
 3PL=person now come.landwards 3.come return 3PL=3PL.go-RED
w(i) a te=a há.
 this 3PL=PROM stand
 ‘people nowadays come and go, that’s how it is.’

- (56) *Ya-yong=we t- te=r-í=ing=pa,*
 thing-food=this 3PL- 3PL=3PL-get.PL=DEIC=INSTR
 ‘To get food, ...’

- (57) *yatà te=ti=pa te=t-ang [j]e ti.*
 transact 3PL=3PL.do=INSTR 3PL=3PL-eat 3PL.be 3PL.do
 ‘they’re selling things and eating from that.’

- (58) *Pí=a húhú nì=li.*
 speech=PROM story 1SG=do
 ‘I’ve told my story.’

- (xviii) *Bàme nè ne, pí a húhú nì li li li. Lópa, fá pa, bí pa, hó we a pá we te ti e. Ne bàmoé ne ra wò fa, moeng ing a, pá ing a te ti e ing a yalilipa ing pà, hángpeng hòe ra, nawò. Rí ra ya ing nawò. Ung a we te táng we a hoe toe ing a, rí pa ya we te pang ko ka. Bí ra te pang ko ka, hòe wò ra te pang ko ka. Bàme fue pá te ti te ko, hó we ka, te Táng hó tè we pí a te te wá e ti ti pa, ó fa te re ning e ti ti ing a, te bà ana ra te baléng pa ing a, yano te rí e ti pa ti ing a, te bà ró ró ing te, pá hápa ya ing, ya fa te ti ti. Tè ra taíngbe ka. Pí a húhú nì li li li. Nì lópa ing, hó we ne ueme ne ne ne pa ne ti ne nà moe pa toe te baléng te yà pa, pá ing yano te rí a ko, pá ing yano te rí a ko, bíta pí ra hìng. Tè baléng te ti ti pa ne ueme ne na pa fú ne ne bàme. Pá te ri pa, pá ing te ti. Pátó pe léng wang e. Ùng a=we=ing, te=angte-ra, nawò te tí a ka bàme. Taíngbe wi a te yú e ti ti ing a, te ti ing te pèng. Tè bàhue te ra, ya lílpa ka te ate ti ti ka bàme, te bà ung a hoe toe moe te ti wi a te a há. Yayong we te rí ing pa, yatà te ti pa te tang eti. Pí a húhú nì li.*

19 Tangmoe

SEA CANOES (1 MINUTE 40 SECONDS)

The Skou people were, along with their neighbours, known for the unusual and beautiful canoes that they made, and used for voyages across the range of the Skou people’s territory, spending up to four days at sea on trips to visit relatives. These canoes are no longer normally made in the Skou area, though, as this story relates, the design is still made to the west in

Tanah Merah. The Barupu people in Papua New Guinea, distant relatives of the Skou, also make similar canoes, and a very similar design is also followed in Yapen island, which shows links in the mythology with Skou (see text 20 for one such Skou character who travels to Yapen island).

- (1) *Nì húhú nì=li-li,*
1SG story 1SG=do-RED
'I'm telling a story about, ...'
- (2) *tang,*
canoe
'canoes, ...'
- (3) *lópa tang tóto ne,*
earlier canoe old 1PL
'olden canoes, we used to, ...'
- (4) *ya,*
thing
'whatsit, ...'
- (5) [pake] *ne=ti ne.*
[use] 1PL=1PL.do 1PL.be
'to use them.'
- (7) *Tang tóto,*
canoe old
'olden style canoes, ...'
- (8) *tangmoe.*
canoe.moe
'tangmoe canoes.'
- (9) *Tang-tè=a tangmoe,*
canoe-3PL.GEN=PROM canoe.moe
'Their canoes were (called) tangmoe.'
- (10) *ung a tang=we ung a hoe toe te=r-e*
now canoe=this now come.landwards come 3PL=3PL-get.PL
tu ti e ti-ti=we,
carry.PL 3PL.do 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED=this
'Now, these canoes have come here (from Indonesia), and they take them,
and use them, ...'
- (11) *tang natí,*
canoe new
'new-(fangled) canoes, ...'
- (12) *motoro te=hí e ti-ti=ing a,*
outboard.motor 3PL=go.down 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED=the
'They put outboard motors on them, ...'
- (13) *fèng.*
bad
'it's no good.'

- (14) *Lópa*,
earlier
'In the olden days, ...'
- (15) *tangmoe* *te=r-é_L*,
canoe.moe 3PL=3PL-get.PL
'they'd take a *tangmoe*, ...'
- (16) *ne=r-oe* *natí* *ne=ing*,
1PL=1PL-get.PL new 1PL.go=DEIC
'we'd take a new one, and, ...'
- (17) *a*,
uh
'uh, ...'
- (18) *te=tú=pa* *te*,
3PL=carry.PL=INSTR 3PL.go
'they'd take it, ...'
- (19) *táng* *te=r-é* *y-ang* *e*,
net 3PL=3PL-get.PL 3PL-cast.net 3PL.be
'they'd go in a canoe and throw out the nets, ...'
- (20) *moe* *te=hí*,
fish 3PL=go.down
'they put the fish down, ...'
- (21) *moe* *te=r-í* *e* *te=hí* *e* *tang-tó=fue a*.
fish 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL 3PL.be 3PL=go.down 3PL.be canoe-front=that
'they get the fish and put them down in the front of the canoe.'
- (22) *Ing a*,
the
'The, ...'
- (23) *te=bà* *te=meng* *tángkoe=wi a*
3PL=person 3PL=PL.sit canoe.platform=this
'the people sit on the platform in the canoe, ...'
- (24) *Móe=ing=pí*
fish=DEIC=even
'and even the fish, ...'
- (25) *te=hí* *e* *tang-tó=fa*,
3PL=go.down 3PL.be canoe-front=only
'they put them down just at the front of the canoe, ...'
- (26) [nanti] *te=tu* *me=ko* *toe* *bàme*,
[later] 3PL=carry.PL PL.return=OBV 3.come village
'that's how they'd take them back to the villagers, ...'
- (this sentence is indeterminate between the gloss given and *te=tu me ko tue bame* 3PL=carry.PL PL.return=OBV 3.come village)
- (27) *pá-...*,
house
'(at the) houses, ...'

- (28) *pá-loeng* *i*,
house-platform lie.down
'(putting them) on the house platforms, ...'
- (29) *móe=ing* *te=r-í*,
fish=DEIC 3PL=3PL-get.PL
'the'd take the fish, ...'
- (30) *á* *ne=r-óe* *t-éng=pa* *te=r-í* *hí*,
rope 1PL=1PL-get.PL 1PL-'give'=INSTR 3PL=3PL-PL.get.PL go.down
'they catch the fish with lines, and get them, ...'

(the expected 1PL of 'give' is *reng*, not *teng*. There is no explanation for this irregular inflection)

- (31) *ne=r-oe* *langyu* *ne* *pá* [j]i.
1PL=1PL-get.PL together 1PL.be house go.down
'we put them down with us in the house (front part of the boat).'
- (32) *(K)e=ing* *tangmoe*.
3SG.NF=DEIC canoe.moe
'That's a tangmoe.'
- (33) *A* *ung a=we*,
uh now=this
'But now, ...'
- (34) *tang* *ung a* *te=te-te=we* *tang na[s]í*,
canoe now 3PL=3PL.do-RED=this canoe new
the canoes that they use now are new style canoes, ...'
- (35) *tang* *luepaluepa=ing a*, [lɤpalɤpaŋāi]
canoe lepalepa=the
'an Indonesian-style canoe, ...'
- (36) *ne*,
1PL
'we, uh, ...'
- (37) *fèng*.
bad
'it's no good.'
- (38) [Kalo] *tangmoe=ing a*,
[if/TOP] canoe.moe=the
'Now tangmoe canoes, ...'

(Papuan Malay *kalo*, related to Standard Indonesian *kalau* 'if', is a topic marker in many varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia)

- (39) *fèng=ra* [fɛnda] *ka*.
bad=only NEG
'there're not bad at all.'

- (40) *Ya ne=hí móe tangkoe=pa ke ne=bà*
 thing 1PL=go.down fish canoe.platform=INSTR 3SG.NF 1PL=person
ne=moe-moe,
 1PL=return-RED
 ‘So we put the fish down on the platform in the canoe, and they h- all of us, we go home, ...’
- (41) *tang,*
 canoe
 ‘in the canoe, ...’
- (42) *nà ne=n-u ne ne te=bà hìngtung*
 paddle 1PL=1PL-paddle 1PL.go 1PL.be 3PL=person two
te=meng-meng tang tóto,
 3PL=PL.sit-RED canoe front
 ‘we paddle, and two people sit in the front of the canoe, ...’
- (43) *te=bà hìngtung meng-meng tangrúe=pa*
 3PL=person two PL.sit-RED stern=INSTR
ná ne=n-u ne.
 paddle 1PL=1PL-paddle 1PL.go
 ‘and two people sit in the back of the canoe, and we paddle along.’
- (44) *A rángpáng tang te=hoe=ko moe ráng te=y-á*
 uh night canoe 3PL=go.landwards=OBV return sun 3PL=3PL-walk
e ti-ti=pa=ra,
 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED=INSTR=also
 ‘at dusk the canoe turns back landward, and in the morning they go off again, ...’
- (45) *te=bà hìng-hìng=fa te=k[ũ] te=bà ung tangrúe*
 3PL=person other-RED=only 3PL=3PL-look.for 3PL=person now rudder
li-li=pa ke=bà ung.
 do-RED=INSTR 3SG.NF=person now
 ‘they look for other people, and then they steer, these people, ...’

(Here the speaker says [kũ] for *karéng* ‘they look for’)

- (46) *Tang-[l]úe ke=wí=ko ke=moe ke=ing moe*
 canoe-rudder 3SG.NF=get.F=OBV 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF=DEIC return
tòfo=ra=fa móe ke=jí=pa
 fishing.grounds=also=only fish 3SG.NF=hit.PL=INSTR
ke=hì tang-tò=fa.
 3SG.NF=go.down canoe-prow=only
 ‘he takes the rudder, and goes back, he goes back to the fishing grounds and catches lots of fish, and puts them in the prow of the canoe, ...’
- (47) *Tang=ing i=pa ya-ya=we=ing pe=mong-mong tang,*
 canoe=DEIC be.at=INSTR thing-RED=this=DEIC 3SG.F=sit.F-RED canoe
 ‘the canoe stays there, and everything (all the fish)’s (put) in the canoe, ...’
- (48) *peng ró=fa.*
 clean skin=USE
 ‘and (we) scale them.’

- (49) *Ing a héfèng,*
the good
'That's good, ...'
- (50) *móe rí,*
fish spine
'and the fish spines, ...'
- (51) *=pa,* ([k^wǎ (k^wǎ)],
=INSTR
'they'd, ...'
- (52) *ku,*
stab
'poking you, ...'
- (53) *táŋge ku ka.*
leg poke NEG
'They wouldn't stab you in the leg.'
- (54) *Te=me húefa=pa te=toe=pa,*
3PL=PL.sit old=INSTR 3PL=3.come=INSTR
'They just sit there for a while, and then come, ...'
- (55) *pá-loeng.*
house-platform
'to the platform.'
- (56) *Pí=a hú=ing a ung a=we,*
speech=PROM story=the now=this
'Now this talk, the things I've been saying now, ...'
- (57) *bàme Te Lóngpa=pa Te Pa=pa Te Ménglong=we ka.*
village Enggros=INSTR Tobati=INSTR Kayu Pulau=this NEG
'in the villages, in Enggros, Tobati, and Kayu Pulau here, they don't have them.'
- (58) *Tang=ing,*
canoe=DEIC
'Those canoes, ...'
- (59) *tang tang=ing a,*
canoe canoe=the
'canoes, those canoes, ...'
- (60) *tangmoe te=ti ka.*
canoe.moe 3PL=3PL.do NEG
'they don't make the tangmoe canoes.'
- (61) *A,*
uh
'Uh, ...'
- (62) *mong tue-tue Te Lúŋ=pa,*
sit.F 3SG.F.do-RED Ormu=INSTR
'no they're (canoes) at Ormu, and ...'

- (63) *Te Lángfa,*
Tanah Merah
'at Tanah Merah, ...'
- (64) *Te tang,*
3PL canoe
'they (make) canoes, ...'
- (65) *Te Láng=fue a=ing a.* [tɛlãfʰəŋjã]
Tanah Merah=that=the
'that lot over in Tanah Merah, ...'
- (66) *Tangmoe=ing te=ti e ti-ti.*
canoe.moe=DEIC 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED
'they still make tangmoe.'
- (67) *Yatà te=ti e ti-ti Lángfa.*
transact 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be 3PL.do-RED Tanah Merah
'They sell them in Tanah Merah.'
- (68) *Pí=a húhú nì=li.*
speech=PROM story 1SG=do
'I've told the story.'
- (xix) *Nì húhú nì li li, tang, lópa tang tóto ne, ya, ne ti ne. Ne roe hí ne. Tang tóto, tangmoe. Tang tè a tangmoe, ung a tang we ung a hoe toe te re tu ti e ti ti we, tang natí, motoro te hí e ti ti ing a, fèng. Lópa, tangmoe te re, ne roe natí ne ing, a, te tú pa te, tang te ré yang e, moe te hí, moe te rí e te hí e tang tó fue a. Ing a, te bà te meng tángkoe wi a Móe ing pí te hí e tang tó fa, ana ing te tu me ko toe bàme bà, pá loeng i, móe ing te rí pa á ne róe téng pa móe ing te rí hí, ne roe langyu ne ne pá i. Ke ing tangmoe. A ung a we, tang ung a te te te we tang nasí, tang lepalepa ing a, ne, fèng. tangmoe ing a, fèng ra ka. Ya ne hí móe tangkoe pa ke ne bà ne moe moe, tang, nà ne nu ne ne te bà hìngtung te meng meng tang tóto, te bà hìngtung meng meng tangrúe pa ná ne nu ne. A rángpáng tang te hoe ko móe ráng te yá e ti ti pa ra, te bà hìng hìng fa te kung te bà ung tangrúe li li pa ke bà ung. Tang lúe ke wí ko ke moe ke ing moe tòfo ra fa móe ke jí pa ke hì tang tò fa. Tang ing i pa ya ya we ing pe mong mong tang, poeng ró fa. Ing a hífèng, móe rí, pa, , ku, táng e ku ka. Tè me húefa pa te toe pa, pá loeng. Pí a hú ing a ung a we, bàme Te Lóngpa pa Te Pa pa Tè Ménglong we ka. Tang ing, tang tang ing a, tangmoe te ti ka. A, ung a mong tue tue Tè Lúng pa, Te Lángfa, Te Láng fue a ing a. Tangmoe ing te ti e ti ti. Yatà te ti e ti ti Lángfa. Pí a húhú nì li.*

20 Tangí / Tangwà

TANGÍ / TANGWÀ (5 MINUTES 55 SECONDS)

The following traditional story accounts for the lack in the Skou area of trees that have the seeds necessary to make good beads, and the prohibition on members of the Mallo clan from eating genemon (tulip). Although the main character is initially named as *Tangwà*, partway into the narration the speaker remembers that he was a character in another story, and the correct name is *Tangí*. In keeping with the minimal editing of the texts presented here the

original names have been left in, and not altered, though the reader should be aware that both *Tangwà* and *Tangi* are used here to refer to the same individual.

This text is sometimes spoken at a very fast rate, reaching rates of about one syllable every 10cs, making for some unusual realisations of some of the phonemes. These have been noted where they occur.

- (1) *Tangwà húhú-ké nì=li.*
 Tangwà story-3SG.NF.GEN 1SG=do
 ‘I’m telling the story of Tangwà.’

- (2) *Tangwà ke=,*
 Tangwà 3SG.NF
 ‘Tangwà, ...’

- (3) [Bisa ..., bisa...?]
 [can can]
 ‘Can, can I ...?’

- (4) – {Ya bisa.}
 [yes can]
 ‘Yes, you can.’

(The speaker is checking to see if it’s alright to use Skou, rather than Malay)

- (5) [ʔokenaʔε]
 ??
 (unknown)

- (6) *Tangwà ke=,*
 Tangwà 3SG.NF.ERG
 ‘Tangwà, ...’

- (7) *ah, ...*
 uh
 ‘ah, ...’

- (8) [ʔ]e=k-a=p^[w]a táng ke=jí_L=p^[w]a,
 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-walk=INSTR bird 3SG.NF=hit.PL=INSTR
 ‘he went and killed lots of birds, and ...’

- (9) *ke [r]òe[β]i=ing ke=loe=pa ke=loe ká*
 3SG.NF head=DEIC 3SG.NF=get.PL=INSTR 3SG.NF=get.PL carry
moe [m]pá toe,
 return house 3.come
 ‘he took their heads, and took them back to the house, ...’

(the sentences in (9) together are only 1.2 seconds in duration; this indicates an average tempo of less than 0.1 seconds per syllable)

- (10) *ke=loe [v]ue ing [ni],*
 3SG.NF=get.PL there lie.down
 ‘he took them to the, ...’

- (11) *ah, pà.*
 uh cult.house
 ‘...um, cult house.’

- (12) *Pà=pa*,
cult.house=INSTR
'To the cult house, yes, ...'
- (13) *ke=rapue*,
3SG.NF=descend
'he went down there, ...'
- (14) *ke=ti* *k-a=pa*,
3SG.NF=3SG.NF.go 3SG.NF-walk=INSTR
'he went off again, and, ...'
- (15) *hìng*
other
'others, ...'
- (16) *táng*
bird
'birds, ...'
- (17) *k[e]=ká=pa* *táng* *hìng* *ke=yú* *i* *li=pa*,
3SG.NF=hit=INSTR bird other 3SG.NF=search be do=INSTR
p^[w]à=ing *ke* *táng* *te=ra=wò=fa*,
cult.house=DEIC 3SG.NF bird 3PL=also=EMPH=only
'shot other birds, he was looking for other birds, and [he put] those birds in
the cult house, ...'

(this line starts with what is realised as a geminate stop, [k:], 0.11 seconds long, due to the deletion of the vowel of the proclitic in the fast-speech tempo: 18 syllables in 3.1 seconds)

- (18) *pìng* [ɛ],
bow
'[his] bow, ...'
- (19) *pìng* *te=te* *te=we fǐ* *táng*,
bow 3PL=3PL.do 3PL=leave bird
'they left it with the birds, ...'
- (20) *pà=ing a*.
cult.house=the
'in the cult house.'
- (21) *Ing a* *te=ueme* *hìngtung* *Tóe* *tena* *Háue*,
the 3PL=woman two Tóe 3DU/GDR Háue
'And because of that the two women, Tóe and Háue, ...'
- (22) *tena=pí=a*,
3DU/GDR=even=PROM
'those two, ...'
- (23) *te=te*,
3PL=3PL.go
'they went, ...'

(24) *tilong te=nà pe=jí toe,*
 doorway 3PL=open 3SG.F=open 3.come
 ‘and they opened the door, ...’

(25) *te=bà táng-te*
 3PL=person bird-3PL.GEN
 ‘the bird clan’s door, ...’

(here the HL melody associated with the genitive suffix *-tè* has spread over the preceding syllable and the syllable containing the genitive suffix)

(26) *táng=ing,*
 bird=DEIC
 ‘and those birds, ...’

(27) *te te=bíng fátà,*
 3PL 3PL=kill all
 ‘they killed them all, ...’

(28) *Tangí ke=moe toe,*
 Tangí 3SG.NF=return 3.come
 ‘Tangí came back home, ...’

(29) *táng=ing te=bíng fátà,*
 bird=DEIC 3PL=die.PL all
 ‘and all of the birds were dead, ...’

(30) *ke=fe-fe=pa,*
 3SG.NF=see.PL-RED=INSTR
 ‘so he saw them and, ...’

(31) *k[a]=ing=pa ya ke=tóepi=pa ke=moe=ko*
 3SG.NF=DEIC=INSTR thing 3SG.NF=prepare=INSTR 3SG.NF=return=OBV
ti ke=li,
 3SG.NF.go 3SG.NF=do
 ‘He got his things together, and then left to return home, ...’

(32) *tóe-ya ne=n-a ne=ti-ti=we*
 beads-thing 1PL=1PL-walk 1PL=1PL.do-RED=this
ke=ra=rúe wa kí=fa.
 3SG.NF=also=stand plant 3PL.dig=only
 ‘he left with the beads, but he also just buried some.’

(beginning with this line the speaker shows considerable variance in subject agreement. This line shows 1PL forms used for 3SG.NF, and also 3PL forms for a 3SG.NF subject. These errors reveal a tired narrator.)

(33) *Tangwáto wa=ing a.*
 Tangwato cave=the
 ‘In a cave in Tangwato.’

(34) *Ing a,*
 the
 ‘Well, ...’

- (35) *ke=rúe wa ti=fa=ing,*
 3SG.NF=stand plant 3SG.NF.go=only=DEIC
 ‘after he stayed and buried some along the way, ...’
- (36) *ke=moe,*
 3SG.NF=return
 ‘he returned, ...’
- (37) *táng=ing te=bìng.*
 bird=DEIC 3PL=die
 ‘and those birds were dead.’
- (38) *Loeng=pa,*
 road/finish=INSTR
 ‘At the end, ...’
- (39) *ya ke=tóepi=pa,*
 thing 3SG.NF=prepare=INSTR
 ‘he got his things ready, ...’
- (40) *ke=loe k-á moe ti,*
 3SG.NF=get.PL 3SG.NF-walk return 3SG.NF.go
 ‘and he took them with him, ...’
- (41) *túe,*
 beads
 ‘and the beads, ...’
- (42) *túe-túe=ing=ra* [tutãndra],
 beads-RED=DEIC=also
 ‘all the beads, ...’
- (43) *ke=y-úe,*
 3SG.NF=3PL-trample
 ‘he trampled them, ...’
- (44) *ke=y-úe=ko,*
 3SG.NF=3PL-trample=OBV
 ‘he trampled them and then, ...’
- (45) *hang-ling-pè=pe=ra ke=k-a=ko,*
 roots=3SG.F.GEN=3SG.F.DAT=also 3SG.NF=3SG.NF-carry=OBV
 ‘he even carried the roots, ...’
- (46) *ke=loe hì tang=fa ke=moe.*
 3SG.NF=get.PL go.down canoe=only 3SG.NF=return
 ‘he put them in the canoe, and he went back.’
- (47) *Ke=moe,*
 3SG.NF=return
 ‘He went back, ...’
- (48) *já=fa,*
 sea=only
 ‘just by sea, ...’

- (49) *ke=moe=ko moe=ko moe=ko=ra ti,*
 3SG.NF=return=OBV return=OBV return=OBV=also 3SG.NF.go
 ‘he went home, then he went back, he returned, ...’
- (50) *ke=ti,*
 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.go
 ‘he went, ...’
- (51) *Serui pí-pong=fue a ke=ti=ra,*
 Serui mountain-cape=that 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.go=also
 ‘to the cape at Yapen island, he just went, ...’
- (52) *ke=pi=ko=ra ke=ti=ko=ra ke=p-oe*
 3SG.NF=even=OBV=also 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.go=OBV=also 3SG.NF=2SG-get.PL
ti lowóng=fue a,
 3SG.NF.go west=that
 ‘He even, also, he also went, he took them to the west there, ...’
- (53) *ke=moe ti tóe=we ke=ká moe*
 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF.go beads=this 3SG.NF=carry return
ti,
 3SG.NF.go
 ‘he went back, and he took those beads back with him, ...’
- (54) *tóe ke=wá fue a,*
 beads 3SG.NF=bury there
 ‘he buried the beads over there, ...’
- (55) *=ko m-a ti ke=wá fue a,*
 =OBV 2SG-walk 3SG.NF.go 3SG.NF=plant that
 ‘and he went and buried them over there, ...’
- (56) *ne ke=we ung a=we tóe ne=yú*
 1PL 3SG.NF=get.F now=this bead 1PL=search
ta=pa pì.
 covetous=INSTR mountain
 ‘he took (them) from us and now we search the mountain greedily.’
- (57) *Tóe ke lé(ng)=ko ke=loe k-á moe,*
 beads get give=OBV 3SG.NF=get.PL 3SG.NF-carry return
 ‘He brought (us) the beads and then he took them back with him, ...’
- (58) *pa,*
 house
 ‘to his home, ...’
- (59) *wa=ing bí hang bí=fa mong tue-tue.*
 cave=DEIC floor coconut floor=only sit.F 3SG.F.do-RED
 ‘in the cave, on the floor, (all) there is on the floor is coconuts.’
- (60) *Hang rong=fa ke=loe fu mong tue wá=ing a,*
 coconut old=only 3SG.NF=get.PL put.down.PL sit.F 3SG.F.do cave=the
 ‘He put down lots of old coconuts in the cave, ...’
- (61) *Tangwáto pí-pong=fue a.*
 Tangwato mountain-cape=that
 ‘at Tangwato point there.’

- (62) *Pí=a* *húhú* *nì=li* *i* *li.*
 speech=PROM story 1SG=do be do
 ‘I’m telling the story.’
- (63) *Ya* *nì,*
 thing 1SG
 ‘So, whatsit, I, ...’
- (64) *ne=bà,*
 1PL=person
 ‘all of us, ...’
- (65) *ku* [Patipeme] *ne,*
 child [Patipeme] 1PL
 ‘us Patipeme clan descendants, ...’
- (66) *ápólè-ha* *ne=n-ang* *ka.*
 tulip-leaf 1PL=1PL-eat NEG
 ‘we can’t eat tulip leaves.’
- (67) *Ne=n-ang=pa* *kóeng* *lè* *e* *tue.*
 1PL=1PL-eat=INSTR tooth break 3PL.be 3PL.do
 ‘If we eat them, then our teeth will break.’
- (68) [ka’no] *ya-lilipa* *ke=lóe* *fátà=ko* *ke=lóe=ko*
 ?? things-all.things 3SG.NF=get.PL all=OBV 3SG.NF=get.PL=OBV
ke=lóe *k-a* *m[ε]* *fátà,*
 3SG.NF=get.PL 3SG.NF-walk return all
 ‘He got all the different things, all the things, he got them, and took them
 all back, ...’
- (69) *ke=kúe* *k-a* *moe.*
 3SG.NF=dig 3SG.NF-walk return
 ‘he buried them, and then went home.’
- (70) *Pi=a=ing a* *ne,*
 speech=PROM=the 1PL
 ‘And the story is that we, ...’
- (71) *ne=bà* [Patipeme] *ku=ing* *ya=ing* *ne=n-ang* *ka.*
 1PL=person [Patipeme] child=DEIC thing=DEIC 1PL=1PL-eat NEG
 ‘we Patipeme descendants, we can’t eat it.’
- (72) *Te=ueme* *hìngtung=ing* *te=a,*
 3PL=woman two=DEIC 3PL=PROM
 ‘And those two women, ...’
- (73) *a,*
 uh
 ‘uh, ...’
- (74) *te=ra=wò* *te=me* *te* *te=meng* *pa-rong*
 3PL=also=EMPH 3PL=PL.return 3PL 3PL=PL.sit river-bank
fue *te=ti* *e.*
 cry 3PL=3PL.do 3PL.be
 ‘they returned, and sat on the bank of a river and cried.’

- (75) *Ya-lilipa ke=loe ka moe,*
 thing-all.things 3SG.NF=get.PL NEG return
 ‘He took all sorts of things back (so there aren’t any more.)’
- (76) *ne ung a=pi túe ya-lilipa ka.*
 1PL now=even beads thing-all.things NEG
 ‘and us, even now, we don’t have beads and things like that (on our traditional land).’
- (77) *Tóe=pa ya-lilipa ka me,*
 beads=INSTR thing-all.things NEG PL.return
 ‘The beads, those things aren’t (here) any more, they’ve gone back, ...’
- (78) *tóe=pa héfèng ke=loe ka moe.*
 beads=INSTR good 3SG.NF=get.PL NEG return
 ‘and the beads, the good ones, he took them all (so there aren’t any more when he) went back.’
- (79) *Ke=loe li-nòe=pa ke=loe ka moe.*
 3SG.NF=get.PL dye-body=INSTR 3SG.NF=get.PL NEG return
 ‘He took many things, the dye we use for body decoration, too, he took it back with him.’
- (80) *Pí=a húhú nì=li.*
 speech=PROM story 1SG=do
 ‘I have told the story.’
- (xx) *Tangí húhú ké nì li. Tangí ke ka pa táng ke jí pa, ke ròebi ing ke loe pa ke loe ká moe pá toe, ke loe fue ing, pà. Pà pa, ke rapue, ke ti ka pa, hìng táng ke ká pa táng hìng ke yú i li pa, pà ing ke táng te ra wò fa, pìng, pìng te te te we fí táng, pà ing a. Ing a te ueme hìngtung Tõe tena Háue, tena pí a, te te, tilong te nà pe jí toe, te bà táng te táng ing, te te bíng fátà, Tangí ke moe toe, táng ing te bíng fátà, ke fe fe pa, ke ing pa ya ke tóepi pa ke moe ko ti ke li, tóe ya ne na ne ti ti we ke ra rúe wa kúe fa. Tangwáto wa ing a. Ing a, ke rúe wa ti fa ing, ke moe, táng ing te bìng. Loeng pa, ya ke tóepi pa, ke loe ká moe ti, túe, túe túe ing ra, ke kúe, ke kúe ko, hang líng pè pe ra ke ka ko, ke loe hì tang fa ke moe. Ke moe, já fa, ke moe ko moe ko moe ko ra ti, ke ti, Serui pí pong fue a ke ti ra, ke pi ko ra ke ti ko ra ke loe ti lowóng fue a, ke moe ti tóe we ke ká moe ti, tóe ke wá fue a, ko ka ti ke wá fue a, ne ke we ung a we tóe ne yú ta pa pì. Tõe ke léng ko ke loe ká moe pa, wa ing bí hang bí fa mong tue tue. Hang rong fa ke loe fu mong tue wá ing a, Tangwáto pí pong fue a. Pí a húhú nì li i li. Ya nì, ne bà, ku Póeme ne, ápolèha ne nang ka. Ne nang pa kóeng lè e tue. ya lilipa ke lóe fátà ko ke lóe ko ke lóe ka moe fátà, ke kúe ka moe. Pi a ing a ne, ne bà Póeme ku ing ya ing ne nang ka. Te ueme hìngtung ing te a, te ra wò te me te te meng pa rong fue te ti e. Ya lilipa ke loe ka moe, ne ung a pi túe ya lilipa ka. Tõe pa ya lilipa ka me, tóe pa héfèng ke loe ka moe. Ke loe li nòe pa ke loe ka moe. Pí a húhú nì li.*

21 Ke bàti

EVIL SPIRITS (25 SECONDS)

There are many kinds of supernatural beings in Skou cosmology. This short text presents a short description of one kind of spirit that is no longer so frequently encountered in the Skou area. Additionally, this text, and the two following, are examples of Skou speakers' notion of defining concepts.

- (1) *Ke=bàti=fa=[itu]*,
3SG.NF=spirits=only=[that]
'Evil spirits, ...'
- (2) *Ke=bàti=fa=ing*,
3SG.NF=spirits=only=DEIC
'Evil spirits, ...'
- (3) ['kan] *ke=bà*,
[not] 3SG.NF=person
'They're not people, ...'
- (4) *ke anara féng=ing a*,
3SG.NF like wind=the
'they're like the wind, ...'
- (5) *féng ka=ko toe*.
wind hit=OBV 3SG.NF.come
'the wind that blows up to you.'
- (6) *Anara féng toe*,
like wind 3SG.NF.come
'Like a wind coming, ...'
- (7) *mè=bà moeng p[ε]-p[ε] ung=pa*,
2SG=person sit outside-RED now=INSTR
'you'll be sitting down outside, ...'
- (8) *ke mè nòe=ing a=pa*,
3SG.NF 2SG body=the=INSTR
'and he'll ...'
- (9) *pí ke=li*,
curse 3SG.NF=do
'curse you, ...'
- (10) *ke=bà nòe è=ra ke=loe=ko héfèng*
3SG.NF=person body cook=also 3SG.NF=come=OBV good
fòng tue.
recover 3SG.F.do
'he'll send a fever into your body, but it'll recover.'
- (11) *Ya ke=li=ko héfèng*,
thing 3SG.NF=do good
'He can do good things, ...'
- (12) *Lópa tue a=ing a*,
earlier 3SG.F.do PROM=the
'this was in the past, ...'

- (13) *ung a=we ke=bà=ing* [percaya] *ne=ti ka,*
 now=this 3SG.NF=person=DEIC [believe] 1PL=1PL.do NEG
 ‘now we don’t believe in his sort, ...’
- (14) *Pí ne=t-oeng ka.*
 belief 1PL=1PL-say NEG
 ‘we don’t believe in him.’
- (15) *Ke* [nanti] *rá e li, pí ne=t-oeng ka.*
 3SG.NF [later] fire burn do belief 1PL=1PL-say NEG
 ‘He’ll burn (in hell) later, we don’t believe in them.’

(the 1PL form of ‘say’ is normally *róeng*; the *t-* here is irregular, reflecting a temporary transfer of the verb to a different *l*-class inflectional group [see appendix 2])

- (xxi) *Ke bàti fa ing, ke bà ka, ke anara féng ka ko toe ing a. Anara féng toe, mè bà moeng pe pe ung pa, ke mè nòe ing a pa, pí ke li, ke bà nòe è ra ke loe ko héfèng fòng tue. Ya ke li ko héfèng. Lópa tue a ing a, ung a we ke bà ing, pí ne toeng ka. Ke rá e li li, pí ne toeng ka.*

22 Tangwáue

BUSH TURKEYS (35 SECONDS)

Bush turkey eggs are an important source of protein in the diet of many lowland, non-riverine New Guinea peoples, and the Skou are no exception. At the right time of the year (October-December) many people search in their families bush areas to collect the eggs from underneath the mounds in which they are laid by the adult birds. This text describes the bush turkey’s laying her eggs, and the human’s collection of them.

- (1) *Tangwáue ku pe=tue-tue,*
 bushfowl egg 3SG.F=3SG.F.do-RED
 ‘A bush turkey lays her eggs, ...’
- (2) *hángpeng tue,*
 bush 3SG.F.do
 ‘in the bush.’
- (3) *Hangto=we pé=a moeng pe=tue=[Y]o,*
 sand=this 3SG.F=FOC sit 3SG.F=3SG.F.do=OBV
 ‘She sits on (a mound of) sand, and works it until...’
- (4) *anara=w-*
 like=EMPH
 ‘it’s like, ...’
- (5) [ʔaʔ] *pì,*
 uh mountain
 ‘a mountain, ...’
- (6) *i leng ka [ʔ]i-leng-lang=a p^[w]ang.*
 stand become NEG ??-become-RED=PROM peak
 ‘it becomes like [a mountain].’

- (7) *Ku=ing pe=r-ue hî-hî hangto=ing a,*
egg=DEIC 3SG.F=3SG.F-lay go.down-RED sand=the
'She lays her eggs into this soil, ...'
- (8) *yahénglong to ha to rîha to=ing a*
rubbish or leaf or tree-leaf or=the
'rubbish or leaves, tree leaves, that sort of thing, ...'
- (9) *Te=ing a=ko bépú-pú toe=ing=pa pe=te*
3PL=the=OBV lay-RED 3.come=DEIC=INSTR 3SG.F=3SG.F.go
w-a=pa tú=ko
3SG.F-walk=INSTR carry.PL=OBV
'those things, she lays (her eggs) on them, so she goes about and gets them
and then, ...'
- (10) *bépú-pú toe ung=pa pe=toe*
lay-RED 3.come now=INSTR 3SG.F=3SG.F.come
í pe=w-a=ko w-a=ko w-a=ko [ě],
hole 3SG.F=3SG.F-cover=OBV 3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F-walk=OBV
'she lays them (the eggs), and then she comes to the hole, and covers it up,
and then (waits) until, ...'
- (11) *pe=r-úe e tue bépú-pú=pa,*
3SG.F=3SG.F-lay 3SG.F.be 3SG.F.do lay-RED=INSTR
'she lays, she lays them, and, ...'
- (12) *ku=ing pe=r-úe-rúe=pa,*
egg=DEIC 3SG.F=3SG.F-get-RED=INSTR
'she lays her eggs, and , ...'
- (13) *pe=r-úe pú mong-mong.*
3SG.F=3SG.F-lay nest sit.F-RED
'lays them, and sits on the nest, ...'
- (14) *Ku (a)narang-rang pe=tue=ko te*
egg like-RED 3SG.F=3SG.F.do=OBV 3SG.NF.go
e ti-ti,
3PL.be 3PL.do-RED
'She's laid the eggs, they're there, ...'
- (15) *ana=ing a bépú-pú=pa pe=r-úe pú mong-mong.*
like=the lay-RED=INSTR 3SG.F=3SG.F-lay nest sit.F-RED
'it's just that she lays them, and there they are.'
- (16) *Ing a,*
the
'So, ...'
- (17) *nahípa na hangpa na,*
eight or twelve or
'eight or twelve or so, ...'
- (18) *bépú f^[w]átà=we pe=r-úe pú mong-mong tue.*
lay all=this 3SG.F=3SG.F-lay nest sit.F-RED 3SG.F.do
'she lays them all, and there they are.'

- (xxii) *Tangwáue ku pe tue tue, hángpeng, tue. Hangto we pé a moeng pe tue ko, anara pì leng leng pang. Ku ing pe rue hí hí hangto ing a, yahénglong to ha to ríha to ing a Te ing a ko bé pú pú toe ing pa pe te wa pa tú ko bé pú pú toe ung pa pe toe í pe wa ko wa ko ko ing pe rúe e tue bí pú pú pa, ku ing pe rúe rúe pa, pe rúe pu mong mong. Ku narang rang pe tue ko te e ti ti, ana ing a bépú pú pa pe rúe pú mong mong ing a, nahípa na hangpa na, bípú fátà pe rúe pú mong mong tue.*

23 Ke balèngtung

DEMONS (15 SECONDS)

These night wanderers are reportedly much fewer now that in former times, resulting in a change in architecture: modern houses now have a more open style, as there is thought to be less danger of demons and ghouls wandering in at night since the Christian church became active in the area. The houses closest to the church in Skou Mabo show the most open style, regardless of the degree of faith of those in those houses, or the more distant houses.

- (1) *Ke=balèng*[t^w]*ung,*
3SG.NF=demon
'Demons, ...'
- (2) *ne=moeng,*
1PL=sit
'well we'd sit, ...'
- (2) *ne=moeng (a)na=we moeng ne=ti,*
1PL=sit like=this sit 1PL=1PL.do
'we'd sit, like this we'd be sitting, ...'
- (3) *ke=toe ana=ra [ã:rə] ke=bà,*
3SG.NF=3SG.NF.come like=also 3SG.NF=person
'and he'd come in the form of a man, ...'
- (4) *túngpa ke=toe ne=fue-fue ti.*
perfect 3SG.NF=3SG.NF.come 1PL=see-RED 1PL.do
'just like one, and when he'd come, we'd see him.'
- (5) *Ke=balèngtung.*
3SG.NF=demon
'Demons, ...'
- (6) [ʔa]- *èpa na,*
uh dream or
'um, when you dream, ...'
- (7) *ke=ing ke=balèngtung.*
3SG.NF=DEIC 3SG.NF=demon
'that demon, ...'
- (8) *Te=balèngtung ne=fe ne ti-ti.*
3PL=demon 1PL=see.PL 1PL.be 1PL.do-RED
'we see the demons.'

- (xxiii) *Ke balèngtung, ne moeng, ne moeng ana we moeng ti, ke toe ana ke bà, túngpa ke toe ne fue fue ti. Ke balèngtung. èpa na, ke ing ke balèngtung. Te balèngtung ne fe ne ti ti.*

24 Tangwáto I

TANGWATO (VERSION I) (2 MINUTES 34 SECONDS)

This story is an attempt to describe the land ownership of the coastline between Cape Juar in the west and the Tami river in the east of the Skou territory. The only significant Malay influences in this narrative are discourse connectors; there are, however, several significant errors of fact (which led to text 6 being recorded, as a correction to the information in this account).

- (1) *Tang*[g]wáto *ke=ing* *te=Tángpe* *hangto-tè=te.*
Tangwato 3SG.NF=DEIC 3PL=Skou Yambe sand-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT
'Tangwato, that's the Skou Yambe's sand.'
- (2) *Te=bà=wi a,*
3PL=person=this
'These people, ...'
- (3) *te=ba Póeme.*
3PL=Patipeme
'the Patipeme clan.'
- (4) [Trus],
[and.then]
'And, ...'
- (5) [pante itu ada],
[beach that exist]
'there's that beach, ...'
- (6) *báng=ing a ke=ing,*
beach=the 3SG.NF=DEIC
'there's that beach, ...'
- (7) *ne=Málo báng.*
1PL=Mallo beach
'our, Mallo clan's, beach.'
- (8) *Ne=Málo,*
1PL=Mallo
'us Mallos, ...'
- (9) *A,*
uh
'uh, ...'
- (9) *ne=Málo báng,*
1PL=Mallo beach
'our beach, ...'

- (10) [ada sabagian].
[exist part
'that's part of it.']
- (11) *Málo*-[m]*báng*.
Mallo-beach
'A Mallo beach.'

(the high tone spread over the whole word from *báng* shows that this is a compound, and not a phrase, since we can see in other examples, for example line (9), that *Málo* is a word with a HL melody, which is overwritten here)

- (12) *Málo-báng=ing*,
Mallo-beach=DEIC
'The Mallo beach, ...'
- (13) *k(e)=ing* *báng=ing* *te=Málo* *báng-tè*.
3SG.NF=DEIC beach=DEIC 3PL=Mallo beach-3PL.GEN
'that beach is the Mallo's beach.'
- (14) [Terus],
[and]
'And also, ...'
- (15) *te*=[zamping]=*a*
3PL=[side]=PROM
'the next lot, ...'
- (16) *w-a=ko* *te*,
3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F.go
'up at, ...'
- (17) *a*,
ah
'um, ...'
- (18) *Pa Úeròng*.
river Úeròng
'The Úeròng river.'
- (19) *Te=ba Póeme* *jéng=ing a* *tè=te*.
3PL=Patipeme place=the 3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT
'That place belongs to the Patipemes.'
- (20) *Te Tángpe*,
Skou Sai
'Skou Sai, ...'
- (21) *mè=a* *te=* *te=ing*,
village=PROM 3PL= 3PL=DEIC
'the village, they, they (have), ...'
- (22) *Te Tángpe* *mè=a* *ke=ing a*,
Skou Sai village=PROM 3SG.NF=the
'Skou Yambe village there, ...'

- (23) *a*,
ah
'ah, ...'
- (24) *pos*,
aid.post
'(up to) the aid post, ...'
- (25) *te=baléng=a* *tángfa=ko*,
3PL=person-male=PROM men's.house=OBV
'the men's house, ...'
- (26) *tángfa=ko*.
men's.house=OBV
'the men's house.'
- (27) *Te tángfa* [ɛ] *w-a=ko=ra*
3PL=men's.house 3SG.F-walk=OBV=also
w-a=ko=ra *te*,
3SG.F-walk=OBV=only 3SG.F.go
'The men's house, ah, and from there, next you go to, ...'
- (28) *te* *Te Máwo*,
3SG.F.go Skou Mabo
'to the, to Skou Mabo, ...'
- (29) *a*
ah
'ah, ...'
- (30) *Te Máwo* *bàme*,
Skou Mabo village
'the village of Skou Mabo, ...'
- (31) *a* *Skoula=ko* *toe-toe* *te*,
a school=OBV 3.come-RED 3SG.F.go
'ah, to the school, coming along, ...'
- (32) *ke=ing*,
3SG.NF=DEIC
'that's, ...'
- (33) [Mallo dua] *hángto-tè=te*,
[Mallo II] sand-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT
'Mallo II's sand, ...'
- (34) *hángto-tè=te* *fítong-tè*.
sand-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT ground-3PL.GEN
'their sand, their ground.'
- (35) [ɛ] [kami]=*ing*,
[1PL.EX]=DEIC
'that's ours, ...'
- (36) *a*,
ah
'uh, ...'

- (37) *Hendrik, fítong-nè=ne,*
Hendrik ground-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT
'Me and Hendrik's ground, ...'

(Hendrik is the speaker's elder brother)

- (38) [itu] *hángto-nè=ne.*
[that] sand-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT
'they're our sands, ...'

- (39) *fítong-nè=ne.*
ground-1PL.GEN=1PL.DAT
'our land.'

- (40) *W-a,*
3SG.F-walk
'Then you go to, ...'

- (41) *Te Tángpe=a,*
Skou Yambe=PROM
'Skou Yambe there, ...'

- (42) *tángfa hing.*
men's.house other
'they have a separate men's house.'

- (43) *W-a=ko w-a=ko [h]-a=ko=(r)a te,*
3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F-walk=OBV=only 3SG.F.go
'and then, from there, you go and, ...'

- (44) *Te Máwo skoula=ko te-te.*
Skou Mabo school=OBV 3SG.F.go-RED
'you get to the school at Skou Mabo.'

- (45) *Steap =ko te-te.*
?? =OBV 3SG.F.go-RED
'[??] and then you go.'

- (46) *Ke=ing,*
3SG.NF=DEIC
'There, that's ...'

- (47) *ne=Málo-[n][dua].*
1PL=Mallo-[two]
'us Mallo II clan.'

- (48) *A pu me,*
[raise] write 3PL.return
'it nourishes us, ...'

- (49) *fítong=ing.*
ground=DEIC
'that land.'

(these last four lines show a topical pronominal reference to the subject, *ke=ing*, followed by the object *ne=Málo*, and then a complex predicate consisting of the *a* from the four-part predicate *a wa li e* 'raise, nurture animals', followed by *pu*, which is otherwise attested only in *pu li* 'write, carve', and then the plural form

of *moe* ‘return’. The final line of these four shows a right dislocation *fítong=ing*, which elaborates on the pronoun that started the clause. Note that the clause is broken up into two distinct intonation units, *Ke=ing, ne=Málo-n-dua* and *A pu me, fítong=ing*. This reflects natural, unrehearsed speech.)

- (50) [Terus],
[and.then]
‘And after that, ...’
- (51) *w-[ã]=ing=pa* *w-a=ko* *te* *k(e)=ing*,
3SG.F-walk=DEIC=INSTR 3SG.F-walk=OBV 3SG.F.go 3SG.NF=the
‘walk up to there, ...’

(the nasalisation of *=ing* has, exceptionally, spread onto the preceding vowel of *w-a* in this line)

- (52) *báng-nè=ne=ing a*,
beach-1PL.GEN=1PL.GEN=the
‘is our (Skou Mabo peoples’) beach, ...’
- (53) *Awi*,
Awi
‘(no), it’s Awi’s, ...’
- (54) *Awi hángto fítong-tè*,
Awi sand ground-3PL.GEN
‘Awi’s beach, their land ...’
- (55) [T[ǝ]rus[ǝ]].
[continue[
‘and then, ...’
- (56) *A*,
ah
‘Ah, ...’
- (57) *ke Málo-tè*,
3SG.NF Mallo-3PL.GEN
‘he’s Mallo’s, ...’
- (58) *ke=barí=ing*,
3SG.NF=person.chief=DEIC
‘the village headman, ...’
- (59) *pí=ra jéng-ké[=tu]*,
speech=also place-3SG.NF.GEN[=that]
‘I’m also talking about his place, ...’
- (60) *fítong-ké ke=ing*.
earth-3SG.NF.GEN 3SG.NF=DEIC
‘it’s his land, that (one).’
- (61) *Te=bàma*,
3PL=villager
‘The villagers, ...’

- (62) *Málo* [satu].
Mallo [one]
'Mallo I clan.'
- (63) *Ke=barí-tè=ing=pa*,
3SG.NF=headman-3PL.GEN=DEIC=INSTR
'He's their headman'
- (64) *a*,
ah
'uh, ...'
- (65) *te=Wí=pa*,
3PL=Awi=INSTR
'and the Awi's, ...'
- (66) *-tè=te*,
-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT
'theirs, ...'
- (67) *fítong-tè=te*.
earth-3PL.GEN=3PL.DAT
'their land.'
- (68) – {Pa Úeròng?}
water Úeròng
'And what about the Úeròng river?'
- (69) [ɛ]?
eh
'What?'
- (70) – {Pa Úeròng?}
water Úeròng
'What about the Úeròng river?'

(an interjection from the author, queried by the speaker, and repeated, and in the next line corrected, since the Pa Úeròng is to the west, not the east)

- (71) *Pa long*.
River Long
'The Long river.'
- (72) – {Pa long}.
River Long
'(Right,) the Long river.'
- (73) *Pa Nípa?*
river Nípa
'(Do you mean) the Nípa river?'
- (74) – {E, Tami. Sungai Tami}.
[uh Tami River Tami]
'(No), the Tami. The Tami river.'
- (75) [mungkin],
[maybe]
'That's probably, ...'

(76) *Te Bapúbí pa,*
Skou Sai river
'Skou Sai's river, ...'

(77) [k^wa]-tè.
river-3PL.GEN
'their river.'

(Here 'river' is produced as [k^wa] rather than the expected and universally prescriptive [pa]. This could be taken as a simple (though unusual) speech error apart from the fact that *g^wa is the reconstructed proto-Skou form for 'river, water'. See line 35 of *Te Tang* for another apparent example of the archaic retention of a earlier consonant form)

(78) *Te Bapúbí palong,*
Skou Sai River.Long
'Skou Sai's Long river, ...'

(79) *Paílong bàng Te Bapúbí,*
Tami.River beach Skou Sai
'the beach at the Tami River is also Skou Sai's, ...'

(80) *w-a=ko=ra te ke=ing,*
3SG.F-walk=OBV=also 3SG.F.go 3SG.NF=DEIC
'up to there, to, ...'

(81) *Te Jáwung=pa w-a=ko=ra te,*
Nyao=INSTR 3SG.F-walk=OBV=also 3SG.F.go
'Nyao as well, up to there, ...'

(82) *te=bà,*
3PL=person
'those people, ...'

(83) *a,*
uh
'um, ...'

(84) *pìng,*
war
'wars, ...'

(85) [dulu ka].
[earlier Q]
'in the olden days, you know.'

(86) *W-a=ko=ra te,*
3SG.F-walk=OBV=also 3SG.F.go
'up as far as there, ...'

(87) *w-a=ko=ra hí te,*
3SG.F-walk=OBV=also go.down 3SG.F.go
'and down to there (in the west), ...'

(89) *Te=Húng toe,*
Sentani 3.come
'Sentanis would come, ...'

- (90) *pìng te=ti* [dulu ka].
 war 3PL=3PL.do [earlier Q]
 ‘and they’d make war, in the olden days, you know.’
- (91) *Pa long,*
 river Long
 ‘The Long river, ...’
- (92) *te=bà,*
 3PL-person
 ‘they, ...’
- (93) *Paílong,*
 Tami.River
 ‘the Tami River, ...’
- (94) *ke Te Bapúbí-tè ka ung [j]a,*
 3SG.NF Skou Sai=3PL.GEN now
 ‘that’s Skou Sai’s now, ...’
- (95) [kãŋkuti],
 ???
 (meaning unknown)
- (96) *Te Óeti.*
 Wutung
 ‘to Wutung.’

- (43) *Te=Málo-tè* *w(i) a.*
3PL=Mallo-3PL.GEN this
'The Mallo's here.'
- (26) *Te=angku=pa,*
3PL=child=INSTR
'With the children.'