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Kapauku text

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Udi Onido
Crayfish Dive

INFORMANT - Zacheus Pakage
Wisselmeren, Netherlands New Guinea

- 1 Abata ckei ako- oge wido koma po- jake uwii. 2 Ti- jake
Morning they mutual friend three canoe pole-having go. Do-having
- me ida- ana kidi ki koma oo- jaki- tou. 3 Me ida wija
person animate-one that canoe for-them-hold-stay. Person animate two
- kei okejai udi ojaa oo- onido. 4 Okejai udi
those they-two crayfish freely for-them-dive. They-two crayfish
- aa- jakai wedaba. 5 Ti-jake meuka amo jato okejai koma-
dual subj. catch many. Do-having sun downward place they-two canoe
- ida wado-we aa- ki- jake okei wido ada- ida adii.
place up-ward dual subj.become-having they three land-place go-ashore.
- 6 Ti-jake okei udi dakimai- ne kidi, me ida- ana ki
Do-having they crayfish mound-cook-wish that, person animate- one that
- mogo motii. 7 Me ida- ana ki bodija oo- jake- tai.
rocks get. Person animate- one that fire for-them-make- do.
- 8 Me ida- ana ki pija oo- wagii ma, ije oo- duwai ma.
Person animate- one that wood for-them cut and, leaves for-them-get and.
- 99 Ti- jake okei duwa jo- jawii. 10 Duwa jo-jawi-
Do-having they cooking-stones cook-perfective. Cooking-stones cook-perf.
- jake ko udi ida wido-udo kei ke okei odi- no, egaa no- tai
having that crayfish animate (3-each) those they roast-eat, fast eat-do
- dani. 11 Ti-jake duwa kiwa- jake ko okei ije mukai.
ones. Do-having cook-stones heat-having that they leaves spread.
- 12 Ije muka- jake ko okei duwa ibo dani-ido adi- jake
Leaves spread-having that they cook-stones large one- s take-out- having
- ije maida makii. 13 Ti-jake wado-uga ije katagi-jake udi- ido
leaves on place. Do-having up-motion leaves cover-having crayfish-s
- kodo makii. 14 Mijo mogo ino dani kei adi- goo- na, udi
those put. Little stones other some those take-out-on-on #, crayfish
- duba amo ti-jake. 15 Ti-jake okei dakimi- jake nota jo- makai.
in down do-having. Do-having they mound-cook-having potatoes cook-perf.
- 16 Nota jo- maki- jake okei odiga udi kodo ekai.
Potatoes cook-perfect.-having they after-while crayfish those take-out.

- 17 Okei mogo podomi- makai. 18 Ti-jake ino dani okei nai.
They stones take-out-perfective. Do-having other like they eat.
- 19 Ino dani ko okei awii. 20 Ti-jake uwaataa to ko okei
Other like that they put-away. Do-having afternoon just that they
- udi- ido kodo ma doki- jake owaa- pa uwii. 21 Ti-jake koma
crayfish- s those with carry-having house- to go. Do-having canoe
- kodo itei- da kodaa miji- jake okei udi- ido kodo ma doki- jake
that shore-place that moor-having they crayfish-s those with carry-having
- owaa- pa uwii. 22 Ti-jake udi kodo ino dani ko okei-ja ka
house-to go. Do-having crayfish those other like that thei-r belong
- mene- tai bagee- pa meni. 23 Ino dani ko okei-ja ka
give-customarily people- to give. Other like that thei-r belong
- owaa- pa wudi- jake uno wija no- goo.
house- to distribute-having night two eat-on.

FREE TRANSLATION Crayfishing

- 1 In the morning the three friends pole the canoe (out from the shore.)
- 2 Then one fellow holds the canoe for them. 3 Two fellows freely dive for crayfish. 4 The two of them get a lot of crayfish. 5 Then when the sun is starting down the two of them get back in the canoe and the three of them go to shore. 6 'Then wanting to make a cooking mound one fellow gets rocks.
- 7 Another one makes a fire. 8 One gets wood and leaves for them. 9 Then they heat the stones. 10 Having put the stones to heat they roast and eat three crayfish each, the ones they want to eat immediately. 11 When the stones are hot they spread leaves. 12 When the leaves are spread they take out the big stones and put them on the leaves. 13 Then they cover that with leaves and put the crayfish on. 14 They take some of the little stones (from the fire) and put them among the crayfish. 15 When the mound is made they cook potatoes. 16 When the potatoes are cooked after awhile they open the crayfish (mound). 17 They remove the stones. 18 They eat some crayfish. 19 The rest they put away. 20 In the afternoon they take the crayfish and go home. 21 Mooring the canoe at the shore they take the crayfish home. 22 Some of the crayfish they give to those with whom they have exchange relationship. 23 'The rest they

distribute at home and go on eating them for two nights.

MARGINAL MORPHEME INVENTORY] Assimilated forms have basic form shown in parenthesis. The number indicates the sentence of the first appearance.

Affixes

- 1 ako- (aka-) prefix of reciprocity
- jake subordinating verb suffix 'having done'
- 2 ida- (ida) animate noun number classifier, phonologically conditioned fusion to following word
- ana (ena) 'one', phonologically conditioned fusion to antecedent
- oo- verb prefix of cooperation
- 4 aa- dual subject verb prefix
- 5 -ida noun and nominalizing locative suffix
- we '-ward', as in 'upward', etc.
- 6 -ne verb suffix of intention
- 9 -jawii perfective verb suffix
- 10 odi-no and no-tai close-knit verbal sequences
- 12 -ido noun and nominalizing suffix of plural and generality
- 13 -uga (-iga) noun suffix of motion
- 14 -goo verb suffix of keeping on
- 15 -makai perfective verb suffix
- 20 -pa (-epa) 'at, to', noun marker, phonologically conditioned fusion to antecedent
- 22 -ja noun suffix of possession

Particles

- 2 kidi ki noun or verb phrase substitute or boundary marker, masculine and general
- 3 kei plural of the above
- ida animate noun number classifier
- ojaa 'freely' attributive to verb
- 4 wedaba 'much, many'

5 amo 'down, in'

jato place marker, attributive to antecedent

8 ...ma...ma connective of two or more items of the same class

10 egaa 'fast'

dani 'like'

12 maida 'on'

16 odiga 'after a while'

18 ino 'other'

ino dani 'some, the rest'

20 ma connective, attributive to antecedent

23 ka connecting words of different class, indicating possession, agent, or instrument

- 1 Komoopa make abata inai a- uwe- etigo owaa wedaba to- omeg-
Komoopa from morning we-two two- go- ing house many present-were-
ai. 2 Me umina. 3 Me ida wija okejai tiga ita a- uwai.
they. People many. Person animate two they-two first trail two-went.
- 4 Me wedaba nemouga ne- epe- emeg- ai. 5 Inai ita
People many behind us-follow-past- subject substitute. We-two trail
a- uwe- etigo owaa okogo- ona kou- pa wadojo. 6 Okejai tiga
two-go- ing house cluster-one that- to enter. They-two first
a- uwi- ta wija kede ma okei mana wegai, 7 Kei jamo
two- go-past perfect two those with they speech talked, "Those down
Ogai- pa ka joka me- ete kojoka. 8 Kou- da make okejai
devil-at belong boys com- ing because." That-place from they-two
tiga aa- me- ta wija kede okejai tiga a- uwai.
first two- come-past perf. two those they-two first two- go.
- 9 Ti- jake inii uwii. 10 Inii uwi- jake me ino nemouga
Do-having we go. We go- having person other behind
ne- epe- emeg- ai. 11 Inii ita uwe- ete uwo kebo- uda
us-follow- past- subj. subs. We trail go- ing water area- place
wadojo. 12 Wadojo ke- etigo Mou wija ma jagamo wija ma okei
enter. Enter become- ing Noni two conn. woman two conn. they
wii ma inii akado. 13 Ikii kaija joka? eni- jake, Inii
four conn. we met. "You where boys?" say-to-us-- having, "We
kei Badauwo ka joka, etii. 14 Aki ma tuma joka?
these Badauwo belong boys," say-to-them. "You what clan boy?"
eni- jake, Ani Mou-Gobai joka, etii. 15 Inai
say-to-me--having, "I Mou-Gobai boy," said-to-him. We-two
ni- gii- pig- ai ti- jake. 16 Kou- da make me- ido
us-kill- will now-subj. subs. think-ing. That-place from people- plural
mei. 17 Kou- da make inai ni-gii- ne umina. 18 Ti- jake
came. That-time from we-two us-kill-intent much. Do- having
kou jagamo kodaa, Kei ke ani-ja Mou-Gobai joka kojoka, te naa-wagii,
that woman agent, "Those I-poss. Mou-Gobai boys because, don't for-me kill,"

eti- jake, kou- da make me ibo ida- ana mei. 19 Me ibo
say-to-them-having, that-time from person big animate-one came. Person big

ida- ana me- jake, Kei ke Gobai joka beu, etii. 20 Kei ke Gobai
animate-one come-having, "Those Gobai boys not," he-said. "Those Gobai

joka beu. 21 Kei joka nee- wag- ei, etii.
boys not. Those boys let-us- kill-hortatory," he said to them.

22 Ti- jake inii jagamo kodaa ene- ete, inai kou- da make gapu- uga
Do-having us woman that to-us-say-ing, we that-place from bush-thru

tibigi to a- uwai. 23 Tibigi to a- uwi- jake ani- ja
hurry only dual-subject-go. Hurry only dual-subj.go- ing I- possess.

koteka gakumi- jake inai me dogijai aa- wag- ai dimi.
gourd break- having we-two person arrow dual-subj.-kill-dl.subj. thought.

24 Aa- wag- ai- ne ti- jake Tuani- ja emoge
We-two him-kill dual-subj. intent do-having Tuan- # angry

ni- tai-tag- i no, te naa- wagii, te naa- wagii, aa- wegai.
us- do- will-he ! don't for-me kill him, don't for-me killhim, two- said.

25 Ti-jake inai tibigi to ita, tibigi to, metaato mijo aa- mei.
Do-having we-2 hurry only trail, hurry only, back down two- came.

FREE TRANSLATION

1 As we went on from Kcmoopa in the morning there were many houses.

2 There were lots of people. 3 Two folks were going ahead of us on the trail.

4 A lot of people were coming along behind us. 5 As we were going along we
came upon a village. 6 The people there talked to the two that had gone

ahead of us. 7 "Those boys coming there are the devil's (foreigner's) boys."

8 From there the two that were going ahead of us went on ahead again.

9 So we all went on. 10 As we were going on some people were following

behind. 11 Going on along the trail we came to a river source. 12 Entering

this area we met two Monis and two women, those four we met with. 13 "Where
are you from?" having asked us, we replied, "We're Badauwo boys." 14 They

asked us, "What clan are you?" and we told them, "We're Mou-Gobai boys."

15 We said that because we were afraid they might kill us. 16 Then a lot of
people were gathering. 17 From that point they were really going to kill us.

18 Then the woman said, "Don't let's kill my Mou-Gobai boys," she said, then

a chief appeared. 19 When this chief appeared, "Those aren't Gobai boys," he said. 20 "Those aren't Gobai boys. 21 Let's kill those boys," he said. 22 Then that woman said to us, that we ought to quickly get into the bush. 23 Running quickly through the bush my gourd having broken we considered shooting. 24 Thinking of shooting, "The Tuan will be angry with us; don't let's shoot, don't let's shoot," we said. 25 So we really hit the trail, as fast as we could, and so came on back down.

MARGINAL MORPHEME INVENTORY The number shows the sentence of first occurrence.

Affixes . Basic forms in parenthesis.

- 1 a- (aa-) dual subject verb prefix with loss of a vowel before a vowel-initial stem
- etigo subordinating verb suffix 'while doing'
- omeg- (-emeg-) past tense verb suffix
- ai subject substitute verb suffix 3rd plural
- 4 ne- direct object 1st plural verb prefix
- 5 -ona (ena) 'one'
- pa (-epa) 'to'
- 6 -ta past perfect verb suffix
- 7 -ete present progressive verb suffix
- 8 aa- dual subject verb prefix
- 9 -jake subordinating verb suffix 'having done'
- 11 -uda (-ida) place, time noun and nominalizing suffix
- 15 ni- allomorph of direct object 1st plural verb prefix
- pig- immediate future verb suffix
- 16 -ido plural or generalizer noun and nominalizing suffix
- 17 -da (-ida) time and place noun and nominalizing suffix
- ne verb suffix of intention
- 18 -ja possessive noun suffix
- naa- 1st sing. relational verb prefix
- ana (ena) 'one'

21 nee- 1st pl. relational verb prefix 'Let us'

-ei hortatory and imperative plural verb ending

22 -uga (-iga) noun suffix of movement

24 -tag- remote future verb suffix

-i 3rd sing. subject substitute verb tense suffix

Particles

1 make 'from'

3 ida 'animate numeral classifier'

tiga 'first', attributive to preceding noun

5 kou noun or verb phrase substitute or boundary marker, feminine and large

6 kede noun or verb phrase substitute or boundary marker, plural, closing

ma connective 'with'

7 kei noun or verb phrase substitute or boundary marker, plural, introducing

ka agent, or 'belong'

kojoka cause

12 ...ma...ma connects items of the same class

kodaa agent

18 kei ke same as kei in #7 above

te prohibitive, attributive to preceding verb

22 to 'only, just'

24 no emphasis, exclamatory